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# OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI PART VI

GRENFELL AND HUNT



EGYPT EXPLORATION, FUND

# GRAECO-ROMAN BRANCH

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# OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

# PART VI

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES

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#### WITH SIX PLATES

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#### PREFACE

OF the papyri included in this volume, the two long classical texts containing the *Hypsipyle* of Euripides (852) and the new commentary on Thucydides II (853) formed part of the large find of literary MSS. which was made on Jan. 13, 1906, in the circumstances described in the *Times* of May 24, 1906, and the *Archaeological Report of the Egypt Exploration Fund*, 1905-6, p. 10. The other literary papyri were chiefly discovered during the same season, but some were found in 1897 or 1902. The non-literary documents, which largely belong to the third and fourth centuries, come, with a few exceptions, from the finds of 1897.

In editing the new classical texts we have for the first time been without the support of the late Professor F. Blass, to whom our previous publications have owed so much; but for 852 and 858 we have been fortunate in obtaining the generous aid of Professors U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff and J. B. Bury, who have very materially furthered the reconstruction of those texts, while Mr. Gilbert Murray has also contributed many most valuable suggestions and criticisms upon 852. To these three scholars in particular, and to some others whose occasional assistance is acknowledged in connexion with the individual papyri, we here offer our sincerest thanks. Lastly, we would express our obligations to the accomplished Proof-reader of the University Press, whose care, in this book as in its predecessors, has removed many small blemishes from our pages.

The next volume of the Graeco-Roman Branch will be Part VII of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri, to be issued, we hope, in the course of 1909. We expect to include in it a detailed description of the site and excavations with a plan, and a résumé of the topographical information which the papyri have so far yielded concerning Oxyrhynchus and the Oxyrhynchite nome.

BERNARD P. GRENFELL. ARTHUR S. HUNT.

Queen's College, Oxford, September, 1908.

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· .		•	
			;

# CONTENTS

						PAGE
Prefac		•		•	•	v
List o	F PLATES	•	•	•	•	viii
		•				ix
Note (	on the Method of Publication and List of Abbrevia	TIONS	•	•	•	xiii
	,					
	TEXTS					
I.	Theological Fragments (845-851)	•		•		1
II.	New Classical Texts (852-872)	•		•	•	19
III.	Extant Classical Authors (873-884)	•				179
IV.	Miscellaneous Literary Fragments (885-887) .		•		•	198
v.	DOCUMENTS OF THE ROMAN AND BYZANTINE PERIODS:					
	(a) Official (888–893)	•		•		202
	(b) Declarations to Officials (894–897).					213
	(c) Petitions (898–904)					22 I
	(d) Contracts (905-915)					243
	(e) Taxation (916-919)					269
	(f) Accounts (920–922)					283
	(g) Prayers (923–925)	•				288
	(h) Private Correspondence (926-948).  Collations of Homeric Fragments (944-956)			•		291
VI.	Collations of Homeric Fragments (944-956)				•	315
VII.		•	•			317
	INDICES					
I.	New Literary Texts:					
	(a) 852 (Euripides, Hypsipyle)					329
	(b) 853 (Commentary on Thuc. II)					335
	(c) Other Literary Texts					340
II.	Emperors					346
III.	Consuls, Eras, and Indictions		•			347
IV.	Months and Days	•				
v.	Personal Names	•				348
VI.	GEOGRAPHICAL					357
VII.	Religion					359

viii	CONTENTS	
		PAGE
' VIII.	Official and Military Titles	ვ60
IX.	Weights, Measures, and Coins	362
X.	TAXES	363
XI.	GENERAL INDEX OF GREEK AND LATIN WORDS	363
XII.	INDEX OF PASSAGES DISCUSSED	380
	LIST OF DIATES	
	LIST OF PLATES	1
, <u>I</u> .	LIST OF PLATES  848 verso, 849 recto, 850 recto, 854, 867	. }
		. )
II.	848 verso, 849 recto, 850 recto, 854, 867	at the end
II. III.	848 verso, 849 recto, 850 recto, 854, 867	at the end.
II. III. IV.	848 verso, 849 recto, 850 recto, 854, 867	1

· .

.

•

# TABLE OF PAPYRI

(An asterisk denotes texts which are not printed in full.)

					A. D.			PAGE
<b>84</b> 5.	Psalms lxviii and lxx .				Late 4th or 5th cer	nt.		1
<b>846</b> .	Amos ii	•			6th cent	•		3
<b>847</b> .	St. John's Gospel ii (Plate	VI)		•	4th cent			4
<b>84</b> 8.	Revelation xvi (Plate I)				5th cent		•	6
849.	Acts of Peter (Plate I)	•		•	Early 4th cent.			6
850.	Acts of John (Plate I)		•	•	4th cent			I 2
851.	Apocryphal Acts .			•	5th or 6th cent.			18
<b>852</b> .	Euripides, Hypsipyle (Plate	s II <b>–I</b>	II)		Late 2nd or early	grd o	ent.	19
858.	Commentary on Thucydide	es II (	Plate	IV)	Late 2nd cent.		•	107
<b>854</b> .	Archilochus, 'Ελεγεία (Plate	: I)	•		Late 2nd cent.		•	149
855.	Menander (?)	•			3rd cent			150
856.	Scholia on Aristophanes' A	l <i>chari</i>	nians		3rd cent			155
857.	Epitome of Herodotus		•		4th cent			161
<b>85</b> 8.	Oration against Demosther	nes			Late 2nd or early	3rd c	ent.	164
859-8	364. Poetical Fragments	•			1st-3rd cent			168
865-8	370. Prose Fragments (Pla	te I)		•	1st-7th cent			173
871, 8	372. Latin Fragments (Plat	te V)			5th-6th cent			177
878.	Hesiod, Theogonia .		•		3rd cent		•	179
<b>874</b> .	Apollonius Rhodius, Argon	<i>iautice</i>	z III		Early 3rd cent.		•	180
875.	Sophocles, Antigone .				Early 2nd cent.			181
<b>876</b> .	Euripides, <i>Hecuba</i> .	•	•		5th cent		•	182
877.	Euripides, Hecuba .			•	3rd cent		•	:183
878.	Thucydides II		•		Late 1st cent.		•	184
879.	Thucydides III		•		3rd cent			186
880.	Thucydides V			•	Late and cent.		•	187
881.	Plato, Euthydemus and Ly.	sis			Late 2nd or 3rd c	ent.	•	192
882.	Demosthenes, In Aristogita	mem ]	Ι.		2nd cent			194
888.	Demosthenes, In Aristocra	tem			3rd cent			195
884.	Sallust, Catilina (Plate V)				5th cent.		•	195
885.	Treatise on Divination	•	•		Late 2nd or early	3rd o	ent.	198
886.	Magical Formula .		•		3rd cent	•		200
887.	Directions for Wrestling (?)	).			3rd cent			201
888.	Edict of a Praesect and Pe				Late 3rd or early	4th c	ent.	202

		•				A. D.					PAGE
889.	Edict of Diocletian and Petition				4th cent	<b>.</b>	•	•			205
890.	Letter to a Strategus	•			3rd cen	t.	•			•	207
891.	Apportionment of Duties to an I				294						208
<b>892</b> .	Appointment of a Superintenden	t of W	orks		338						210
893.	Judicial Sentence				Late 6tl	n or 7	th ce	nt.	•		2 I I
<b>894</b> .	Latin Declaration of Birth (Plate	e VI)			194-6				•		213
895.	Return of Village-Accounts				305	•		•			215
896.	Reports to a Logistes				316			•			217
897.	Declaration to Riparii				346	•		•			219
898.	Petition to an Acting-Strategus				123			•			22 I
899.	Petition of Apollonarion .				200	•					222
900.	Petition to a Logistes		•		322						232
901.	Petition to a Public Advocate			••	336						234
902.	Petition to a Public Advocate				About 4	165					236
903.	Accusation against a Husband				4th cen	t.					238
904.	Petition to a Praeses				5th cen	t.					241
905.	Marriage Contract				170						243
906.	Deed of Divorce				2nd or	early	3rd c	ent.			246
907.	Will of Hermogenes	•			276						247
908.	Contract between Eutheniarchs				199						254
909.	Sale of Acacia-Trees	•			225						257
<b>9</b> 10.	Lease of Land	•			197	•					259
911.	Lease of a House				233 or	265					262
912.	Lease of a Cellar				235						263
918.	Lease of Land				442						265
<b>914</b> .	Acknowledgement of a Debt				486		•				267
915.	Receipt for Lead and Tin .				572						268
916.	Tax-Receipt				198						269
917.	Taxing-Memorandum .				Late 2n	d or	early	ard c	ent.		271
918.	Land-Survey				2nd cen		. ′	•			272
919.	Advance of Dues on a Freight				182?						282
920.	Account of Food				Late 21	d or	early	ard o	ent.		283
921.	Inventory of Property .				3rd cent		. 1	•			284
922.	Account of Horses				Late 6th		arly '	7th ce			286
928.	Petition to a Pagan Deity .		•		Late 21						288
924.	Gnostic Charm		•		4th cent		. 1	•			289
925.	Christian Prayer		•		5th or		ent.				291
926.	Invitation to Dinner				3rd cen						291
927.	Invitation to a Wedding .	•			3rd cen						292
026	Letter of Lucius	-		-	and or		ent			-	202

							A. D.				PAGE
929.	Letter of Nicanor	•	•		•		Late 2nd or 3rd co	ent.			294
930.	Letter to Ptolemaeus					•	2nd or 3rd cent.				295
931.	Letter of Theopomp	us to	a Stra	ategus	;		2nd cent	•			296
932.	Letter of Thaïs	•	•				Late 2nd cent.	•			298
933.	Letter of Diogenes		•				Late 2nd cent.		•		299
934.	Letter of Aurelius S	tepha	nus	•			3rd cent	•	•		300
935.	Letter of Serenus	• 1	•		•		3rd cent				301
936.	Letter of Pausanias	•					3rd cent				303
937.	Letter of Demarchu	S			•		3rd cent	•			305
938.	Letter of Demetrius	-		•			Late 3rd or 4th co	ent.			306
939.	Letter to Flavianus	•					4th cent				307
940.		•	•		•		5th cent				309
<b>94</b> 1.	Letter to John .	•					6th cent				310
942.	Letter of Timotheu	S					6th or 7th cent.				311
943.	Letter of Victor	•	•				6th cent	•	•		313
*944-8	56. Homeric Frag	ments	i .	•			2nd-5th cent.	•			315
957.	Leather σίλλυβος (?)	•					122-3	•			317
958.	Vellum σίλλυβος (?)	•	•				80	•			318
<b>*</b> 959.	Magical Symbols	•	•	•			3rd cent				318
960.	Memorandum of a	Paym	ent of	Corr	1	•	3rd cent	•	•		318
*961.	Demotic Papyrus	•		•	•	•	1st or 2nd cent.	•	•		318
962.	*ἀπογραφή of Sheep	and	Mem	orand	lum 🧸	of					
	Contracts .	•		•	•		Late 1st cent.	•	•	•	318
968.	Letter of Ophelia to				•		and or 3rd cent.	•	•		318
964.	Receipt for the Ren				d	•	<b>2</b> 63		•		318
965.	Order to Collectors				•	•	3rd cent		•		318
966.	Official Account of	Paym	ents a	und W	/ritin <sub>{</sub>	g-					
	Exercise .	•	•	•	•	•	3rd cent	•	•		319
967.	Letter from Apion t	o his	Sister	•	•		and cent	•	•	•	319
*968.	Will of Didyme	•	•	•	•	•	A.D. 100-138	•	•		319
969.	Order for Arrest	•	•	•	•		Early 2nd cent.	•	•		319
970.	ἀπογραφή	•	•	•	•	•	Early 3rd cent.	•	•		319
971.	Account of Expend		on Irr	igatio	n		Late 1st or early	2nd c	ent.		319
972.	Oath of an Official	•		•	•	•	223	•	•	•	320
*978.	Notice to Sitologi	•	•	•	•	•	168–9	•	•	•	320
974.	Order for Payment	of W	heat	•	•	•	3rd cent	•	•	•	320
*975.	Lease of Land.	•	•	•		•	82-3 or 98-9	•	•	•	320
*976.	Declaration on Oat		•		•	•	197	•	•	•	320
977.	Payment of the pop	os of	an do	χόλημ	<b>2</b> .	•	253	•	•	•	320
978.	List of Furniture	•	•	•	•	•	3rd cent	•		•	321

# TABLE OF PAPYRI

					A. D.			PAGE
<b>*</b> 979.	Account of Payments of Con	ŗn.			and or 3rd cent.	•		321
980.	*List of Abstracts of Contra	acts (?	) and	of				
	Payments for Houses .	•			3rd cent		•	321
981.	Taxing-Memorandum .	•			Late and or early	grd c	ent.	321
<b>*982</b> .	Taxing-Memorandum .				3rd cent	•		321
<b>*</b> 983.	Report to a Logistes .		•		316			321
<b>*984</b> .	Census-List				82-97	•		321
*985.	Private Account				50-100	•		322
*986.	List of House- and Land-Pr	ropert	y and	of				
	Loans of Seed-Corn .				131-2			323
987.	Vellum Title (?)				5th or 6th cent.			324
988.	Loan of Corn and Memorand				•			•
	a Sale			•	224			324
989.	List of Persons and Worksho	ps.			Late 3rd or 4th c	ent.		325
990.	Will of a Woman	-			331			325
991.	Petition to a Police Official							325
992.	Order for Payment of Wine				•	•		325
998.	Order for Payment of Wine				6th cent.			325
994.	Order for Payment of Corn				499			325
995.	Receipt for Money				5th cent			326
*996.	Deed of Surety				584			326
997.	Account				4th cent	•		326
<b>*</b> 998.	Account of Allowances (?)				Late 6th cent.			326
*999.			•					327
*1000-	-3. Receipts for Lead and Ti							327
*1004-	=							327
	Arabic Paper				Mediaeval Period			327

# NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

THE general method followed in this volume is the same as that in Parts I-V. As before, some of the more important new literary texts (852-3, 855) are printed in a dual form, a literal transcript being accompanied by a reconstruction in modern style. In other cases, and in the fragments of extant authors, the originals are reproduced except for division of words, capital initials in proper names, expansion of abbreviations, and supplements of lacunae. Additions or corrections by the same hand as the body of the text are in small thin type, those by a different hand in thick type. Non-literary documents, including the magical text (886) in the 'Miscellaneous' section, are given in modern form with accentuation and punctuation. Abbreviations and symbols are resolved; additions and corrections are usually incorporated in the text and their occurrence is recorded in the critical apparatus, where also faults of orthography, &c., are corrected if they seemed likely to give rise to any difficulty. Iota adscript has been printed when so written, otherwise iota subscript is employed. Square brackets [] indicate a lacuna, round brackets () the resolution of a symbol or abbreviation, angular brackets ( ) a mistaken omission in the original, braces { } a superfluous letter or letters, double square brackets a deletion in the original. Dots placed within brackets represent the approximate number of letters lost or deleted; dots outside brackets indicate mutilated or otherwise illegible letters. Letters with dots underneath them are to be considered doubtful. Heavy Arabic numerals refer to the texts of the Oxyrhynchus papyri in this volume and Parts I-V, ordinary numerals to lines, small Roman numerals to columns.

The abbreviations used in referring to papyrological publications are practically those adopted in the Archiv für Papyrusforschung, viz.:—

P. Amh. = The Amherst Papyri (Greek), Vols. I-II, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.

Archiv = Archiv für Papyrusforschung.

- B. G. U. = Aeg. Urkunden aus den K. Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden.
- P. Brit. Mus. = Greek Papyri in the British Museum, Vols. I-II, by F. G. Kenyon; Vol. III, by F. G. Kenyon and H. I. Bell.

- C. P. Herm. = Corpus Papyrorum Hermopolitanorum, Vol. I, by C. Wessely.
- C. P. R. = Corpus Papyrorum Raineri, Vol. I, by C. Wessely.
- P. Cairo = Catalogue of Greek Papyri in the Cairo Museum, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.
- P. Fay. = Fayûm Towns and their Papyri, by B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and D. G. Hogarth.
- P. Flor. = Papiri Fiorentini, Vol. I, by G. Vitelli.
- P. Gen. Les Papyrus de Genève, Vol. I, by J. Nicole.
- P. Grenf. = Greek Papyri, Series I, by B. P. Grenfell, and Series II, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.
- P. Hibeh = The Hibeh Papyri, Part I, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.
- P. Leipzig = Griechische Urkunden der Papyrussammlung zu Leipzig, Vol. I, by L. Mitteis.
- P. Leyden = Papyri Graeci Musei Antiquarii Lugduni-Batavi, by C. Leemans.
- P. Magd. = Papyrus de Magdola, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.*, xxvi. pp. 95-128, xxvii. pp. 174-205, by P. Jouguet and G. Lefebvre.
- P. Oxy. = The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Parts I-V, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.
- P. Par. = Les Papyrus grecs du Musée du Louvre, Notices et Extraits, t. xviii. 2, by W. Brunet de Presle and E. Egger.
- P. Reinach = Papyrus grecs et démotiques, by Th. Reinach, W. Spiegelberg, and S. de Ricci.
- Rev. Laws = Revenue Laws of Ptolemy Philadelphus, by B. P. Grenfell, with an Introduction by J. P. Mahaffy.
- P. Strassb. = Griechische Papyrus der K. Universitätsbibliothek zu Strassburg im Elsass, Vol. I, Parts 1-2, by F. Preisigke.
- P. Tebt. = The Tebtunis Papyri, Part I, by B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and J. G. Smyly; and Part II, by B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and E. J. Goodspeed.
- Wilcken, Ost. = Griechische Ostraka, by U. Wilcken.

#### I. THEOLOGICAL FRAGMENTS

#### 845. PSALMS lxviii and lxx.

 $12.5 \times 18.2$  cm.

Late fourth or fifth century.

This fragment from a papyrus book contains parts of Ps. lxviii and lxx, written in a large and clear cursive hand probably of the period from 350 to 450. The book was of a large size, the page when complete measuring about 22 cm. across. No lection signs occur beyond the diaeresis; the usual contractions of  $\theta\epsilon\delta s$  and  $\kappa\delta\rho s$  are used, but  $\epsilon\delta\rho s \rho s$  are written in full. For the two Psalms here represented the chief uncial MSS. are  $\delta s$ , B, and R (the Verona Psalter, attributed to the sixth century), but the papyrus does not agree consistently with any of these authorities. It seems to have been rather nearer to  $\delta s$  than to B, and, as would be expected in an Egyptian text, supports none of the peculiar readings of R.

Verso lxviii. 30-7.

το  $\mu$ [ου αινέσω το ονομα του  $\overline{\theta u}$   $\mu$ ετ ωδης  $\mu$ εγαλυνω αυτον εν αι γεσε[ι] και αρεσ[ει] τω  $\overline{\theta [\omega]}$  v[περ]  $\mu$ οσχ[ον νεον κερατα εκφεροντα και ρπλας v[δ] v[σ] σαν πτωχοι και ευφρανθ[ητω]σαν [εκζητησατε τον  $\overline{\theta v}$  και εκζησεται η ψυχη v[μων οτι v[ιση]κουσ[εν των v v[συτων v[συτω

Recto lxx. 3-8.

[τοπον οχυρον του σωσαι με οτι] στερ<math>[ε]ωμα μου κ[α]ι κατα  $[φυγη μου ει συ ο <math>\overline{\theta}$ ς μου [ρυ] [σαι] με εκ χειρος αμαρτωλου[εκ γειρος παρανομο]υντος και αδικουντος οτι συ ει ϋπο μονη μο ν κε μου κε ελπις μου εκ νεοτητος μου επι σε 15 [επεστ]ηριχθην απο γαστρος εκ κοιλιας μητρος μου συ μου [ει σκεπαστη]ς εν σοι η ϋπομονησις μου δια παντος ωσει [τερας εγενη]θην τοις πολλοις κ[α]ι σοι βοηθος και κραταιος[πληρωθητω το στομα μου α]ι[νεσ]εως οπως ϋμνησω

1. It is doubtful whether 70 at the beginning of this line is the final syllable of aντελαβετο or the article before ονομα. The latter division would make the line rather short, but it could be sufficiently lengthened by the insertion of  $\mu o \nu$  after  $\theta (e \circ \nu)$  with N<sup>c.a.</sup>. The vestige of the letter after 70 suits  $\mu$  better than 0, but is too slight to decide the point, and some traces of ink later on in this line are also indecisive.

2.  $\tau \omega \ \theta((\epsilon)\omega)$ : or perhaps  $\tau \omega \ \kappa(\upsilon \rho \iota)\omega$ , which would be a new reading, though the cursive 188 has τον κυριον. εκφεροντα was perhaps omitted, as in N\*. Its insertion produces a very long line, while on the other hand its omission leaves the supplement a little shorter than would be expected.

3. [eksningare: sningare R. Cf. note on l. 4.

4. θ(εο)ν: κυριον R.

εκζησεται η ψυχη υμων: ζησεται η ψυχη ημων (υμων  $\aleph^{c.a}$ )  $\aleph^*R$ , ζησεσθε B. The εκ is a repetition from εκζητησατε, or the scribe may have transferred the preposition from one verb to the other; cf. the omission of ex with introduce in R.

5. κ(υριο)s: ο κυριος BℵR.

efoude parei: so N\*R; efoudevaren BNC.8.

7.  $\epsilon \rho \pi o \nu \tau a \ \epsilon \nu \ a \upsilon \tau o \iota s$ : so  $B \aleph^{c.a} R$ ;  $\pi \epsilon \rho a \tau a \ \tau \eta s \ \gamma \eta s \ \aleph^*$ .

- 12. The length of the lacuna indicates that the papyrus had  $\mu o \nu$  after  $\theta(\epsilon o)$ s with NR; B omits.
- 13.  $\nu\pi\sigma[\mu\nu\eta]$ : so the cursives 27, 285;  $\eta$   $\nu\pi\nu\mu$ . BNR. Cf. the omission of  $\eta$  before ελπις in l. 14. It is unlikely that και stood before εκ as in R.

14. κ(υρι)ε μου: om. μου BNR; cf. the addition of μου in l. 12.

- κ(υρι)ε ελπις: κυριε η ελπις R; κυριος η ελπις BN.
  15. [επεστ]ηριχθην . . . σκεπαστη]ς. The papyrus agrees with BN; R has επεριφην εκ
- ματρος εκ κ. της μ. μου συ ει μοι υπερασπιστης μου. ο of κοιλιας is corrected from υ.

  16. υπομονησις (υ seems to be corrected) = υπομνησις, which is the reading of ? and the Sahidic version; vurgous BR. w of wore is corrected.

17. σοι: l. συ. No. R add μου after βοηθος.

και κραταιος: om. και BNR; καὶ κραταίωμά μου Arm. Ed., Psalt. Aethiop.

18. R adds κυριε after αίνεσεως: οπως υμνησω (την δοξαν σου) was originally omitted in N, but added by the second corrector.

#### 846. Amos ii.

16.4 × 12.6 cm.

Sixth century.

The upper portion of a leaf from a papyrus codex, preserving part of the second chapter of the book of Amos in the Septuagint version. Six lines are lost at the bottom of the verso, and the size of the complete page can be estimated at about  $26.5 \times 15.5$  cm. The large and heavy uncial script, round and upright, in brown ink, and resembling the hand of P. Amh. 190, is probably of the sixth century. At the ends of the longer lines the writing becomes very small. Two kinds of stops, the high and middle, occur, as well as some of the usual contractions. The text is fairly correct, and so far as it goes coincides for the most part with that of the Vaticanus, Alexandrinus, and Marchalianus, with which we give a collation. The only variant of interest is in verse 7, where a reading peculiar to a few cursives occurs.

#### Verso ii. 6-8.

τα ενεκεν ϋποδηματ[ων [τ]α πατουντα επι τον [χουν της γης και εκονδυλι[ζον εις κεφαλας πτωχω[ν 5 και οδον ταπινων εξεκλι [v]av και ΰίος και  $\overline{\pi \rho}$  [αυτου [ισ]επορευοντο προ[ς την αυτή  $\pi \alpha[\iota]\delta\iota\sigma\kappa\eta\nu$  οπως  $[\beta\epsilon\beta\eta\lambda\omega]$  $[\sigma]$  our  $\sigma$  ov  $[\sigma]$   $\mu$   $\alpha$   $\tau$   $[\sigma]$   $\theta$   $\sigma$   $\sigma$ 10 [τω]ν. και τα ϊματια [αυτων  $\delta \in \sigma \mu \in vortes \sigma \chi [oiriois]$ [π]αραπετασματα επ[οιουν [ε]χομενα του θυσ[ιαστη ριου και οινον εκ σ υκοφαν 15 τιων επινο ν εν τω οικω του θω αυτων

#### Recto ii. 9-12.

α[υ]του ϋποκατωθέν· κ[αι ε]γω  $[\alpha\nu]\eta\gamma\alpha\gamma o\nu \ \ddot{\upsilon}\mu[\alpha]s \ \epsilon\kappa \ \gamma\eta s \ [A\iota]$ [γυ]πτου και περιηγαγον ΰ 20 [μα]ς εν τη ερημω τεσσ[ε [ρακ]οντα ετη του κατακ[λη [ρονο]μησαι την γην τω[ν [Αμμ]οραιων και ελαβο[ν εκ  $[\tau\omega\nu\ \vec{v}]\vec{i}\omega\nu\ \upsilon\mu\omega\nu\ \epsilon\iota s\ \pi\rho]o$ 25  $[\phi\eta\tau\alpha]$ \$. Kal  $\epsilon$ K  $\tau\omega\nu$   $\nu\epsilon\alpha\nu[\iota$ σκων υμων εις αγι[ασμον [μη ουκ] εστι[ν] ταυτα ΰι[οι [Iηλ λε]γει κς και εποτ[ιζε][τε το]υς ηγιασμενους [οι 30 [vov  $\kappa$ ] $\alpha$ [i] tois  $\pi \rho o \phi \eta \tau \alpha is$ [ενετελλεσθ]ε [[μ]] λεγοντες[ου μη προφητευση]τε.

7. [ισ]επορευοιτο: or [ει]σ(ε)πορευοιτο. The supplement at the end of the line is rather long, and perhaps την was omitted.

8. [βεβηλωσ]ουσιν: so the cursives 86, 153, 198 (Holmes); βεβηλωσιν Β, Swete, βεβηλωσωσι(ν) Α<sup>a</sup>Q, &c.

20. τεσσ[ερακ]οντα: 50 ΑQ; μ' Β.

23. [Αμμ] οραίων: Αμορραίων MSS. There is room for at least three letters in the lacuna; Αμορραίων cannot be read.

ελαβον: Qa has ανελαβον.

28. A stop is probably lost after κ(υριο)s.

#### 847. St. John's Gospel ii.

16.2 × 14.6 cm. Fourth century. Plate VI (recto).

This leaf from a vellum MS. of St. John's Gospel is sufficiently early in date to be of decided value. The rather large calligraphic script is more closely related to the sloping oval type of the third and fourth centuries than to the squarer heavier style which subsequently became common for biblical texts and of which 848 and 851 are examples. Especially noticeable are the small o and  $\omega$  placed high in the line of writing; the  $\omega$  is also remarkably shallow—shallower for instance, than that in 665 (cf. P. Oxy. IV, Plate I). We have little hesitation in referring the MS. to the fourth century, and it may well be as old as any of the great biblical codices. Stops in the middle position are freely used; a few other dots which occur seem to be accidental. The usual contractions of  $\pi a \tau \rho \delta s$  and  $\Pi \sigma s \omega s$  are used, the latter word appearing both as  $\Pi s \omega s$  (l. 9) and  $\Pi s \omega s$  (l. 30);  $\mu \eta \tau \eta \rho$ , on the other hand, is written out at length (l. 4).

The leaf is practically entire, and preserves a dozen verses from chap. ii of the Gospel. Compared with the three principal MSS., the Sinaiticus, Vaticanus, and Alexandrinus (C and D are both defective here), the text is much nearest to that of the Vaticanus, with which it agrees four times against the other two, whereas there is no coincidence with  $\aleph$  against AB, one with A against  $\aleph$ B, and only two with  $\aleph$ A against B. Readings unsupported by any of the three are found in verse 12,  $\tau \alpha \hat{v} \tau a$  for  $\tau o \hat{v} \tau o$ , and verse 15, where  $\hat{\omega}_S$  is added before  $\phi \rho \alpha y \epsilon \lambda \lambda \iota o v$ , variants for which the new MS. is much the earliest authority.

#### Recto ii. 11-16.

αυτου και επιστευσαν εις αυ
τον οι μαθηται αυτου· μετα
ταυτα κατεβη εις Καφαρνα
ουμ· αυτος και η μητηρ αυτου·
5 και οι αδελφοι· και οι μαθη
ται αυτου· και εκει εμειναν

#### Verso ii. 16-22.

20 περιστερας πωλουσιν ειπεν.
 αρατε ταυτα εντευθεν. μη ποιειτε τον οικον του πρς μου οικον εμποριου· εμνη σθησαν οι μαθηται αυτου· ο
 25 τι γεγραμμενος εστιν· ο ζηλος

ου πολλας ημερας. και εγγυς ην το πασχα των Ιουδαιων και  $[ανε]βη εις Ιεροσολυμα ο <math>\overline{Iη}$ ς 10 [και ευ]ρεν εν τω ϊερω τους πω [λου]ντας βοας και προβατα-[κα]ι περιστερας. και τους κερ μ[ατ]ιστας καθημένους [και ποιησας ως φραγελλιον [εκ σ]χοι 15  $\nu \omega \nu \pi \alpha \nu \tau \alpha s \in \epsilon \beta \alpha \lambda \in \nu \in \kappa'$ του ϊερου· τα τε προβατα και τους βοας και των κολλυβιστων εξε χεεν τα κερματα· και τας τρα  $\pi \in \zeta[\alpha]$ s ανετρεψεν· και τοις τας

TOU OLKOU GOU. καταφαγεται με απεκριθησαν ουν οι Ιουδαιοι και ειπαν αυτω· τι σημ[ειον δει κνυεις ημιν. οτι ταυ τα ποιεις 30 απεκριθη Ις και ειπεν αυίτοις λυσατε τον ναον τουτον [και [εν τ]ρισιν ημεραις εγερω [αυτον][ειπ]αν ουν οι Ϊουδαιοι· μ και εξ ε τε[σι]ν ωκοδομηθη ο ναος ου 35 TOS[.] KAL OU EV TPLOUV NHEPALS εγερεις αυτον. εκεινος δε ελε γεν περι του ναου του σωματος αυτου· οτε ουν ηγερθη εκ νεκ

1-2. €15 autor originally stood after autou in N.

- 3. таита: so M, the cursive 124, &c.; тоито NAB, W(estcott)-H(ort), T(extus) R(eceptus). Καφαρναουμ: so №B, W-H: Καπερναουμ A, T-R.
- 4. A curved mark above the ρ of μητηρ is presumably accidental.
  5. The MS. agrees with B in omitting αυτου after αδελφου (so W-H); NA add αυτου (so T-R). Nomits και οι μαθηται αυτου.
  - 6. εμειναν: εμεινεν Α.
  - 7. και εγγυς: εγγυς δε Ν.
  - 9. ο Ιη(σου)s: 50 NB, W-H, T-R; A has ο Ι(ησου)s εις Ιεροσολυμα Ι(ησου)s.
  - 11. Noriginally read και τα προβατα και βοας.
- 14. ωs is found before φραγελλιον also in GLX, some cursives, &c.; om. ωs NAB, W-H, T-R. Noriginally had εποιησεν . . . και παντας in place of the participial construction.
  - 16. τε and τους are omitted in N.
  - 18. та кериата: so B, W-H; то кериа NA, T-R.
  - 19. averpeter: so B, W-H in text; avertpeter A, T-R, W-H mg., katestpeter N.
  - 21. μη: και μη Α.
  - 23. εμνησθησαν: so NB, W-H; εμν. δε A, T-R.
- 25. γεγραμμενος is an error for γεγραμμενου. In B εστιν precedes γεγρ.
  26. καταφαγεται: so NAB, W-H; κατεφαγε T-R with some cursives and patristic citations.
  - 28. ειπαν: so B, W-H; ειπον NA, T-R. The same variation occurs at l. 33.
  - 30. I(ησου)s: so AB, W-H; o I. N, T-R.
- 32. [ev]: so NA, W-H in brackets, T-R; om. B. To read [kau] in place of [ev] would leave 1. 31 too short.
- 33.  $\mu$  rate  $\epsilon \xi$ : the use of figures instead of words is unusual in early uncial MSS., though sometimes found in B and elsewhere; cf. e. g. 2. recto 9 sqq., 846. 20, note.
  - 34. ωκοδομηθη: so A, T-R; οικοδομηθη  $\aleph B^*$ , W-H.
  - 35. ev is omitted in N.
  - 38. autou: om. N.

#### 848. REVELATION xvi.

3.1 x 9 cm. Fifth century. Plate I (verso).

Fragment of a leaf from a vellum codex, containing a few verses from Rev. xvi. The book was of remarkably small size, for only 11 lines are lost between the last line of the recto and the first of the verso, whence it follows that there were only 17 lines in the complete page; the inscribed surface would thus have been about 10 cm. in height. The bold upright uncials are similar in style to those of the Codex Alexandrinus, though rather heavier; they may be referred to the fifth century. Stops in both the high and middle position occur. The text agrees, so far as it goes, with that of the Codex Alexandrinus.

Recto xvi. 17-8.	Verso xvi. 19–20.					
[του ναο]υ απο του	$\lambda$ η $\epsilon \mu \nu \eta [\sigma \theta \eta \ \epsilon \nu \omega$					
θρονου λεγουσα·	$\pi$ ιον του $\overline{ heta v}$ · δου					
γεγονεν και εγε	ναι αυτη το ποτη					
νοντο αστραπαι	10 ριον του οινου					
5 και φωναι και βρō	του θυμου της					
ται κ[αι σ]εισμος εγ[ε	[ο]ργης αυτ[ο]υ και					

<sup>1. [</sup>του ναο]υ: so NA, W(estcott)-H(ort); του ναου του ουρανου Β &c., T(extus) R(eceptus). ουρανου, if uncontracted, would occupy the same space as του ναου, and it is therefore possible that [ουρανο]υ should be read here.

απο του θρονου is omitted in N and του θεου substituted.

8. δουναι: του δουναι Ν.

9-12. To, Tou, and autou are omitted in N.

#### 849. ACTS OF PETER.

9.8 x 9 cm. Early fourth century. Plate I (recto).

A single leaf from a vellum codex of the Acts of Peter in Greek, the two pages being numbered 167 and 168 respectively. These so-called 'Gnostic' Acts of Peter, distinct from the so-called 'Catholic' Acts, are partially preserved in more than one shape. There is firstly the Latin Codex Vercellensis of the

<sup>4-5.</sup> The MS agrees with A (so W-H). Ν inadvertently has βρονται και before αστραπαι as well as και βρονται after φωναι. φ. και βρ. και αστρ. T-R with a number of cursives.

seventh century, which contains an account of the acts of Peter at Rome in connexion with Simon Magus and of his martyrdom. Secondly, there are two Greek MSS. (of the ninth to eleventh centuries) containing only the martyrdom; dependent upon this recension are the Slavonic, Coptic, Armenian, and Ethiopic versions. Thirdly, another Latin version of the martyrdom, ascribed to Bishop Linus and extant in a large number of MSS, is independent of the version in the Codex Vercellensis, which is shorter and written in much worse Latin. These three texts were edited by Lipsius in Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha, I. pp. 1-22 and 45-103. Recently a fragment of a different portion of the Acts dealing with an incident during Peter's sojourn at Jerusalem has been published by C. Schmidt from a fourth or fifth century Coptic MS. at Berlin (Die alten Petrusakten in Texte und Untersuchungen, Bd. xxiv. Heft 1). The date and character of these Acts of Peter, and the history of the text in its different forms have been the subject of much discussion; and the discovery of a fragment of what is no doubt the Greek original is a new factor of considerable importance. Our fragment belongs to the portion of the Acts concerned with Simon Magus found only in the Codex Vercellensis, and corresponds to p. 73, ll. 16-27 of Lipsius' edition.

The leaf is practically perfect, but the ink is much obliterated in the last five lines of the verso. The handwriting is a medium-sized upright uncial of a common third to fourth century type. Had the material used been papyrus, we should have been more disposed to assign it to the late third than to the fourth century, but since vellum was not commonly used in Egypt until the fourth century, it is safer to attribute the fragment to the period from Diocletian to Constantine. The papyri with which it was found were rather mixed in point of date, ranging from the third century to the fifth. The usual contraction of  $\theta \epsilon \delta s$  and its cases is employed, but  $\mu \hat{\eta} \tau \epsilon \rho$  is uncontracted.  $\nu$  at the end of a line is sometimes indicated by a stroke above the preceding letter. There are no stops, breathings, or accents, but a coronis is employed to fill up a space at the end of l. 14. The scribe was not very careful;  $\theta(\epsilon 0)v$  for  $\theta(\epsilon)\hat{\omega}$  occurs in 1. 8 and  $\alpha\pi\sigma\sigma\sigma\rho\mu\epsilon\theta\alpha$  for  $\alpha\pi\sigma\sigma\sigma\rho\mu\epsilon\theta\alpha$ in 1. 9, while in 11. 1-2 it is clear that the text is seriously corrupt; cf. note ad loc. Apart, however, from this difficulty at the beginning, the agreement between the Greek of our fragment and the Latin of the Codex Vercellensis is on the whole very close. The Greek sometimes tends to be fuller than the Latin, there being two instances (cf. notes on ll. 6-7 and 19) where the Latin omits words or phrases found in the Greek: at other times the Latin is longer; cf. notes on ll. 14, 22, and 26. σε . . . πειράσαι θέλων in ll. 20-1 is wrongly rendered confidens in te, but as a rule the Latin is a singularly literal interpretation; cf. e. g. libenter habet for ήδέως έχει in ll. 16-7, and the close resemblance in the

order of the words throughout. That our fragment represents the Greek text from which the Codex Vercellensis was translated admits of little doubt.

For the question of the relation of the two Latin versions and the Greek μαρτύριον to the Greek original of the Acts of Peter that conclusion is of cardinal importance. Lipsius had supposed that the Greek original was altogether lost, and that the longer Latin version found in the martyrium ascribed to Bishop Linus, so far as it went, represented the original more faithfully than the shorter Latin version found in the Codex Vercellensis, while he regarded the Greek text of the μαρτύριον as a retranslation from the shorter Latin version. Against this complicated hypothesis Zahn (Gesch. d. NTKanons, ii. pp. 832 sqq.) put forward the simpler explanation that the extant Greek μαρτύριον was part of the original Acts of Peter, that the Codex Vercellensis was a translation of it, the longer Latin version being an independent translation made at a later date with numerous elaborations, and a much less faithful representation of the original. The correctness of Zahn's explanation, which has been generally accepted (cf. Harnack, Chron. d. altchr. Lit., ii. 1, p. 551), is thoroughly vindicated by the new discovery. Though the longer Latin version of that portion of the Acts to which our fragment belongs is not extant (whether the longer Latin version ever contained more than the martyrium is very doubtful), a comparison of the divergences in the two Latin versions of the *martyrium* shows unquestionably that the shorter and not the longer one is the form supported by our fragment. The rejection of the claims of the longer Latin version to be regarded as more authentic than the shorter also removes the principal reason for supposing the Greek text of the μαρτύριον to be a retranslation from the Latin, and this theory may now be finally abandoned. Since the Greek μαρτύριον agrees on the whole very closely with the conclusion of the Codex Vercellensis, Zahn is clearly right in accepting the former as belonging to the Greek original. Its relation to this shorter Latin version is very similar to that of our fragment to the corresponding portion of the Codex Vercellensis. The Greek tends to be rather fuller than the Latin, which however sometimes instead of abbreviating paraphrases the Greek at greater length and generally follows it closely. So far as the style of our fragment can be judged, it is quite in keeping with that of the μαρτύριον. The construction, for instance, ὁρώντων . . . συνεπάθουν in ll. 4-5 finds a parallel in the μαρτύριου, p. 82. 24-5 καλ καταπεσόντος αὐτοῦ ἄνωθεν ἐκλ(υθ)ελς συστή.

Did the MS. to which our fragment belongs begin at the point where the Codex Vercellensis commences, or did it also comprise an account of earlier doings of Peter, including perhaps the events at Jerusalem described in C. Schmidt's fragment, which apparently belongs to the period before Peter came to Rome? The two pages of our fragment, nos. 167 and 168 of the MS., correspond to 12

lines of Lipsius' edition of the Codex Vercellensis. The previous 166 pages therefore ought to correspond to approximately 996 lines of his edition. As a matter of fact the preceding portion of the Codex Vercellensis occupies 908 lines, and when allowance is made for the circumstance that, judging by the μαρτύριου, the tendency of the Latin to abbreviate the original is less marked than usual in our fragment, there is every probability that the beginning of this MS. coincided with the beginning of the Codex Vercellensis, and that the acts of Peter at Jerusalem formed no part of it. This conclusion is not necessarily fatal to C. Schmidt's view that his fragments form part of the same work as the Codex Vercellensis, for from an early period the various apocryphal Acts tended to break up into distinct sections, if indeed these sections were originally combined. That the Acts of Paul comprised the Acts of Paul and Thecla, the forged correspondence with the Corinthians, and the Martyrium Pauli, which were previously known as distinct documents, has only recently been made clear through C. Schmidt's discovery of the Coptic fragments of the Acts as a whole. Similarly of the Acts of John various sections have been preserved in different forms, but with considerable lacunae in or between them, in one of which is no doubt to be placed the new fragment in the present volume (850), itself containing the beginning of a distinct section with a sub-title of its own. But since the composition of the Acts of Peter is referred by the principal critics to A.D. 160-170 (Zahn), 200-210 (C. Schmidt), 200-220 (Harnack), our fragment was written little, if at all, later than a century afterwards; and the apparent absence in so early a MS. of any section corresponding with C. Schmidt's fragment certainly provides an argument in favour of G. Ficker, who (Die Petrusakten, pp. 6-7, Neutest. Apokryphen, ed. E. Hennecke, pp. 383-4) is disposed to regard that fragment as either not belonging to the Acts of Peter as such, or as later than the Acts of the Codex Vercellensis, and thinks that these Acts were intended to follow immediately after the Acts of the Apostles. On the other hand the subscription in the Coptic MS. Πράξις Πέτρου certainly provides strong prima facie evidence that it belonged to the same work as the Codex Vercellensis, and, as C. Schmidt reminds us, in the stichometry of Nicephorus the Acts of Peter is credited with 2750 orlyou (i.e. it was about the same length as Leviticus or St. Luke's Gospel), a number which is too large to be accounted for by the Greek original of the Codex Vercellensis alone.

On the disputed questions of the date of the composition of the Acts of Peter and their supposed Gnostic or 'vulgärchristliche' origin (cf. Harnack, op. cit., ii. 2. pp. 170-2) the new fragment has no direct bearing, but its appearance is useful in tending to clear the ground by a dispersal of the suspicions of having been tampered with which have hitherto attached to the Codex Vercellensis and

the Greek  $\mu a \rho r \dot{\nu} \rho \iota o \nu$  (cf. Harnack's later view that the Acts of Peter are a compilation in Texte und Unters. Bd. xx. Heft 3, pp. 100 sqq., and C. Schmidt's criticism of this in his Petrusakten). For, putting aside the question whether C. Schmidt's Coptic fragment was an integral part of the Acts or not, there is now no longer any reason to doubt the substantial fidelity of the shorter Latin version, or to suppose that it and the  $\mu a \rho r \dot{\nu} \rho \iota o \nu$  represent, as far as they go, anything else than the Acts of Peter in their original form.

#### Verso.

#### PEC

δι εμου μη μελλησαντες
[ ]αυτου κατεχοντων ει α
[ ]ρα αληθως απεθανεν και ορωντων οτι αληθως νε
5 κρος εστιν συνεπαθουν τη γραιδι λεγοντες ει αρα βουλει μητερ και θαρρεις τω Πετρου θυ αραντες αυτον ημεις αποιησομεθα
10 εκει ϊνα αυτον εγειρας αποδω σοι τουτων δε ου τως λαλουντων ο πραιφε κτος ατενιζων τω Πετρω . . . . . ς ϊδου Πετρε >--

#### Recto.

#### ρξη

15 ο παις μου νεκρος κειται
ον και ο βασιλευς ηδεως
εχει και ουκ εφεισαμην
αυτου καιτοι γε ετερους
εχων μετ εμαυτου νεανισ
20 κους αλλα σε μαλλον και το
δια σου θν πειρασαι θελων
ει αρα αληθεις εστε τουτο
ηβουληθην αποθανειν και
ο Πετρος εφη ου πειραζεται
25 θς ουδε δοκιμαζεται Αγριπ
πα αλλα φιλουμενος και
παρακαλουμενος ακουει
των αξιων επει δε νυνι

"... (the youths having examined his nostrils to see) whether he was indeed really dead, and seeing that he was in truth a corpse, consoled the old woman saying, "If indeed you wish, mother, and trust in the God of Peter, we will lift him up and carry him thither, in order that Peter may raise him and restore him to you." While they were thus speaking, the praefect looking intently at Peter (said), "Behold, Peter, my servant lies dead, who was a favourite of the king himself, and I did not spare him although I have with me other youths; but because I desired to try you and the God whom you preach, whether ye are indeed true, I wished him to die." And Peter said, "God is not to be tried or proved, Agrippa, but when He is loved and entreated He hearkens to those who are worthy. But since now ..."

#### Codex Vercellensis (Lipsius, Acta Apost. Apocr., p. 73).

iuuenes autem qui uenerunt nares pueri considerarant si uere mortuus esset. uidentes autem quoniam mortuus est consolabantur matrem ipsius dicentes: Si uere credis in deo Petri tollentes eum perferimus ad Petrum ut eum suscitans restituat tibi. haec dicentibus iubenibus

praefectus autem in foro intuens Petrum dixit: Quid dicis, Petre? ecce puer mortuus iacet quem et imperator libenter habet et non illi peperci; utique habebam alios conplures iuuenes; sed confidens in te et in dominum tuum quem praedicas, si uere certi et ueri estis: ideo hunc uolui mori. Petrus autem dixit: Non temptatur deus neque ex(is)timatur, sed dilectissimus ex animo colendus exaudiet qui digni sunt. Sed quoniam nunc...

1-2. Line 1 is not only far removed from the equivalent of the Latin at this point (something like τῶν δὲ νεανίσκων προσελθόντων καὶ τὰς ρίνας would be expected), but is obviously quite inappropriate. δι εμου is unintelligible, while the case of μελλησαντες is in contradiction to κατεχουτών . . . ορωυτών in ll. 2-4, and though in itself the nominative would yield a better construction than the genitive, a parallel for this kind of genitive absolute is cited from another part of the Acts of Peter in introd. Nor can αυτου κατεχοντων in l. 2 be right, for a participle meaning 'examined' is necessary in view of the following clause et apa αληθως απεθανεν. By altering κατεχοντων to κατ(ε)ιδοντων l. 2 may be retained, but δι εμου μη μελλησαντες is almost hopeless to emend. μη μελλησαντων might be read and connected with qui uenerunt (cf. continuo surreverunt four lines previously, and, for μή instead of οὐ in this phrase, Acts of John, ed. Bonnet, p. 191. 23 μη μελλήσασα), but δι εμου would remain unaccounted for, and it would still be necessary to suppose the omission of και τας ρινας before αυτου. It seems more probable that δι εμου μη μελλησαντες has come in by mistake from some other passage. δι έμου presumably occurred where the Latin has faciens per me a few lines after the passage preserved in our fragment, and perhaps again two lines later where per meam uocem is found. μή μελλήσαντες, however, does not suggest itself as an equivalent for any Latin expression on p. 73 of Lipsius' edition, except continuo in l. 11 where δι' ἐμοῦ would be out of place.

2. [] autou: there is a hole which occupies the place where the first letter of this line and of l. 3 would have come, if these lines began evenly with ll. 1 and 4-14, and it is therefore possible that a letter is lost before autou and  $\rho a$  respectively. But this hypothesis is not satisfactory in l. 2, where autou is preferable to e.g. [ $\tau$ ]autou or [ $\sigma$ ]autou, and leads to much difficulty in l. 3; for though the  $\rho$  of  $\rho a$  is very faint the a is practically certain ( $\chi$  is the only alternative), and that  $a\rho a$  is the word meant is shown clearly by ll. 6 and 22. Hence if [a] $\rho a$  is read in l. 3, the a at the end of l. 2 becomes superfluous. We prefer to suppose that the hole was there when the leaf was written upon, and that the scribe therefore began ll. 2-3 further to the right than l. 1. a $\rho a$  a $\lambda \eta \theta a$  $\delta s$  is rendered by only one word in the

Latin, uere; cf. l. 22 where in rendering ἄρα ἀληθεῖs the Latin is redundant.

6-7. For τη γραιδι the Latin has matrem ipsius, omitting to translate βουλει μητερ και.

8.  $\overline{\theta v}$  is a mistake for  $\overline{\theta \omega}$ .

9. αποιησομεθα: 1. ἀποισόμεθα.

10. exes: ad Petrum Lat., which is clearer.

12. πραιφέκτος: for this form cf. ch. 12 of the μαρτύριον (p. 100. 16, ed. Lipsius) τῷ πραιφέκτος 'Αγρίππα. The Latin has hace dicentibus inhenibus praefectus autem in foro, putting autem too late. The addition of in foro, however, makes the passage clearer, since the preceding lines refer to what took place at the house of the old woman.

13. arevicor: cf. drevisas in chs. 55 and 56 of the Marlyrium Petri et Pauli (ed. Lipsius, pp. 164. 21, 166. 6), which is supposed to be based on the older Acts of Peter (cf.

Harnack, Chron. d. altchr. Lit., ii. 2, p. 177).

14. The Latin has dixit: Quid dicis, Petre? ecce puer mortuus, &c., and we should expect at the beginning of this line  $\epsilon \phi \eta$ .  $\tau i \phi j is$ ;, for which there is not room. The doubtful s might be  $\epsilon$ , i. e. the termination of  $\epsilon i \pi \epsilon$ , which is, however, insufficient by itself. The leaf is torn at this point, and the ink very much obliterated, so that decipherment is impossible.

15. μου is omitted in the Latin.

- 16. βασιλευς = imperator, as frequently in the Martyrium Petri et Pauli.
- 18. καιτοι γε ετερους: the point of this is that the boy chosen to die was the favourite servant, and that Agrippa might have chosen one of his other attendants.
  - 19. In place of per epautou the Latin has conplures.
- 20-1. τον δια σου  $\theta(\epsilon o)^{\nu} = dominum tuum quem praedicas$ . The addition of a participle such as κηρυττόμενον would be an improvement, but is not necessary. πειρασαι θελων is mistianslated by the Latin confidens in, which does not suit the following clause si uere certi, &c.
- 22. ει αρα αληθεις: the Latin is redundant, si uere certi et ueri. In ll. 2-3 on the other hand ἄρα ἀληθῶς is rendered by one word uere.
  - 25. Αγριππα is omitted in the Latin.
- 26-7. Φιλουμενος και παρακαλουμενος: this is clearer than the Latin dilectissimus ex animo colendus.

#### 850. Acts of John.

12.1 × 10.7 cm. Fourth century. Plate I (recto).

The upper portion (apparently) of a leaf from a codex of the Acts of John, containing a mutilated account of two incidents, neither of which occurs in the extant portions of that work. The handwriting is a good-sized, irregular and rather inelegant uncial of the fourth century. Stops (middle and low points) are freely employed, as well as occasional breathings. The ordinary theological contractions of  $\theta \epsilon \delta s$ , ' $1 \eta \sigma o \theta s$ , and  $\kappa \psi \rho i \sigma s$  occur. The recto has in one or two lines at the top of the page the sub-title of the section of the Acts. This sub-title is unfortunately incomplete, and no light is thrown upon it by the actual contents of the fragment; but the mention of Andronicus supplies a point of contact with the extant portions of the Acts of John, in which that individual is mentioned several times as a στρατηγός of Ephesus who, at first a sceptic, afterwards became one of the apostle's chief disciples in that city. The following incident is of a type familiar in apocryphal Acts. The apostle goes to visit the brethren apparently at a village near Ephesus, and on the way has to cross a bridge, where his passage is barred by a demon in the form of a soldier, who threatens violence. The military aspect assumed by the demon recalls a similar story in the Martyrium Matthaei, which is not impossibly here copying the Acts of John; cf. l. 26, note. Rebuked by St. John, the demon vanishes, and on reaching his destination the apostle exhorts the brethren to worship and joins with them in prayer (ll. 22-36). The verso (ll. 1-19) is concerned with a quite different episode which is much more obscure. The scene is a church (cf. l. 16), and apparently a person called Zeuxis (l. 13) had just tried to hang himself but had been miraculously saved by St. John (ll. 5-6), who in ll. 4-13 offers up a thanksgiving of a character for which there are numerous parallels in the extant Acts of John. Afterwards

some question seems to arise concerning the partaking of the Eucharist (ll. 13-5), and the proconsul (sc. of Ephesus) intervenes, perhaps bringing a letter from the Emperor (ll. 15-8), but the circumstances are obscure. Whether the page on the recto precedes that on the verso or vice versa there is no external evidence to show; but since the description of the incident on the verso implies a considerable amount of space devoted to the earlier part of the Zeuxis story, we prefer to suppose that the verso precedes the recto, for the missing lower half of the recto does not seem to allow sufficient room for the beginning of the Zeuxis story, which is obviously quite unconnected with the incident concerning the demon in the form of a soldier. The verso therefore presumably belongs to the conclusion of one section of the Acts of John, and the recto to the beginning of the next. The tendency of the various apocryphal Acts to split up into independent parts has already been noted (cf. p. 9) in regard to the Acts of Peter, and in the Acts of John is especially marked; the fullest edition (Bonnet, Acta Apost. Apocr., i. pp. 151-216) is made up of five separate sections derived from different MSS., and not only separated from each other by gaps of uncertain length, but also exhibiting in some places evidence of internal omissions. There is no difficulty in finding a place for the new fragment. The references to Andronicus and the proconsul clearly indicate Ephesus as the background. Andronicus is mentioned, obviously for the first time, in c. 31 of the extant Acts, where he appears as an unbeliever, but in c. 37 he has already become a disciple, and the account of his conversion probably occurred in one or more lost chapters which originally intervened between cc. 31 and 37, although these both belong to the continuous section of the Acts (cc. 18-86) found in the Codex Patmensis. Andronicus also occurs in the following section found only in the Codex Vindobonensis (cc. 87-105), so that our fragment must be inserted at some point later than c. 31 and before c. 106, where begins the account of the μετάστασις with which the work concluded. Two periods of residence at Ephesus are ascribed to the apostle in these chapters, the first covering cc. 31-55, at which point St. John leaves for Smyrna and there is a gap in which several chapters are lost. His return to Ephesus is narrated in c. 62, and throughout the rest of the Acts Ephesus remains the scene. Excluding therefore cc. 55-62 with those lost between cc. 55 and 58, all of which dealt with events away from Ephesus, the most suitable points for the insertion of our fragment are (1) c. 37 before the sentence beginning οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Mιλήτου, where there is a change of subject, and a lacuna is in any case probable owing to the inconsistency of c. 37 with c. 31 concerning Andronicus; (2) the gap between cc. 86 and 87; (3) the gap between cc. 105 and 106. But though in these three places the lacunae are evident, there are other points between

cc. 31-55 and 62-86 (cc. 87-105 form one long speech) where the existence of lacunae is possible, so that there is much freedom of choice. If the title in ll. 20 and 21 refers, as is possible, to the separation of Andronicus from his wife Drusiane, alluded to in c. 63 (ἐκ πολλοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς κεχωρισμέτης αὐτῆς διὰ θεοσέβειαν), our fragment must have preceded that chapter, and the general resemblance between the situation in ll. 22 sqq. and that in c. 48 (especially in the version found in the Codex Parisiacus; cf. ll. 22-3, note) also suggests that our fragment belongs to the earlier rather than to the later portions of the Acts of John.

The composition of the original Acts of John is assigned by all critics to the second century, but how far back in that century the work is to be placed depends largely upon the disputed question whether it was used by Clement of Alexandria, as has been supposed by Zahn and others, but not by Harnack (Chron. d. altchr. Lit., ii. 1, p. 542, ii. 2, p. 174). As is usual with apocryphal Acts preserved in comparatively late MSS., there is some uncertainty as to the extent to which the existing portions accurately represent the original or have been subjected to editing. So far as it goes, our fragment, which on account of its antiquity no doubt belongs to the original Acts of John, agrees closely both in its general form and contents with the previously extant portions, and therefore tends to support the view that these have not undergone any serious amount of revision; cf. the similar conclusion to which we attained in connexion with the Acts of Peter (pp. 9-10). The use of the first person plural in reference to Leucius, the supposed narrator of the Acts of John, which often occurs in the narrative portions of the Acts dealing with Ephesus, is not found in Il. 22 sqq. where it might perhaps be expected; but no importance is to be attached to this circumstance, for e. g. in the story in cc. 48 sqq. the use of the first person is equally absent. Formerly the Acts of John were treated as pronouncedly Gnostic, but this inference has recently been disputed by C. Schmidt, who is followed by Harnack (op. cit., ii. 2, p. 173) in regarding them as 'vulgärchristlich, aber von ausserordentlich starker modalistischer und doketischer Färbung'. It is unfortunate that the passage in our fragment which would be most likely to show its author's theological point of view, the prayer in ll. 5-13, is far from complete. While most of the phrases are, so far as can be judged, of a conventional character, the expression  $\delta \tau \hat{a} [\mu] \eta \delta \epsilon \nu \hat{l} \gamma \nu \omega \rho \hat{l} \mu a \dots ] \gamma \nu \omega \rho \hat{l} \zeta \omega \nu$  in II. 7-8 has a somewhat Gnostic ring.

The beginnings and ends of lines are lost on both pages of the fragment, but it is clear from the fairly certain restorations of the lacunae between 11. 22-3, 26-7, 29-30, and 31-2 that the lines on the recto contained about 41 letters, and 1. 27 which projects proves that at least 5 letters are lost at the beginnings

of the other lines on the recto. We have calculated the size of the lacunae on the hypothesis that one letter is lost before  $\sigma\mu\nu\nu$  in l. 27 and 4 letters at the end of l. 31. The arrangement of the division of lines on the verso is more problematical; we suppose the lines to be of the same length as those on the recto and have taken the restorations in ll. 12 and 13 as the basis for calculating the size of the lacunae elsewhere; cf. note on l. 9.

Verso.

# ... ... ... ν] περ αυτου π[... ... .... . . . . . . . . . . . ] στεναγμους και τ[. . . . . . . . . ... δε $\mathbf{I}$ ωαννης $\mathbf{\mu}$ [...... $\ldots$ Zευξ]ιδι αναστας αρας πο . [.......... 5 . . . . .]ο . [.]πτ . [. .]ς. δ αναγκασας με μετα . [. . . . . . . . . .] $\epsilon \nu \nu o o u \nu [\tau \alpha] \beta [\rho] o \chi i \sigma \alpha \iota \cdot \epsilon \alpha u \tau o \nu \cdot o \tau \alpha \alpha \pi \epsilon \gamma \nu \omega [\sigma \mu \epsilon \nu \alpha]$ $[\mu]$ επιστρ[εφ]ων εις σε. δ τα $[\mu]$ ηδενι γνωρ[ιμα . . . . .... ]νος γνωριζων· $\delta$ κλαιων τους τεθλιμ[μενους $\dots$ ]ω· ο τους νενεκρωμενους ανιστων $\mu$ ...[.]ου.[... 10 . . . . ] . ανις των αδυνατων $\overline{I\eta v}$ ο παρακλητος [των . . . . .. . . . ] των αινουμέν σε και προσκυνουμέν κα[ι ευχαρι στου]μεν επι παση σ[ο]υ δωρεα. και τη νυν οικονο[μια σου και] διακον[ι]α. και μονώ τω Ζευξιδι της ευχαρ[ιστιας ...] $\epsilon \pi \epsilon [\delta \omega \kappa] \epsilon [\nu] \delta \epsilon \tau o \epsilon \beta [o \nu] \lambda o \mu \epsilon \nu o \epsilon \epsilon \lambda \alpha \beta \epsilon \epsilon \nu \cdot . [.....]$ 15 . . .]ενισαντε[ς ο]υκ' ετολμησαν. ο δε ανθϋπατο[ς . . . . . $\dots$ ]ωνα κ[α]τα το μεσον της εκκλη[σι]ας τω [Iωαννη $\dots$ ων $\lambda$ [εγε] ι δουλε του ακατωνομαστου $\delta$ [..... $\ldots$ . ] . . [. . . .] επιστολας εκομισεν παρα Καισ[αρος . . . ] . και συν[..... Recto. 20 . . . . . απα]λλαγη: . . . . . [ ..... Α]νδρονικος και η γ[υνη? ],,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,, ημερων δ]ε ολιγων διελθουσων ε[ξελθων ο Ιωαν

νης αμ]α πλειοσιν αδελφοις προς [.....εβουλε το περ]αινειν γεφυραν ΰφ ην π[ο]ταμος ερρεεν [.... 25 και πο]ρευομενου [τ]ου Ιωαννου προς τ[ου]ς αδελφ[ους ....]ρ τις [π]ροσεισιν αυτω σχηματι στρατιωτ[ου ημφι ε]σμενος. και εις οψ[ι]ν αυτου στας εφη. Ιωαννη ει σ[.... εις] χειρα[ς] ελευσι ταχιστα· και ὁ Ιωαννης οι[.... εφη σ]βεσι σου ο  $\overline{\kappa}$ ς την απειλην [κα]ι την οργην κ[αι την 30 πλημμ]ελιάν και ϊδου εκεινος αφανης εγενετο α[πελ θοντο]ς ουν του Ι[ω]αννου πρ[ο]ς ούς απηε[ι] και ευρο[ντος αυτου]ς συνηθροισμενούς ειπεν· α[ναστα]ντες α[δελ φοι μου] κλεινωμεν γονατα προς τον  $\overline{\kappa}$  [κ]αι του μεγ[αλου εχ θρου α]ορατόν ενεργημα καταργησαν[τα ...]τησα[.... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ]των  $\overline{\theta}$ ς εφ[

'John... (spake) to Zeuxis, "Rise up and lift...; thou who didst compel me to turn from his purpose one who was intending to hang himself, who turnest the hearts that are in despair to thyself, who makest known the things that are known to none..., who weepest for the afflicted..., who raisest the dead... of the weak, O Jesus, the comforter of the... We praise thee and worship thee and give thanks to thee for all thy bounty and the present dispensation and service." And he (gave) the eucharist to Zeuxis alone, (and then) offered it to those who wished to receive it, but... did not dare to do so. The proconsul... (coming) into the middle of the church saith to John: "O servant of the unnameable one,... brought letters from Caesar..."

'The separation (?); Andronicus and his wife.

'After a few days had passed, John went forth with several brethren to . . ., and wished to cross a bridge under which a . . . river was flowing. And as John was on his way to the brethren, a certain . . ., clothed in the fashion of a soldier, approached him, and standing before his face said, "John, if thou (advancest) thou shalt straightway engage me in combat." And John . . . said, "The Lord shall quench thy threat and thy wrath and thy offence," and behold the other vanished. John then having come to those whom he was visiting and found them gathered together, spake, "Let us rise up, my brethren, and bow our knees before the Lord who has made of none effect the unseen activity of even the great (enemy?)" . . . he bowed his knees with them . . . '

4. Probably ειπε is to be supplied before Zevε]ιδι (for whom cf. l. 13) and armoras, apas ... is the beginning of the speech, although there is no stop after Zevε]ιδι; cf. however l. 30, note.

5. After [..]s is a low stop, as after σε in l. 7 and ημφιε]σμενος in l. 27. If με before μετα. [ is not due to dittography, we may restore μετατ[ρέπειν (οτ μετασ[τρέφειν) Ζευξιδα] εννοουν[τα]. The letter after μετα is quite uncertain. For similar invocations in the Acts of John see pp. 187-93 of Bonnet's edition.

- 6. o both before  $\tau a$  here and before  $\tau ovs$  in 1. 9 probably had a breathing which is lost in a lacuna.
- 7. The line may be completed  $\gamma \nu \omega_{\ell} [\iota \mu a \ \delta \iota a \ \text{if }] \nu \sigma s \ \text{in } 1.8 \ \text{is a genitive}; \ \iota \ \text{or} \ \mu \ \text{could}$  be read there in place of the doubtful  $\nu$ .
- 9. The supposed ω at the beginning of the line is extremely doubtful, and it would be possible to read e.g. s. In that case, if the lines on the verso were 3 or 4 letters shorter than those on the recto (cf. introd. p. 15), we might read τεθλιμ[με|νον]s here, with δο|ξαζο]μεν in place of ευχαρι|στον]μεν in ll. 11-2, omitting both σον in l. 12 and the supposed lacuna between απεγνω[σμενα and επιστρ[εφ]ων in ll. 6-7. The reduction of the corresponding lacunae elsewhere by 3 or 4 letters would, however, present some difficulty in ll. 13-4, where a verb is necessary; and we prefer to adhere to the length of lines indicated by the recto.

rai is possible after anotwo in place of  $\mu$  ..., but less suitable.

- 10. ανιστων is not satisfactory since the word occurred in the previous line.  $I\eta(\sigma \sigma)\nu$  is no doubt vocative.
- 11-3. Cf. e.g. Acts of John (AJ), p. 189. 23-4, and 193. 2 sqq., and for οἰκονομία p. 188. 2.
- 14. εκοινωνησε, which would be expected (cf. AJ, p. 193. 14, &c.), is too long for the lacuna after ευχαριστιας. ε[δωκε] might be read; but then if επε[δωκ]ε[ν] in the next line is right (cf. AJ, p. 208. 11) these two sentences do not connect well together.

The supposed stop after  $\lambda \alpha \beta \epsilon \omega$  may be the beginning of a letter, e.g.  $\tau$ . The letter at the end of the line is represented by the lower half of a vertical stroke;  $[a]_{\epsilon}$  [ $\delta \epsilon$  is possible.

- 15. Perhaps ar evwarres. The supposed apostrophe after our is very doubtful. For the drθύπατος of Ephesus cf. AJ, p. 167. 28 and 851. 2, note.
- 16.  $]\omega\nu$  suggests a participle like  $\epsilon\lambda\theta]\omega\nu$ , but the following letters constitute a difficulty, the arrangement of the fibres, which are twisted, being not quite certain. Of the supposed  $\kappa$  the merest vestige remains, but  $\delta\epsilon$  [ $\kappa\alpha$ ] $r\alpha$  is unsuitable.
- 17. Jow may be read in place of  $]\omega\nu$ . At the end of the line the supposed rough breathing is more to the left than usual, but it is not satisfactory to regard it as part of a mark of abbreviation, i. e.  $\overline{\theta[\nu]}$ . disaronóµaoros does not occur elsewhere in the apocryphal Acts.
- 20–1. Prof. C. Schmidt well compares the similar sub-titles in the Coptic Acta Pauli.  $\frac{\partial \lambda \Delta \gamma \gamma}{\partial \gamma} = \frac{1}{2}$  posting-stage, which is unsuitable here, occurs in AJ, p. 154. 7. Of the compounds  $\frac{\partial \lambda}{\partial \gamma}$  seems most likely, and if the words in l. 22 had been in the genitive it would be easy to connect this heading with the allusion to the separation of Andronicus and his wife Drusiane in AJ, p. 181. 25. The presence of the nominative there renders this explanation more difficult, unless indeed we restore  $\frac{\partial \lambda}{\partial \gamma} = \frac{\partial \lambda}{\partial \gamma} = \frac{\partial \lambda}{\partial \gamma}$ . The double dots after  $\frac{\partial \lambda}{\partial \gamma} = \frac{\partial \lambda$
- 22-3. Cf. Af p. 175. 24-5 (Codex Parisiacus) μετὰ οὖν ἡμέρας τινὰς κατὰ θείαν ἀποκάλυψιν ἐξῆλθεν ὁ Ἰωάννης ἔν τινι κώμη εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν τῶν ἀδελφῶν. προς [επισκεψιν (with a shorter verb than εβουλετο) is possible in l. 23, but a place-name or equivalent expression is more likely. The parallel passage in the Codex Patmensis is τῆ δὲ ἐξῆς ἡμέρα ὅναρ θεασάμενος ὁ Ἰωάννης μίλια τρία ἔξω πυλῶν περιπατῆσαι οὐκ ἡμέλησεν ἀλλ' ὅμθρου ἀναστὰς ἄμα τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἐπὶ τὴν ὑδὸν ἐβάδιζε.

24. The lacuna at the end may be filled either by a short epithet of  $\pi[o]$  rapos, e. g.  $\mu$ eyas or βαθυς, or else by reading και with a compound of πο ρενομενου. The doubtful » of ερρεεν

might be  $\mu$ 

- 26. Cf. Martyrium Matthaei (Bonnet, Acta Apost. Apocr., ii. 1, p. 232. 15-6) δ δὶ δαίμων δ ἐν τῷ στρατιωτικῷ σχήματι ὀφθεὶς πρότερον τῷ βασιλεῖ πάλιν μετασχηματισθεὶς ἐν σχήματι στρατιώτου κοτη κ.τ.λ. Since the Martyrium Matthaei was composed much later than the Acts of John, the coincidence may be due to imitation by the author of the former work. δαίμων would be expected at the beginning of this line, for it is clearly an evil spirit who appears; but the traces of the last letter are inconsistent with ν and suggest ρ, though δαμμω(ν) might be read.
- 28.  $o\rho/\gamma i\sigma\theta is$  might be read at the end of the line. The supposed o might be  $\sigma$  but not  $\epsilon$ , so that  $\epsilon \iota [\pi \epsilon \nu]$  is inadmissible.

30. There is no stop or blank space after eyevero, and a possibly represents a vrw, with

aποβαντο]s for the next word. Cf. note on l. 4.

33-4. The second letter of  $\kappa(\nu\rho\iota\sigma)\nu$  is rather more like  $\nu$ , but the accusative seems to be required by the sense.  $\nu$  or  $\pi$  can be read after  $\mu\epsilon$  in place of  $\gamma$ . The word no doubt refers to the powers of evil; with ενεργημα in l. 34 cf. AJ, p. 187. 24 ενέργειαν κακωτικήν, 200. 14 δαίμονες, ενέργειαι, ἀπειλαί. For καταργησαν[τα cf. AJ, p. 192. 24 καταργήθητι, and Acta Philippi, ed. Bonnet, 40. 7 καταργηθήσεται πάσα ή τοῦ έχθροῦ δύναμις. The doubtful τ before ησα can be γ, and διη]γησα[μενος is possible. The word is probably a participle in any case. 35. ἀδελ]φοίς cannot be read, and the τ is nearly certain. With regard to αυ[τοις, the

repetition of this word is not very satisfactory, but αδ ελφοιε is inadmissible there also. The

next word may be  $\epsilon \iota \pi \epsilon \nu$  [ $\delta \epsilon$ , but  $\tau$  can be read for  $\pi$ .

## 851. APOCRYPHAL ACTS.

5.3 × 18 cm.

Fifth or sixth century.

The following small fragment of a papyrus codex, which clearly contained the Acts of some apostle or saint, we have not succeeded in identifying with any of the Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha edited by Lipsius and Bonnet. It consists of the lower portion of a leaf, written with brown ink in a large round calligraphic uncial hand which is certainly not later than the sixth century and may belong to the fifth.  $\theta$ εόs is contracted as usual, but not  $\delta \nu \theta \rho \omega \pi \sigma s$ , nor perhaps κύρισς. The recto begins just after the commencement of a new chapter which is indicated by a paragraphus and by a vertical wavy line in the margin, apparently the bottom of a flourish. If our restoration ηγεμων in l. 1 (cf. l. 5) is correct, a praefect is apparently giving orders for some one to be exposed to wild beasts. The verso contains part of a protest made to the praefect, defending some one (no doubt the apostle concerned in these Acts) from the charge of being a magician. Whether the recto or the verso comes first is quite uncertain. Some points of connexion with the Acts of Paul and Thecla, in which a similar scene occurs, suggest that the fragment may belong either to a different version of those Acts or to one of the lost sections of the Acts of Paul (cf. p. 9), but it does not correspond to any of the new Coptic fragments of that work.

Recto.

Verso.

ειπεν ως βουλη π[οι]ει ο [δε ηγε μων ειπεν προς τους αρχικυ νηγους αγετε μοι ωδε ζωνθαν [.......].[....]....ορ[... 5 [κυ]ριε [ηγ]εμων ουτος ὁ αν θρωπος ουκ εστιν μαγος αλλα ταχα ο θς αυτου μεγας εστιν

"... said "Do as you wish". The praefect said to the chief huntsmen, "Bring to me here . . .

"O lord praesect, this man is not a magician, but perhaps his god is great . . ."

2. αρχικυνηγους: this word does not seem to occur in Lipsius and Bonnet's Acta Apost. Apocr., but cf. Acts of Paul and Thecla, ed. Lipsius, p. 257. 4 αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐδίδου τὰ κυνήγια. ήγεμών (cf. l. 5) is also the word used in those Acts for the Roman governor, while πραίφεκτος is used in the Acts of Peter and ἀνθύπατος in the Acts of John.

3. The letter after  $\zeta \omega$ , if not  $\nu$ , must be  $\mu$  or possibly  $\pi$ , and the next letter seems to be a round one, but much narrower than the scribe's  $\theta$  or  $\sigma$  elsewhere. Possibly he began to write  $\zeta \omega \tau \sigma$  and corrected it to  $\zeta \omega \sigma \sigma \nu$ , but though the supposed  $\nu$  may have been crossed through the next letter is not like  $\sigma$  or  $\tau$  corrected into  $\sigma$ . Or perhaps a proper name is intended.  $\zeta \omega \gamma \rho \iota \sigma \nu$  cannot be read.

5-6. Cf. Acts of Paul and Thecla, p. 249. I-2 ὁ δὲ ὅχλος προσαχθέντος πάλω τοῦ Παύλου περισσοτέρως ἐβόα, μάγος ἐστίν, αἷρε αὐτόν.

## II. NEW CLASSICAL TEXTS.

852. EURIPIDES, Hypsipyle.

Height 37·1 cm. Late second or early third century.

Plates II and III (Fr. 1. ii-iii,
Fr. 60. i-ii).

The following fragments, which constitute the most important addition to the remains of Greek tragedy hitherto made by Egyptian papyri, belong, like 841-4 in our previous volume and 858 in this, to the first large group of literary texts found in 1906. The style and contents of 852 were sufficiently definite to enable us at the time of the first announcement of the discovery to identify the play as the *Hypsipyle* of Euripides, and this identification has subsequently been confirmed by the recognition of at least two coincidences with citations from that drama by ancient authorities.

In common with the other manuscripts from this find, the papyrus was recovered in an extremely mutilated condition. The most considerable piece was the central portion of Fr. I containing parts of two consecutive columns; but the majority of the fragments, originally numbering over 200, were comparatively small in size. On the whole they have hardly fitted together so well as might have been expected. Particularly difficult to deal with in this respect are the pieces numbered 6-17 and 20-56, which formed a small group found subsequently at some little distance from the rest, and distinguished by being of a darker colour and badly worm-eaten. Another characteristic shared by 852 with 841-2 and 853 is that the literary text is on the verso of a non-literary document,-in this instance a money account, of which a description is given under 985. Though of course very useful for purposes of confirmation, this document on the recto, which follows no regular formula, is in too large a hand to be of much assistance towards the combination of small fragments; moreover the recto of a number of the fragments is uninscribed. The account is of a decidedly early date, and may be safely placed within the first century; but it was apparently not till a good many years later that the verso came to be used for this copy of the Hypsipyle, which we should judge to be little anterior to A.D. 200. It is written in a sloping uncial hand similar in kind to that of 842 (the new historian), and no doubt of about the same period.  $\xi$  is always of the cursive shape, with a tail, and other cursive forms occasionally make their appearance, particularly at the ends of lines, e. g. vs of οικουs in Fr. 58. 8, μεν of λεξομεν in Fr. 60. 59. The size of the letters and the spacing show considerable variations in different parts of the MS.; there is a marked contrast for instance in this respect between Fr. 1. ii and Fr. 60. ii (cf. Plates II and III). Hence inequalities occur in the number of lines contained in the columns, which are remarkably tall: there was a difference of seven lines between Cols. i and ii of Fr. 60, numbering 62 and 55 lines respectively; Col. ii of Fr. 64 has only 54 lines, while the first seven columns of the play averaged about 60 lines, as is shown by the occurrence in the seventh column of the figure 400, the verse opposite to which this numeral is placed being succeeded by at least 15 lines before the column ended. This marginal numeration of verses by hundreds is not infrequent in papyri; cf. e. g. 841 (Pindar's Paeans), and note on Fr. 25. There are frequent variations of the point in the column at which the lines were commenced, the object usually being to mark the distinction between iambics and lyrics or strophic divisions within the latter. Accents, breathings, and marks of elision and quantity are fairly frequent throughout, but lectional signs, as might be expected, are rather commoner in the lyrical parts than elsewhere. The system of accentuation is similar in character to that of 223, 841 and other

papyri of this period; it should be noted that for convenience of printing we place the circumflex on the second vowel of a diphthong, though in the original it usually covers the two letters. A line curving upwards is occasionally placed below compound words, as in 841 and the Bacchylides papyrus. Punctuation, which is rare, is commonly effected by a high stop, usually placed well above the line; a low stop occurs in Fr. 68. 7. To what extent these various signs are due to the original scribe is uncertain; but he evidently wrote some of them and the majority may well come from his pen. The same writer was also doubtless responsible for the names of the dramatis personae which occasionally appear in the margin (cf. 211, 855, &c.), for the stichometrical figures already mentioned, and for the paragraphi, which are employed both to denote changes of speaker and to mark strophic divisions. But it is equally clear that a number of the frequent alterations and additions made in the text are due to another hand, which we have as usual attempted to distinguish by the use of a thicker type; it is however often very difficult to feel confidence in assigning the authorship of minor corrections, and doubtful cases have as a rule been credited to the original writer. Occasionally a variant or an explanatory note is inserted in the margin. But in spite of the numerous modifications the text is left in a by no means satisfactory condition, and in several passages emendation is necessary. The fault no doubt sometimes lay with the archetype, but it is impossible to acquit our copyist of much carelessness. His orthography is very fair: et and t are unusually correctly written, but iota adscript is frequently omitted, and some mistakes of accentuation occur. With regard to the use of the Doric a in the lyrical parts there is little consistency, and here we as a rule follow the spelling of the papyrus.

The fragments are scattered widely over the play, and though much of the plot is now clear, some essential points unfortunately remain in doubt. Hypsipyle's story is told by several ancient authorities, but none of the versions is found to agree very closely with the treatment of Euripides. Hypsipyle, daughter of Thoas, the son of Dionysus and king of Lemnos, in a massacre of the men of the island by the women concealed and saved her father, whom she succeeded in the government of Lemnos. The deception was eventually discovered, and Hypsipyle, who had meanwhile become the mother of two sons by Jason on his way to Colchis in quest of the golden fleece, was sold as a slave to Lycurgus, king of Nemea, and put in charge of his infant son. It was with her subsequent adventures at Nemea that the plot of Euripides' drama was concerned. The following is the account of the scholiast to Clement of Alexandria, p. 105 sqq.:—ὅτε οἱ ἐπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβας σὺν ᾿Αδράστφ καὶ Πολυνείκει ἐστρατεύοντο, παρέβαλον εἰς τὴν Νεμέαν τόπος δὲ οὖτος τοῦ ը ᾿Αργους. ζητοῦντες δὲ ὑδρεύσασθαι συνέ-

τυχου Ύψιπύλη τῆ Θόαυτος θυγατρί τρεφούση παιδίου 'Οφέλτην καλούμενου Εὐφήγου (1. Εὐφήτου?) καὶ Εὐρυδίκης. ή δὲ ἀποθεμένη τὸ παιδίον ἀπῆλθεν αὐτοῖς ὑδρεύσασθαι βουλομένη. δράκων δε εν τοσούτω περιπεσών τῷ παιδίω ἀνείλεν αὐτό. ἡ δε ἐπανελθοῦσα ἐθρήνει, 'Αμφιάραος δὲ ὁ μάντις εἶς ὢν τῶν ἐπτὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβάντος τοῖς "Ελλησι θάνατον προεμαντεύσατο καὶ τὸν παίδα ᾿Αρχέμορον ἐκάλεσεν. ᾿Αδραστος δὲ παραμυθούμενος τὴν Ύψιπύλην ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὸν Νεμεακὸν ἀγῶνα συνεστήσατο. If Λυκούργου be substituted for Εὐφήγου and in the last sentence 'Αμφιάραος for "Αδραστος and Εὐρυδίκην for Ύψιπύλην, the outline so far as it goes will be accurate, but it omits entirely the two sons of Hypsipyle who, as we now know, played a part in the plot of Apollodorus iii. 6. 4 is slightly less detailed: he adds however that the serpent was slain and gives Lycurgus as the name of the king of Nemea. Four separate accounts are prefixed to the scholia on Pindar's Nemea. The first of these brings in Hypsipyle's sons, though with marked divergences from Euripides: εν εκείνφ δε τῷ καιρῷ κατὰ ζήτησιν οι παίδες Θόας καὶ Εὔνεως παρέβαλον έν Νεμέα. Εὐρυδίκης δὲ τῆς Λυκούργου γυναικὸς βουλομένης διὰ τὸν Ὀφέλτου θάνατον ἀνελεῖν τὴν 'Υψιπύλην διὰ τοῦτό τε ἔν τινι τόπφ λαθραίφ κατακλεισάσης, 'Αμφιάραος μαντευσάμενος δείκνυσι τοις παισί την Ύψιπύλην. ή δε τουτο εὐτυχήσασα παρεκάλει τοὺς ἥρωας τοῖς παισὶν (συν)αγωνίσασθαι. There was evidently no question of the concealment of Hypsipyle by the queen in Euripides' play, nor any intercourse between the former and the seven chieftains after her recognition by her sons. The brief account of Hyginus c. 74 is very similar to those of Apollodorus and the scholiast on Clement. In only one extant work is the story of Hypsipyle at Nemea treated at length, namely the Thebais of Statius, which might have been expected to reflect the version of Euripides and was largely drawn upon by Hartung in connexion with the Hypsipyle in his Euripides Restitutus, ii. pp. 430 sqq. Statius, however, whom as Hartung thought esse Euripide usum auctore manifestum est, turns out to have been by no means a safe guide. Apart from minor variations in detail, which need not be emphasized here, there are fundamental discrepancies in structure. After the death of the child (*Theb.* v. 505 sqq.) Statius represents the Argive army as proceeding with Hypsipyle to the palace, of Lycurgus. The procession is met by the king, who proposes to take vengeance for Hypsipyle's negligence, but is restrained by the chieftains. In the confusion which results the sons of Hypsipyle, who had been hospitably received at the palace, go to the assistance of Lycurgus and are so led to discover their mother's identity. Then follows the institution of the Nemean games at the instigation of Amphiaraus. As will be seen, it was certainly not from Euripides that Statius derived the ground-plan of this part of his poem. In the fragments of the tragedy Lycurgus is conspicuous by his absence, his place being taken by the queen Eurydice who in Statius is a minor figure, while the only representative of

the Argive army is Amphiaraus accompanied by a few attendants, and his appeal on Hypsipyle's behalf is exclusively to right, not might (Fr. 60. 40).

Let us now turn to the actual remains of the play. First in order stand the three verses quoted in Aristoph. Frogs 1211-3 from the prologue (Nauck Fr. 752) Διόνυσος, δε θύρσοισι . . . πηδά κ.τ.λ. Welcker, Griech. Trag. ii. pp. 557-8, and Hartung, Eurip. Rest. ii. p. 431, are very positive that the prologue was spoken by Dionysus and have therefore to suppose that the lines cited by Aristophanes were preceded by one or two other verses. This however is on the one handinconsistent with the use of the third person  $\pi\eta\delta\hat{a}$ , and on the other with the express testimony of the scholiast, which there is no reason to doubt, that the passage was Ψιπύλης ή ἀρχή. The opening is strictly parallel to others in the prologues of Euripides, e.g. those of the Ion or the Iphig. in Tauris, where the speaker begins by giving his or her genealogy. In the present case accordingly the speaker was tracing descent from Dionysus, and the only persons who can here come in question are Hypsipyle herself or one of her two sons Euneos and Thoas, In the first column of Fr. 1 of the papyrus, which, as the stichometry indicates, was the third column of the play, the sons in the guise of travellers seeking hospitality for the night appear in colloquy with a woman, whose congratulations to the mother of the strangers would almost suffice to identify her as Hypsipyle herself; hence the initial  $\hat{p}\hat{\eta}\sigma\iota s$  would be quite appropriate in the mouth of any one of the three persons who are available. If the speaker of it is, as we suppose, Hypsipyle, the arrangement is similar to that of the Iphigenia in Tauris. Hypsipyle recounts her history and circumstances, and then enters the palace, perhaps for the purpose of fetching the child Archemorus; Euneos and Thoas arrive, and after some conversation, in which their identity and mission (they were looking for their lost mother: causa viae genetrix as Statius, Theb. v. 715, says; cf. Schol. Nem. quoted on p. 22) are explained, knock at the door of the palace; Hypsipyle opens it and the dialogue of Fr. 1. Col. i follows. If on the other hand Euneos or Thoas made the opening speech, Hypsipyle would not have appeared until the travellers proceeded to knock at the door. This view is simpler, but possibly too simple; it hardly accounts so well for the 120 lines of the first two columns, apart from the consideration that the heroine of the piece is perhaps more suitable as the προλογίζουσα.

The papyrus breaks off in the middle of the conversation of Hypsipyle with the strangers, who presumably gained admittance, in spite of the absence of the king Lycurgus (Fr. 1. i. 11); in these two details Statius is in agreement with Euripides (cf. Theb. v. 640, 715). Hypsipyle then sings a monody to her nursling, of which the conclusion is preserved in the first 14 lines of Fr. 1. ii. This is the song, as the reference in 1. 8 to  $\kappa\rho\delta\tau\alpha\lambda\alpha$  indicates, to which allusion is made

in Frogs 1305 sqq. ποῦ 'στιν ἡ τοῖς όστράκοις αὕτη κροτοῦσα; δεῦρο Μοῦσ' Εὐριπίδου: cf. Phot. Lex. p. 180. 12 κροταλίζειν οὐ διὰ τῶν χειρῶν κροτεῖν, ἀλλὰ διὰ κροτάλου. της κροταλισάσης, ώς Ευριπίδη(ν) φησίν ό κωμικός περί της 'Υψιπύλης λέγων. Nauck, Fr. 769, takes the word κροταλισάσης as having occurred in the text of the play, but that is not at all likely; the verse of the papyrus sufficiently accounts for Photius' note. The parodos of the chorus, consisting of Nemean women friendly to Hypsipyle (cf. Fr. 1. ii. 15 φίλα, Frs. 20-1. 1 φ[ίλτα]ται, 14 φίλας), follows, the choral ode consisting of a strophe and antistrophe (largely composed of glyconic verses), each of which is succeeded by a lyrical response from Hypsipyle. In the strophe (Fr. 1. ii. 15-40) the chorus asks if the captive's thoughts are still busy with her island home while such stirring events as the march of the army of Adrastus against Thebes are in progress. Hypsipyle replies (Fr. 1. iii. 1-17) that she cares for none of these things; her heart is with the ships of the Agonauts. The chorus offers consolation by recalling the adventures of other heroines who had left their homes and suggests that Hypsipyle's prospects are brighter than were theirs (Fr. 1. iii. 18-43). Hypsipyle refuses to take comfort, and can only look forward to the release of death (Fr. 1. iv. 1-9). She then perceives some strangers approaching (Fr. 1. iv. 10-14), and Amphiaraus enters with a small retinue (Fr. 1. iv. 15). He addresses Hypsipyle, and asks to be shown the way to running water, which was needed for the purpose of a sacrifice on behalf of the army on crossing the frontier (cf. note on Fr. 1. iv. 35). A long dialogue ensues in which Amphiaraus explains who he is, what was the object of the expedition, and how he himself came to be concerned in it, while Hypsipyle in her turn discloses her identity and antecedents (Fr. 1. iv. 53-v with Frs. 3-5). Finally she consents to comply with Amphiaraus' request (Nauck, Fr. 753 δείξω μὲν 'Αργείοισιν 'Αχελφου ρόου), and goes off with him, carrying the child with her. Thus ends the first ἐπεισόδιον, and the chorus occupied the interval with an ode, to which Frs. 6-9 are likely to belong; there is a reference in Fr. 6. 1 to χέρνιβα, and the description in Frs. 8-9 of the quarrel between Polynices and Tydeus which led up to the expedition of Adrastus would be a very suitable subject at this point. Meanwhile Hypsipyle, perhaps with the motive attributed to her by Statius ne tarda Pelasgis dux foret (iv. 778), had left the child lying unguarded on the ground, to find on her return that he had fallen a victim to a snake; cf. the fragmentary description of the accident by Amphiaraus in Fr. 60. 67 sqq.

At this point the course of events becomes obscured, and clearness is reached only at Frs. 20-1, where Hypsipyle is found in conversation with the chorus, fearful of the vengeance of the child's parents and considering means of flight. In what way is the lacuna to be filled? How was the misadventure made known to the chorus and in the palace? The usual tragic means in such a case

was the report of a messenger, and as a matter of fact in Fr. 18 there are the remains of a few lines which certainly refer to the serpent, and might well come from such a report. The objection to this view is the subsequent occurrence of a description of the scene by Amphiaraus when pleading with Eurydice. On this ground Prof. U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, to whom with Prof. J. B. Bury and Mr. Gilbert Murray we owe a number of most valuable suggestions and criticisms, would reject the intervention of a messenger, and refer Fr. 18 to the first dialogue between Amphiaraus and Hypsipyle, supposing the serpent to be a well-known object to whose existence Hypsipyle might allude in speaking of the spring. This no doubt is a quite tenable explanation, and the serpent is actually so treated by Statius; cf. v. 505 nemoris sacer horror Achaei, 511-2 Inachio sanctum dixere Tonanti agricolae, and 579 sqq. On the other hand some description of the disaster seems essential at this point, if only for the enlightenment of the audience; moreover to credit Hypsipyle with so clear a previous knowledge of the risk would considerably increase her culpability in leaving her charge unprotected, while to the parallel from Statius a counterweight may be found in his reference to a messenger: et iam sacrifici subitus per tecta Lycurgi nuntius implerat lacrimis (v. 638-9). Hence, whether a regular messenger was employed by Euripides or not, we should prefer to regard Fr. 18 as part of a post factum narrative. But there is an obvious alternative to a regular messenger: possibly the narrator was Hypsipyle herself. At the conclusion of the stasimon she may have returned alone from her ill-fated expedition, and in answer to interrogations from the chorus briefly stated what had occurred; to the lyrical portion of such a scene we should refer Frs. 10-13; cf. the scholiast on Clement quoted above, ή δὲ ἐπανελθοῦσα ἐθρήνει. The question would then arise, how was the news to reach queen Eurydice? A hint towards the solution of this problem is perhaps to be found in the rather mysterious remark of Hypsipyle when being led off to death, κενὰ δ' ἐπηδέσθην ἄρα, 'to no purpose then was my compunction' (Fr. 60. 21). These words appear to imply that shame had prevented her from a certain action; and we can find no interpretation more suitable than that first suggested by Mr. Murray, that Hypsipyle's feelings of honour led her to abandon the project of flight discussed in Frs. 20-1. If that is right, then she might naturally be supposed to have gone a step further, and voluntarily to have surrendered herself. Of course this explanation of Fr. 60. 21 is quite compatible with the hypothesis of a messenger; but the latter expedient becomes rather superfluous, and the awkwardness of a second description of Archemorus' fate would be far slighter if the first had been a more or less incoherent account by the distracted Hypsipyle, and not a formal report of another independent eyewitness.

Our supposition of a voluntary surrender seems to harmonize with the mutilated fragment in which Eurydice first occurs among the dramatis personae. In Fr. 22 the speakers are an unnamed person who appears to be pleading the cause of Hypsipyle, the chorus, and Eurydice. The chorus praise the first speaker's nobility or generosity ( $\gamma \epsilon \nu \nu \nu [a\hat{i}' \hat{\epsilon}] \lambda \epsilon [\xi as)$ , and Eurydice follows with an angry accusation of using specious words (l. 11  $\tau i \tau a \hat{\nu} \tau [a] \kappa \rho \mu \psi [\hat{a} \dots ;)$ ). If the first speaker is Hypsipyle and she had courageously thrown herself upon the queen's mercy,  $\gamma \epsilon \nu \nu \alpha \hat{i} o s$  would be the natural epithet for the chorus to apply to her, while her scruples and excuses would no less naturally appear to the indignant mother as mere  $\kappa \rho \mu \psi \delta \tau \eta s$ . Frs. 23-31 may for the most part well belong to the same scene as Fr. 22; in the case of three of them stichometrical figures show that they come from the central portion of the play (ll. 600-800), though somewhat widely dispersed.

Postponing for the moment the question of what further scenes may have here intervened, we pass on to Fr. 60, where sure ground is again reached. Hypsipyle is now being led off to her doom. She makes a final appeal to Eurydice, acknowledging indeed that she had unwillingly caused the child's death, but indignantly repudiating the charge of malicious negligence made against her by the queen (cf. 11. 35-6 φησί δ' ήδ' έκουσίως κτανείν με παίδα κάπιβουλεύσαι δόμοις, and Nauck Fr. 758). It is of no avail, and her position seems hopeless when at the critical moment Amphiaraus suddenly interposes. He had foreseen, he says, Hypsipyle's fate, and comes with the object of preventing it, not by force, but by persuasion. The queen, who here meets Amphiaraus for the first time, consents to hear him. He proceeds to tell her (ll. 55-111) how he had induced Hypsipyle to show the way to the spring, and describes the accident with the deductions which he drew from it concerning the fate of the expedition against Thebes. He offers philosophical consolation, and concludes with the practical proposal that the army should give her son burial and institute a festival (the Nemean games) to perpetuate both his name and hers. Of Eurydice's reply only the first few lines are preserved, but their tone suggests that she had been convinced and was prepared to give way (ll. 112-7). Another gap here occurs, but that it is of no very large extent seems to follow from the fact that in Fr. 64. Col. ii Amphiaraus is still found upon the stage. He has now done the further service of bringing about a recognition between Hypsipyle and her sons, and this accomplished he leaves them to mutual explanations in which the adventures of both parties are reviewed, Hypsipyle speaking mainly in lyrical measures and the sons more calmly in iambics. The 1600th line is marked in the course of this column, and that the end of the play is imminent is also clear from the occurrence in the margin of the column following of the name of the god

Dionysus as a speaker. Col. i of this fragment has almost entirely disappeared, but it must have been largely if not entirely occupied by the scene of anagnorisis, and therefore one or more columns are required between Fr. 60. ii and Fr. 64. i for Eurydice's decision and exit, and the development by Amphiaraus of the preliminaries, whatever they were, to the recognition. Stichometrical data point to a loss of three columns, to which probably should be assigned Frs. 61-3 (cf. Fr. 61, 4-6, Fr. 62. 3, Fr. 63. 6). A suitable place can also be found for the lyrical fragments 57-9 in the choral ode immediately preceding the long act which we have now reconstructed. In these fragments, of which the connexion is evident and the language recalls that of the parodos in the Bacchae, the chorus sings the praises of Dionysus. The topic at this juncture would be especially appropriate: the god is invoked to come to the assistance of his descendant in her extremity, and his actual appearance in the concluding scene is fittingly presaged. In one of these fragments (57. 15; cf. note ad loc.) the figure 1100 probably occurs, which though consistent with the position assigned to them involves a final act of unusual length, if it be inferred from the presence of Amphiaraus (cf. p. 26) that Frs. 60 and 64 belong to a single act. The longest έξοδος in the extant plays of Euripides, that of the Ion, is under 400 lines, whereas the ¿ξοδος here would reach nearly 600. Hence it is likely that a short choral ode, like e.g. that in Electra 1147-64, divided the exit of Eurydice and the recognition of Hypsipyle's sons, though not necessarily effecting a real break in the action. The large lyrical element in the two columns of Fr. 64 is a further reason for reducing the part of the chorus in this section.

Euripides' plot may thus be followed with sufficient clearness by means of the surviving fragments both in its earlier stages and its final dénouement; but there is an intermediate link which remains wrapped in obscurity. It would in any case have been not a little singular if Hypsipyle's sons who, as has been seen, appeared both at the outset and at the end of the play, were kept entirely out of the action during the rest of it. Secondly, an interval of some 200 lines between about Il. 900 and 1100 at present remains quite unaccounted for, and it is difficult to see how this can be filled without bringing in the sons in some way. Now on this point we have some external evidence to take into consideration, primarily that of the epigram in Anth. Pal. iii. 10:—

Φαΐνε, Θόαν, Βάκχοιο φυτὸν τόδε ματέρα γάρ σου ρύση τοῦ θανάτου, οἰκέτιν 'Υψιπύλαν, α τὸν ἀπ' Εὐρυδίκας ἔτλη χόλου, ἢμος ἀπούρας ὕδρος, ὁ γας γενέτας, ὥλεσεν 'Αρχέμορου. στεῖχε δὲ καὶ σὰ λιπὼν 'Ασωπίδος ἄγκεα κούρας (?) γειναμένην ἄξων Λῆμνου ἐς ἢγαθέην.

To which the following explanation is prefixed:— ἐν δὲ τῷ κατὰ δύσιν πλευρῷ ἐστιν ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ δεκάτου πίνακος Εὔνοος γεγλυμμένος καὶ Θόας, οθς ἐγέννησεν Ύψιπύλη, άναγνωριζόμενοι τῆ μητρί και τὴν χρυσῆν δεικυύντες ἄμπελον, ὅπερ ἦν αὐτοῖς τοῦ γένους σύμβολον, καὶ ρυόμενοι αὐτὴν τῆς διὰ τὸν 'Αρχεμόρου θάνατον παρ' Εὐρυδίκης τιμωρίας. According to this Euneos and Thoas rescued Hypsipyle; but in Euripides her preserver, properly so called, was certainly Amphiaraus. There thus appear to be two distinct traditions; and it is even possible, as Wilamowitz suggests, to follow these to their source. There was at Athens a class of musicians called Εὐνείδαι who traced their descent from Euneos the son of Hypsipyle; cf. e. g. Hesych. γένος από Εθυήου (sic) κεκλημένου, τοῦ 'Ιάσονος υίοῦ, οίου γένος όρχηστων καὶ κιθαριστών .. οἱ δέ, γένος τι 'Αθήνησι κιθαριστών, Photius γένος 'Αθήνησι μουσικόν, ἀπὸ Εὔνεω τοῦ Ἰάσονος καὶ Ύψιπύλης. γένος έστὶ παρὰ ᾿Αθηναίοις οὕτως δνομαζόμενον ήσαν δὲ κιθαρωδοί, πρός τὰς ἱερουργίας παρέχουτες την χρείαν. Attic legend therefore brought Euneos to Athens, and would accordingly be likely to glorify him by giving him and his brother the credit of saving Hypsipyle. A clear reflection of this form of the legend is to be found in Euripides in Fr. 64. 98, where one of the sons (obviously Euneos) says that Orpheus had taught him the lyre. These considerations provide a clue, as Wilamowitz points out, to the tenour of the speech of Dionysus, whose appearance when the crisis was over would otherwise have remained rather unaccountable; the god no doubt directed Euneos to go to Athens 1. It is quite in accordance with this inference to find from C. I. A. iii. 274 that Dionysus Melpomenos was the object of the family cult of the Euneidae. The other and probably older legend, which represented Hypsipyle as owing her preservation to Amphiaraus, is likely to have been derived from Theban epic tradition. Euripides contrived to combine both versions of the story; but what part he assigned to the sons between their arrival at the palace and their recognition is a problem which still awaits solution. Hartung, Eurip. Rest. ii. pp. 431 and 437-8, proposing in Arist. Poet. c. 14 καὶ ἐν τῆ Ελλη ὁ υίὸς τὴν μητέρα έκδιδόναι μέλλων ανεγνώρισεν to read Ύψιπύλη in place of Ελλη (Valckenaer had conjectured 'Αυτιόπη), thought that Euneos and Thoas were constituted Hypsipyle's judges and condemned her to death, a view supported, as he believed, by an amphora published by Gerhard in 1837, which represents Hypsipyle and Amphiaraus standing before Eurydice, with Euneos and Thoas on the side next Hypsipyle and the two chieftains Parthenopaeus and Capaneus next to Amphiaraus; above the two former appears Dionysus, above the other pair Zeus and Nemea. But this evidence is of very doubtful value. In the passage

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> He went on to Lemnos afterwards, at any rate according to Homer H 467 sqq., where he is represented as sending cargoes of Lemnian wine to the Greek army—a most appropriate gift from a descendant of Dionysus. Cf. Anth. Pal. iii. 10. 5-6 quoted above.

from the Poetics "Ελλη (though otherwise unknown) is retained by the best modern editors; and it is now clear that 'Υψιπύλη would not really be suitable, for it was not the sons' recognition but the intervention of Amphiaraus that saved Hypsipyle; the recognition came afterwards. As for the amphora, the artist's object seems to have been to include the principal figures associated in the legend rather than to depict a single scene of it; at any rate it is evident that Hypsipyle, her two sons, Eurydice, Amphiaraus, Parthenopaeus, and Capaneus cannot all have been brought on the stage together by Euripides. There is apparently no road this way; and we have searched vainly for a clue in the papyrus. One or two mutilated passages indeed in the central group of fragments may be interpreted as remains of a scene in which the sons appear, the most significant being Frs. 34-5. There Hypsipyle is alluded to by the periphrasis δμφίς ή τροφ ος? τέκνου, which in Wilamowitz's opinion implies that the speaker was unacquainted with her name. The only characters to whom such ignorance would be natural are Euneos and Thoas; and perhaps the latter name is to be recognized in Fr. 33. 7, while  $\pi / (\lambda as \theta v \rho \hat{\omega} v)$  in 1. 2 of the same fragment may be a reference to their encounter with Hypsipyle in the prologos. But these fragments are too ambiguous to carry much weight, and they hardly bring us any nearer to the answer to the question how the sons were brought into connexion with the main action. If, as we have supposed, Hypsipyle did not carry out her idea of flight, they cannot have assisted her in it-although perhaps it was of the travellers whom she had befriended that she was thinking in her question to the chorus (Frs. 20-1. 15), 'What if I found some one to convey me out of the country?' Possibly there is a substratum of truth in Hartung's theory, and Eurydice in the absence of her husband turned to the two strangers for advice or support in her condemnation of the culprit. Or possibly—and this we think more likely-they may have gone to seek the assistance of Amphiaraus, although the natural inference from his words in Fr. 60, 37-8 is that his opportune arrival was spontaneous. This last suggestion would have the further advantage of bringing the young men into contact with Amphiaraus, and so give him an opportunity to discover their identity. Indeed it is difficult to perceive how otherwise he can have become aware of their presence at allunless by a very remarkable display of his powers of divination.

It will be convenient here to summarize briefly our conception of the dramatic structure.

Prologos. Speech of Hypsipyle, describing her history and present circumstances, after which she retires on some pretext into the palace. Arrival of Euneos and Thoas, who hold an explanatory conversation; they then knock and Hypsipyle emerges with the child Archemorus. She inquires their business,

and they enter. Hypsipyle left alone sings to the child. ll. 1-about 200. Nauck Fr. 752, Fr. 1. i-ii. 14, Fr. 2.

Parodos of Chorus of Nemean women. Strophe and antistrophe, each followed by lyrical response from Hypsipyle. About ll. 200-310. Fr. 1. ii. 15-iv. 9.

1st Epeisodion. Arrival of Amphiaraus, who converses with Hypsipyle and persuades her to conduct him to a stream of water. They go out together. About ll, 310-430. Fr. 1. iv. 10-v, Frs. 3-5, Nauck Fr. 753.

1st Stasimon. The chorus refer to the quarrel of Polynices and Tydeus at Argos, and their marriage with the daughters of Adrastus. About 11. 430-500. Fr. 7-9.

2nd Epeisodion. Hypsipyle returns in great grief after the death of Archemorus. She laments his fate, and questioned by the chorus gives some description of what had occurred. Becoming calmer she considers plans of flight, but finally resolves to give herself up to Eurydice (?). About II. 500-650. Frs. 10-13, Nauck Fr. 754-5, Frs. 20-1.

and Stasimon. About Il. 650-700.

3rd Epeisodion. Hypsipyle and Eurydice; Hypsipyle is condemned to death. About 11. 700-850. Frs. 22-32, Nauck Frs. 758, 760.

3rd Stasimon. About 11. 850-900.

4th Epeisodion. Euneos and Thoas take an uncertain part in the action. They were probably confronted with Eurydice, and perhaps subsequently induced either by an appeal from Hypsipyle or by natural generosity to go and seek assistance from Amphiaraus. About II. 900–1080. Frs. 33-5.

4th Stasimon. The chorus sing the praises of Dionysus and call on him for succour. About ll. 1080-1150. Frs. 57-9.

5th Epeisodion. Hypsipyle is led out to meet her doom. Arrival of Amphiaraus, who persuades Eurydice of Hypsipyle's real innocence. Exit Eurydice. About ll. 1150-1350. Fr. 60. i-ii.

5th Stasimon. About ll. 1350-75.

Exodos. Amphiaraus brings about the recognition between Hypsipyle and Euneos and Thoas, and then leaves the mother and sons together. Dionysus, the ancestor of the family, appears ex machina, and sends Euneos to Athens. About 11. 1375-1720. Frs. 61-64, Nauck Frs. 756, 761, 762, Fr. ap. Lydus.

With regard to the number of the actors, though the characters in the play are only six, they would require four  $\partial_y \omega \nu_i \sigma \tau a \ell$  to represent them if the papyrus is followed in the ascription of Fr. 64. 68-70 to the two sons of Hypsipyle—whether they speak simultaneously or one after the other; cf. note ad loc. If the number is to be reduced to the ordinary three, one of the sons must be a mute,

It is clear from internal evidence that Euneos is the speaker in Fr. 64. 101 (cf. p. 28), while the papyrus assigns Fr. 1. i. 7 sqq. to Thoas; but the former may have been the  $\kappa\omega\phi\delta\nu$   $\pi\rho\delta\sigma\omega\pi\sigma\nu$  in one scene, the latter in the other.

The Hypsipyle was one of the latest of Euripides' plays, being brought out not long before Aristophanes' Frogs, as stated by the scholiast on 1. 53 of that comedy των προ δλίγου διδαχθέντων και καλων, Ύψιπύλης, Φοινισσών, 'Aντιόπης: the Frogs was produced in 405 B. C., Euripides having died the year before. This statement of date is borne out by indications traceable in the character of the lyrical odes (cf. notes on Fr. 1. ii. 15 sqq.), as well as by the repeated parodies of the Hypsipyle in the Frogs (cf. e.g. notes on Fr. 1, ii, 8-10, Fr. 7. 4), which are more natural if the play be supposed to be fresh in the memory of Aristophanes' audience. From the conjunction of the three names in the above-mentioned note of the scholiast it has been inferred by some critics, e. g. Hartung and Meineke, that the Hypsipyle, Phoenissae, and Antiope belonged to the same tetralogy; but this is quite uncertain. The remark that they were 'fine' tragedies probably reflects the popular verdict, which in the case of the Hypsipyle has been endorsed, on the strength of the scanty evidence before them, by modern critics: 'drama eximium,' Valckenaer, Diatr. p. 211, 'fabula venustissima rerum varietate distincta,' Hartung, op. cit. ii. p. 411. We now know that there was not quite so much varietas as Hartung imagined, but the remains happily brought to light at Oxyrhynchus sufficiently justify his epithet 'venusta'. If none of the new fragments reveals Euripides in his sublimest poetic flights, they maintain a high level of excellence, and need not fear comparison with much of his extant work; while the fact that the dramatization of this part of the Hypsipyle legend appears to be essentially a Euripidean creation renders the recovery of at any rate the bulk of his plot, with upwards of 300 verses either complete or capable of suitable restoration, a matter of especial satisfaction.

In arranging the fragments of the papyrus we have placed them so far as possible in what we conceive to have been their original order. The small group, which, as already explained (p. 20), was found separately, and both from the stichometrical numeration and internal evidence appears to represent the central portion of the play, has been kept together (Frs. 6–17, 20–56); the other minor fragments, the contents of which give no sufficient clue to their position, are placed at the end. Finally on pp. 80–83 we print the previously known citations from the play, and attempt to assign them their place among the fragments of the papyrus.

```
Fr. 1.
                                    Col. i.
                                          24 letters
               γρα[
                                                                         ]€0ισ
               \eta \xi \in [\ldots, ]\sigma \pi \cdot [\ldots, ]\theta \nu \rho \mu \alpha [.] \alpha
               άσῶν[.]δυρμωνεκγαλη[. . . .]ρενασ
               υμεισεκρουσάτ'ωνεάνια[....]σ
               ῶμακαριασφῶνἡτεκο[. . . .]τισποτ'ην
5
               τίτῶ[.]δεμελαθρωνδε[. . .]νοιπροσηλθετον
      θοασ \overline{\sigma \tau \epsilon \gamma}[.] \sigma \kappa \epsilon \chi \rho \dot{\eta} \mu \epsilon \dot{\theta}'[.] \nu [...] \chi \dot{\theta} \dot{\eta} \nu \alpha \iota \gamma \upsilon \nu \alpha \iota
               \epsilonιδυ[. .]τον . [.]ννύκτ\epsilon[. . . .]\alphaιμίαν
               \epsilon \chi o[...] \nu \delta \delta[.] \omega \nu \delta \epsilon \hat{\iota}_{\tau}[.] \pi o[...] \lambda \nu[.] \eta \rho o \delta o[...]
               εσο[.]εσθατοῖσδετὸδεσονώσεχειμ[. .]ει
10
               [...]ποτοσ\mu[...]\hat{\iota}κ[.]σαρσένωνκυ[..]\iota
                         17 letters ] . [. .]δωμ[.]τα
   Fr. 2. . . .
               [..]\mu.
               λυκουρ[
                γυνηδ[
      θοασ ουκενξεί
               προσδα[
 5
               ηκιστ
               ξενο
               αειδε[
                αλλείν
10
                . . [.]ŵνϵδ[
          Fr. 1.
                                                Col. ii.
                                                                                  Plate II.
               [. . . . . . . . . ] . . οσοι
               [. . . . . . . . ]οσϊδεσθαι
               [.....]..ρχονωσενοπρου
```

Fr. 1.	Col. i.			
(T <b>y</b> .)				
	γρα[ 24 letters ]εοις			
	ή $\xi$ ε $[\iota$ ] $\sigma\pi$ . $[\ldots$ $a$ ] $\theta$ ύρμ $a$ [ $ au$ ] $a$			
	ά σῶν [δ]δυρμῶν ἐκγαλη[νιεῖ φ]ρένας.			
	ὑμεῖς ἐκρούσατ', ὧ νεανία[ι, πύλα]ς;			
5	ὧ μακαρία σφῷν ἡ τεκο[ῦσ', ἥ]τις ποτ' ἦν.			
	τί τῶ[ν]δε μελάθρων δε[όμε]νοι προσήλθετον;			
Θóas.	στέγ[η]ς κεχρήμεθ' [έ]ν[τὸς ά]χθῆναι, γύναι,			
	εί δυ[να]τον ή[μί]ν νύκτ' έ[ναυλίσ]αι μίαν.			
	$\check{\epsilon}$ χο $(\mu\epsilon)$ ν δ' $\check{\delta}[\sigma]$ ων $\delta\epsilon\hat{\imath}$ · $\tau[\acute{\iota}]$ $\pi o[\tau\epsilon]$ λυ $[\pi]$ ηροὶ $\delta\acute{o}[\mu o\iota s]$			
10	έσδ[μ]εσθα τοῖσδε; τὸ δὲ σὸν ὡς ἔχει μ[εν]εῖ.			
( <b>'T</b> \ <b>\psi</b> .)	[ἀδέσ]ποτος μ[ὲν ο]ἶκ[ο]ς ἀρσένων κυ[ρε]ῖ			
	[ 17 letters ] . [] δώμ[α]τα			
_				
Fr. 2.		,		
	$(\Upsilon \psi)$ [] $\mu$ .			
	<i>Λυκοῦρ</i> [γος			
	γυνη δ[ε Εὐρυδίκη			
	Θόας. οὐκ ἐν ξε[νῶσι			
5	πρ <b>δ</b> ς δ' α[			
	(' <b>T</b> ψ.) ηκιστ[α			
	ξένο[			
	dei de [			
	άλλ' εἰς ν[	٠		
10	[.] $\hat{\omega} u$ ဧပိ[			
Fr.	. Col. ii. Plate	II.		
- ••				
( <b>'T</b> \psi.)	[ στρ.	a'		
` ' '	[ ] ος ἰδέσθαι			
[ ] ρχον ὡς ἐνόπτρου				
	D			

```
[. . . . . .]οφαῆτιν' αυγαν
  5 [....] άυξηματοσον
       [. .] μνησωμαιτεκνονευ
       ωποισηθεραπειαισ
       ϊδουκτύποσόδεκροτάλωνα
  // ουτάδ[['a]]πήνασουτάδεκερκίδοσ
     ιστοτόνουπαραμυθιαλημνια
      μουσαμελειμε[[λ]]ε[.]εινὅτιδεισυπνον
     ηχαρινηθεραπευματαπρόσφορα
    [.]αιδιπρεπεινεαρωι
    ταδεμελωδοσαυδώ
 15 ]τισύπαραπροθυροισφιλα
      ποτεραδωματοσεισοδουσ
      σάιρεισηδροσονεπιπέδωι
      βαλλεισδιάτεδουλα
      ηταναργωτανδιασοῦ
20 στόματοσαεικληζομέναν
      πεντηκόντερονά[.]δεισ
      ητοχρυσεομαλλον
      ϊερονδεροσοπεριδρυοσ
      δζοισομμαδρακοντοσ
     φρουρεῖμναμοσύναδεσοι
                     λημν
     τασαγχιάλοιο [[νησ]]ου
     \tau \bar{a} \nu a i \gamma a i o \sigma \epsilon \lambda i [.] \sigma \omega \nu
     κυμοτύποσαχεί
     δεῦροτανλειμῶνανέμει[.....]
30 απάγειχαλκειο[.]σοπλο[.....]
    \alpha \rho \gamma \epsilon \hat{\iota} o \nu \pi [.] \delta \iota o \nu \pi \alpha [
    επιτοτᾶ[.]κιθάρασέρυμα[
   τᾶσαμφιονίασ έργον[
   ω[..]πόδασα[..]ασ[..]σ[
35 ο[.]εκαλεσεμενο[
```

[. . λευκ]οφαή τιν' αὐγὰν

```
5 ε[....] αύξημα τὸ σὸν
           τ [. .] μνήσωμαι, τέκνον, εὐ-
            • ωποίς ή θεραπείαις.
            • ίδοὺ κτύπος δδε κροτάλων• ἄν(ω).
           11 οὐ τάδε πήνας οὐ τάδε κερκίδος
        10 12 ίστοτόνου παραμύθια Λήμνια,
           13 Μοῦσα, μέλει με κρέκειν, δ τι δ' είς υπνον
           ιι ή χάριν ή θεραπεύματα πρόσφορα
           16 [π]αιδὶ πρέπει νεαρώ
           16 τάδε μελφδὸς αὐδῶ.
Χο(ρός)] 15 ιτί σὺ παρὰ προθύροις, φίλα;
                                                         στρ. β΄
            2 πότερα δώματος είσόδους
            ι σαίρεις ή δρόσον έπὶ πέδφ
            ι βάλλεις οδά τε δούλα,
            ι ή τὰν Άργὼ τὰν διὰ σοῦ
        20 • στόματος άεὶ κληζομέναν
            ι πεντηκόντ(ο)ρον ἄδεις,
            • ή τὸ χρυσεόμαλλον
            « ίερον δέρος δ περὶ δρυδς
           10 δζοις δμμα δράκοντος
        25 11 φρουρεί, μναμοσύνα δέ σοι
           11 τας άγχιάλοιο Λήμνου
           13 τὰν Αίγαῖος ἐλί[σ]σων
           14 κυμο(κ)τύπος άχεῖ,
           18 δεθρ' δτ' αν λειμώνα Νέμει(ον
        30 10 άπάγει χαλκέξιξο[ι]σ(ιν) δπλο[ις
           11 Αργείον π[ε]δίον πα[ρεὶς
           18 έπὶ τὸ τᾶ[ς] κιθάρας ἔρυμα,
           10 τας Άμφιονίας έργον [χερός
           20 ώ[κυ]πόδας "Α[δρ]ασ[το]ς ["Αρη θοόν;
        35 21 δ [δ'] ἐκάλεσε μένο[ς . . .
```

Col. iii.

Ϋ́

```
α
ποικιλασ[[υ]]εματα[
τόξάτεχρύσια[
κα[.]μὸνὸβάμονε[
αεμρομενοιχθ[
40 [.....]οτ[
```

Fr. 1.

Plate II.

```
[. . . . . . . . ]ρακιαν
    [. . . . .]σ[.]μενησορουσασ
    εποιδμαγαληνειασ
5 πρυμνησιαναψαι
    τονάτοῦποταμουπαρ
    ηιν' ν
θενοσάι[[νν]]ετεκωσεν
    πηλέαμεσωδεπαρϊστωι
    āσιἄσελεγενίηιον
10 θρησσ' εβοακίθαρισορφέως
    μακροπολωνπιτυλων
    ερετηισικελευσματαμελπομεναν
    τοτεμενταχυπλουν
    τοτεδ'ειλατινασαναπαυμαπλατα[..]
15 τ[.]δεμοιταδεθυμοσϊδεινίεται
   δαναωνδεπονουσ
   ετεροσαναβοατω
    ποτερονωσεπικυματων
20 πολινκαιπατριουσδομού
    φοινικαστυριαπαισ
    ευρωπαλιποῦσ'απεβα
    διοτροφονκρητανϊεραν
```

κουρητωντροφονανδρων

```
12 ποικίλα σάματα [. . .
           23 τόξα τε χρύσ(ε)α [...
           24 κα[ὶ] μονοβάμονε[ς . . .
           25 α ειρόμενοι χθον
       40 26 [. . . . . . . . ]07
   Fr. 1.
                                Col. iii.
                                                            Plate II.
 (T\psi.)
             [. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . ]pai[.]
                                                          άντιστρ. α΄
             [. . . . . . . Θ]ρακίαν
             [....]σ[.]μενης ὀρούσας
             έπ' οίδμα γαληνείας
         5 πρυμνήσι' ἀνάψαι,
           ετὸν ἀ τοῦ ποταμο(ῖο) παρ-
            τ θένος Αίγιν' ἐτέκνωσε (ν ) Πη-
            ε λέα, μέσφ δὲ παρ' ἰστῷ
            • Ασιας έλεγ(ο)ν ίήιον
        10 10 Θρησσ' έβδα κίθαρις 'Ορφέως,
           11 μακροπόλων πιτύλων ἐρέτησι κε-
           12 λεύσματα μελπομένα (ν), τότε μέν ταχύ-
           13 πλουν τότε δ' είλατίνας ανάπαυμα πλά-
        15 14 τα[ς.] τ[ά]δε μοι τάδε θυμός (ὑ)δεῖν ἵε-
           18 ται, Δαναών δε πόνους
           10 ετερος άναβοάτω.
Χο(ρός).
            ι παρά σοφών ξκλυον λόγο[υ]ς
                                                          άντιστρ. β΄
            2 π(ρ)ότερον ώς έπὶ κυμάτων
        20 επόλιν καὶ πατρίους δόμου[ς
            · Φοινίκας Τυρία παις
            ε Εὐρώπα λιποῦσ' ἐπέβα
            ε Διοτρόφον Κρήταν ίεραν
            ι Κουρήτων τροφόν άνδρων,
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```
25 ατεκνωναρότοισ[.]ν
          τρισσοισελιπενκρα[. . .]
          χῶ' ραστ' ολβιοναρχαν
          αργειανθ' ετερανκλυω
                    σίλει
          [..]τρωβα[[λπ]]ανϊω
      30 [..]ρασαμφισαμείψαι
          [..]ασφοροναταν
          [. . .]τανθεοσεισφροντιδαθησοι
          [. . . . . ] . [.] σδηφίλατομεσον[.]
          [....]απολέιψει
      35 [....]ατεροσπατερα
          [....]τεχεισεθεν
          [. . . . . . . . ] . κυπο . ο[.]μετανισσεται[
          [\ldots\ldots]\gamma\epsilon\nu\epsilon\alpha[\ldots]
          [. . . . . . . . . . . ]\iota o \sigma[
      40 [.....]ωσ.[
          [\ldots\ldots]σφιλ[
          [\ldots\ldots]
                            Col. iv.
 Fr. 1.
             ]νεμονάγαγέποτε . [
             κυμα[[τ]]οντεποκριν[
             κατεθρηνησεναοιδαισ[
           θανατοσελαχεταδεμαπαθε[
 5
          τισανηγόοσημελοσηκιθαρασ κιθαρι[......]
          επιδακρυσειμοῦσ'ανοδυρομενα επιδακρυσιμ[....]
          μετακαλλιοπασ
          επιπονουσανελθοι
             ῶζευνεμέαστησδάλσοσεχων
10
             τινοσεμπορίαστοῦσδ εγγυσορω
```

```
25 ε ά τέκνων άρότοισ[ι]ν
                • τρισσοίς έλιπεν κρά[τος]
                10 χώρας τ' δλβιον άρχάν.
                11 Άργείαν θ' έτέραν κλύω
                12 [οίσ]τρφ βασίλειαν Ίὼ
           30 12 [πάτ]ρας άμφὶς άμεῖψαι
               14 [κερ]ασφόρον ἄταν.
               15 [ταῦ]τ' ἀν θεὸς εἰς φροντίδα θῆ σοι
               16 [. . . '.] . [.]s δή, φίλα, τὸ μέσον·
               17 [. . . . . . . . ] ἀπολείψει
           35 18 [.....π]ατέρος πατέρα
               19 [.....] τεχει σέθεν
              20 [. . . . . . . . ] ωκύπορο[ς] μετανίσσεται
              21 [....] \gamma \in \alpha[...]
              22 [. . . . . . . . . . . . . ]100
           40 23 [.....]ωσ.[
              \mathbf{z}_{i} [. . . . . . . . . . . ]\sigma\phi\iota\lambda[
              28 [. . . . . . . . . . . . ] . [
              26 [. . . . . . . . . . . . ] . 0 . [
         Fr. 1.
                                    Col. iv with Fr. 3.
     (\Upsilon \psi.)
                νεμον ἄγαγέ ποτε . [
                κυ(ν)αγόν τε Π(ρ)όκριν
                τὰν πόσις ἔκτα
                κατεθρήνησεν άοιδαίς.
               θάνατος έλαχε τάδ' έμα πάθε[α.
            τίς αν ή γόος ή μέλος ή κιθάρας
            έπὶ δάκρυσι μοῦσ' ἀνοδυρομένα
            μετά Καλλιόπας
            έπὶ πόνους αν έλθοι;
10 (Xo.)
                ω Ζεῦ Νεμέας τησδ άλσος έχων
```

τίνος έμπορίας τούσδ' έγγης δρώ

5

```
πελάτασξενουσδωρ[[ο]]διπεπλων
              έσθηστισαφεῖσπροστουσδεδομουσ
              στειχοντασερημονανάλσοσ
15 αμφια ωσεχρονανθρωποισιναιτερημιαι
            οταντεχρειανεισπεσωνοδοιποροσ
           αγρουσερημουσκαιμ\llbracket \epsilon 
braceνοικητουσϊδη
           απορνανξρμήνευτοναποριανεχων
           όπητράπηταικαιμεγαρτοδί.]σχερεσ
           τοῦτεισβεβηκενάσμενοσδ είδονδομ[
20
           τουσδ ενδιοσλιμώνιν εμεάδοσχθον[
            καισεειτεδουλητοισδ' εφεστηκασδομ[
           ειτουχιδουλονσωμεχουσερησομαι
           τίνοσταδανδρωνμηλοβόσκαδωματ[
            φλειουντίασγησωξενηνομιζεται
25
 υ\psiιπυ^{[\lambda]} \overline{[.]\lambda}βιαλυκουργουμελαθρακληζεταιτα[
         . [.]σεξαπασησευρεθεισασωπια
           κληδοῦχόσεστιτουπιχωριουδιοσ
     a\mu^{\phi} [.]υτονλαβείν[.]ρ[...]μανενκρ[[ο]]σσοῖσυδωρ
           [.]ερνιβαθεοι[.]ινό[...]ωσχρησαιμεθα
30
           στρατωνγαρυδατων[.]αματαουδιειπετή
            στρατουδεπληθειπαντασυνταρασσεται
     v\psi\iota^{\pi} [. . .]νεσμολοντεσκαιχ[.]ονοσποιασαπο
            εκτωνμυκηνων[..]μεναργειοιγεν[
           [.]ριαδυπερβαινοντεσεισαλληνχθονα
35
           [...]ατουπρ[.]θυσαιβουλομεσθαδαν[.]ϊδω[.]
           [.]μεισ[...].. [...]βαπροσκαδμουπυλασ
                                        ]υτυχωσγυναι •ειδη[
                                        ]σουθεμί[..]αθειν
                                         ]αδαπ[. . . .]κηνπατρασ
40
                      \ldots \ldots]\alpha \sigma \theta \eta \rho \hat{a}[
    Fr. 3. [...]\overline{\pi}[...
```

πελάτας ξείνους Δωρίδι πέπλων έσθη {σ }τι σαφείς πρός τούσδε δόμους στείχοντας έρημον άν' άλσος; 15 Άμφιάρ(αος), ώς έχθρον ανθρώποισιν αι τ' έ(κδ)ημίαι δταν τε χρείαν είσπεσων όδοιπόρος άγρους έρήμους και μονοικήτους ίδη ά(φιλος) ἀνερμήνευτο(ς) ἀπορίαν έχων δπη τράπηται· κάμὲ γὰρ τὸ δ[υ]σχερὲς

τοῦτ' εἰσβέβηκεν ἄσμενος δ' εἶδον δόμ[ους τούσδ έν Διὸς λειμωνι Νεμεάδος χθονίός. καὶ σ', είτε δούλη τοῖσδ' ἐφέστηκας δόμ[οις είτ' ούχὶ δοῦλον σῶμ' ἔχουσ', ἐρήσομαι τίνος τάδ' άνδρων μηλοβοσκά δώματ[α Φλειουντίας γης, ω ξένη, νομίζεται.

'Τψιπύ[λ(η).] [δ]λβια Λυκούργου μέλαθρα κλήζεται τά[δε, [δ]ς έξ ἀπάσης (αί)ρεθεὶς Άσωπία(ς) κληδοῦχός έστι τοὐπιχωρίου Διός.

20

35

Άμφ(ίαραος), [ρίθτον λαβείν [χρ[ήζοι]μ' αν έν κρωσσοίς ύδωρ  $[\chi] \in \rho \nu \iota \beta \alpha \quad \theta \in oi [\sigma] \iota \nu \quad \delta [\delta \iota o \nu] \quad \dot{\omega} s \quad \chi(\epsilon) \alpha \iota \mu \epsilon \theta \alpha.$ 30 στ {ρ}ατῶν γὰρ ὑδάτων [ν]άματ' οὐ διϊπετῆ, στρατού δὲ πλήθει πάντα συνταράσσεται.

 $\Upsilon$ ψιπ $(\dot{v}$ λη).  $[\tau \dot{t}]$ νες μολόντες καὶ χ $[\theta]$ ονὸς ποίας άπο;

(Άμφ.) έκ των Μυκηνών [έσ]μέν Άργείοι γέν[ος, [δ]ρια δ' ὑπερβαίνοντες είς άλλην χθόνα [στρ]ατοῦ πρ[ο]θῦσαι βουλόμεσθα Δαν[α]ϊδῶ[ν.] [ή]μείς [γὰρ ώ]ρμ[ήμεσ]θα πρὸς Κάδμου πύλας, [εί πως θεοὶ πέμποιεν ε]ὐτυχῶς, γύναι. εἰ δή [

('T $\psi$ .) [τί δὲ στρατεύεσθ', εί γε] σοῦ θέμι[ς μ]αθεῖν;

(Αμφ.) [κατάγειν θέλοντες φυγ]άδα Π[ολυνί]κην πάτρας. 40

> (Ty.)  $[\sigma \hat{v}] \delta \partial v \tau \hat{v} \delta \delta \lambda \omega v \pi \eta \mu \sigma \hat{v} \delta \delta \theta \delta \hat{v}$ ; ( $A\mu\phi$ .)  $\pi\alpha\tilde{\imath}[s]$  Οἰκ[λέους τοι μάντις]  $A\mu\phi$ ιάρ[εως έγώ.

```
THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI
42
            ωμεγαλ[. . . . . . . . . . . . . ]ιακαί[
    Fr. 4. . .
            [. .]σε[
            ]ητοῦ[
            ]/ ονομα[
            \overline{\dot{\eta}}\lambda\eta\mu[
          5 :[
                        Fr. 1. Col. v. .
                                          γυ[
                                          δσιαφ[
                                          <u>εδεξ[</u>
                                          ποθενμ
                                       5 \epsilon \gamma \eta \mu \delta \kappa \lambda . [
                                          είσηντισω[
                                          ταυτηδιδωσ[
                                          θεοιθεωνγα[
                                          πολυδωροσοῦ
                                      10 ειπουθεασφυ[
                                          τουτουδεπαι[
                                                 Fr. 1. Col. v. .
  Fr. 5. .
             [.]ei · [
                                                                 ∕ ειρησ[
                                                                     εξωγυ[
```

ωσου . [

*ϵ*ι̂δ . [

∕ [.]ισχ . [

οσκαισ[

 $\frac{\overline{\epsilon_{l}\sigma}\chi\rho\eta[}{\chi\rho\eta\gamma\alpha\rho[}$ 

5 [.]δοξα[

( $\Upsilon\psi$ .)  $\epsilon l\delta$ . [  $(A\mu\phi$ .) [.] $\iota\sigma\chi$ . [

5 (A) [.] δοξα[

αλλοί[ <u>τι</u>σχρ[ 35 διδ[

```
Fr. 6. . . . . . . .
              [....]χερνίβα[
              [....]\epsilon \sigma \epsilon \nu[..]\alpha.[
              [. . . . . . .] . κασι[
              [\ldots\ldots]\alpha\beta\phi[.].
           5 [....]σ[.]ισου[
              [. . . . .]αιδα[
              [\dots]\sigma\sigma[
    Fr. 7.
              [\ldots \ldots] \nu \theta
              [. . . . . . . ] . πολυκα[
              [. . . . . .]αισταχυω[
              [....]οσιζομεν
           5 [. . . . . ]δωτορεσει . [
              [\ldots]_{\epsilon\lambda}. [\ldots]_{\epsilon\beta\rho}
Frs. 8, 9. . .
              [. .]λευ[
              πλευρ[
              αλᾶτευ[
              \pi \alpha \tau \rho \alpha [\ldots \ldots] . [
           5 φυγασ[.....]
              νυ[....]ενκοιπαραυλα[
              \epsilon \rho \iota \delta [\ldots] \mu \epsilon \iota \beta \circ \epsilon \nu \circ \iota
              σιδ[....]εσια
```

άλατευ

πάτρα[. . . . . . . . . . ] . [

ἔριδ[ας θάμ' ά]μειβόμενοι σιδ[άρου τ' εἰρ]εσία

νυ[κτὸς δ' ἐποίουν] ἐν κοίταισι παρ' αὐλῷ

5 φυγάς [.....]

45

405

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THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI
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46

```
\sigma\phi . \gamma\alpha[...]\lambda o\nu
                   10 κλισιασ . [. .]ινυκτερου
                        γενναιωνπ[.]τερων
                        φ[.]γαδεσδοριθυμον[..]
                        φοιβουδ' \epsilon \nu[.] \pi a[.] \beta[...] i\lambda \epsilon \nu \sigma \epsilon \nu \nu \chi \epsilon \nu
                        \epsilon[.]a\delta\rho a\sigma 	au \sigma \epsilon \chi [\![\epsilon]\!] \nu
                        τεκναθηρσιν[.] . . [.]αι
                  15 [\ldots \ldots] o\mu o[\ldots]
                       [. . . . . . . . . . . . . . ]αμπετασασ
         Fr. 10. .
                                     \pi o[....]ov[
                                 ]. πουμαλα
                             ]πεγγυσουχιμα[
                                 .]υσσειναλλασο[
                                . . .]ικεσοιασει[[.]] . [
                                .]εγω
                                 τιθροεισ
                                 ωλομαν[
                                [. . . . . .]σᾳ[
Fr. 11. . .
                                                                   Fr. 12.
              €€€[
              €€€[
                                                                                 \mu \in [...]\theta o \sigma \alpha \delta [
              80[
                                                                                 ουγαρεμμεν[
              χợ
                                                                               λ
υψιπυιωμοι . [
          5 <u>/[</u>
                                                                        \cdot 5 \quad \overline{[\cdot]} \cdot [\cdot \cdot \cdot] \cdot \alpha \epsilon \alpha [
```

[. . . . . .]οσα[

```
σφαγὰ [τε δῆ]λον

10 κλισίας π[ερ]ὶ νυκτέρου

γενναίων π[α]τέρων

φ[υ]γάδες δορὶ θυμόν.

Φοίβου δ' ἐν[ο]πὰ[ς] β[ασ]ιλεὺς ἐνύχευ·

ε[ν] "Αδραστος ἔχων

15 τέκνα θηρσὶν [ζ]εῦ[ξ]αι

[·····δ]όμο[ν··]

[·····] ἀμπετάσας

]ε
```

```
Fr. 10. .
                             \pi o[\hat{v} \ldots]o\nu[
            (Xo.)
                             ποῦ μάλ';
            \Upsilon \psi_i ] \pi( \dot{v} \lambda \eta). ἐγγύς, οὐχὶ μα[κρὰν . . .
                             λε]ύσσειν άλλὰ σο[
        5 (Xo.)
                             αλ]ικες, οίας ειρ. [
                             οί] έγώ.
            (\Upsilon\psi.)
                             τί θροεῖς;
            (Xo.)
                             ώλόμαν [
            (\Upsilon\psi.)
            (Xo.)
                             [\ldots]\sigma\alpha[
```

Fr. 11		Fr. 12
(' <b>Υ</b> ψ.)	<b>લ્ક ક્</b> ફિ	$(Xo. ?) \qquad \phi[$
	<b>લ્ક</b> ફ[ફ	μέ[γε]θος αδ[
(Xo. ?)	δa[	ού γὰρ ἐμμεν[
	χબ	$\Upsilon$ ψι $\pi$ ύ $\lambda(\eta)$ . ἰώ μοι . [
5	$\mu$ [	5 (Xo.?) [.]. []. αεα[
		$[\ldots\ldots]o\sigma\alpha[$

```
48
                             THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI
 Fr. 13.
                                Fr. 14. . Fr. 15. . . Fr. 16. .
                                            ]\alpha \beta [.]\delta [
                                                                      ]4!![
                                                                                                 ]υμνα
                                            ]
                                                                    ]π0
                                           ]ατωνι[
                                                                                              ]φατωνο[..]κσ
              \mathring{\chi} \eta \delta \eta [
                                        5 ]φη[
                                                                                             ]\sigma' \dots [.]\nu \delta \rho \dots [.]
          5
                                     Fr. 17. .
                                                    ] σιν[
                                                 ] av [
   Fr. 18..
                                                           Fr. 19 . .
              κρηνηνδιαζ[
             δρακωνπαροικ[
             [.]δργὼπαλέυσσω[
             πηλ[[α]]κασέιων·οῦφοβ[
          5 ποιμενεσεπει . ιγ'εν[.] . [
      ]λα παν[..]διαδρασαικαιρυ[
             \overline{\phi}<sub>1</sub> . . . .]ναικιπανταγιγνε[
             [. . . .] σηκει φυλακαδ ουπ[
             · · · · · · · · ]σεν · · · φε[.]ρο[
Frs. 20, 21...
                 \omega \phi \| [\dots] \tau \alpha i \gamma [
                \epsilon \sigma \tau \eta | \kappa \alpha \mu[.] \vec{\pi} \cdot [\![ . . \nu \delta \epsilon[ \ ]\!]
```

さいことのことのことのなる ないかいないないないないないないないないないない

	852. EURIPIDES	, HYPSIPYLE	49
Fr. 13.	Fr. 14.	Fr. 15.	Fr. 16.
	Fr. 17 ]σιν ] ] ] ]αυδ[ 	[	
5 ποιμένες ( ]λα παν[]δια (Χο. ?) φ[εῦ· γυ]ν []ς ῆκι	ίροικ[ος	•	 . ε [ δ' ἀγω[ 
Frs. 20, 21			

E

('Tψ.)  $\vec{\omega}$  φ[iλτα]ται γ[vναiκες,  $\dot{\omega}$ ς έπiξvρο $\hat{v}$ 

**ἔστηκα μ[.]π .** [

```
ανα[. .]εξειν'οιφοβοιδ[
     \overline{\epsilon \nu \epsilon \lambda \pi} [...] \nu \tau_i [...] \epsilon \chi \epsilon_i \sigma \epsilon_i
 5 φευγεινστ . [.]ωντων[. .]δρ[
      \tau \iota \delta \eta [\pi o \tau'] \epsilon \xi \epsilon \nu \rho \eta \kappa \alpha \sigma \epsilon \iota \sigma \alpha \lambda \kappa [
      δεδο[.]καθ[..]ατωοιαπεισομ[
      δυκουναπειροσγ'ωταλαινασ[
      εγνωκακαγωτουτοκαιφυλαξ[
10 ποιδητατρεψηιτισσεδί.]ξεταιποί.]ισ
      ποδεσκριν[.]υσιτουτοκα[. .]ροθυμια
      φυλασ[.]ετα[.]γη[[ηδε]]φρου[. .]ισινκυκλωι
      \overline{[.]}[\kappa\alpha[.]\epsilon\omega\delta\eta\tauo\upsilon\tau[.]\alpha\lambda\lambda[.]\pi\epsilon\rho\chio\mu\alpha\iota
      σκοπειφιλασ[...]στα[...]συμβουλουσεχεισ
15 \overline{\tau}ιδειτινευρ[.]ιμ[. . .]ισεξαξε[.]μεγησ
                 21 letters
                                            ]δουλουσαγειν
      [
                                                     ]₹€po[
```

Fr. 22.		Fr. 23.	
5	[] . ιτονο[ []βουταλε[ καιμηδιορ[ χρονωδεβου[ τοτωνγυναι[ καιπα[.]δατ[		τιφ[.]σε[ λο[ εκει[[αρ[]] 
]k 10 ]×̃,	κανδιαριθμ[ ηνδεξάμα[ ηενν[]λε[ ενσωφροσιν[	Fr. 24.	

```
ἀνά[ξι'] ἔξειν· οἱ φόβοι δ[' ἴσχουσί με.
      (Xo.) \epsilon \delta \epsilon \lambda \pi [\iota \delta' \circ] \delta \tau \iota [\rho \hat{\eta} \mu] = \chi \epsilon \iota \Gamma \epsilon \hat{\iota} \tau \epsilon \hat{\iota} \tau \epsilon \hat{\iota} \tau
 5 ( \Upsilon \psi.) φεύγειν· στί[β]ων τῶν[δ] [δ]ρ[ις] εἰ γὰρ η μόνον.
      (Υψ.) δέδο[ι]κα θ[αν]άτφ παιδός οία πείσομ[αι.
      (Χο.) οὔκουν ἄπειρός \gamma', \mathring{\omega} τάλαινα, σ[υμφορ\hat{\omega}ν.
      ( Τψ.) έγνωκα κάγὼ τοῦτο καὶ φυλάξ[ομαι.
10 (Xo.) \pi \circ \hat{i} \delta \hat{\eta} \tau \alpha \tau \rho \hat{\epsilon} \psi \eta; \tau \hat{i} s \sigma \epsilon \delta \hat{\epsilon} \hat{\epsilon} \hat{\epsilon} \tau \alpha i \pi \delta \hat{i} s;
      ( Τψ.) πόδες κριν[ο]ῦσι τοῦτο κα[ὶ π]ροθυμία.
      (Xo.) \phi \upsilon \lambda \acute{a} \sigma [\sigma] \epsilon \tau a[\iota] \gamma \hat{\eta} \phi \rho o \upsilon [\rho \iota o] \iota \sigma \iota \nu \ \acute{\epsilon} \nu \ \kappa \acute{\upsilon} \kappa \lambda \varphi.
      ('\Upsilonψ.) [ν]ικ\hat{\alpha}[s·] \hat{\epsilon}\hat{\omega} δη τοῦτ[\hat{\delta}] \langle \gamma' \rangle· \hat{\alpha}λλ' [\hat{\alpha}]π\hat{\epsilon}ρχομαι.
       (Χο.) σκόπει, φίλας [γά]ρ τά[σδε] συμβούλους έχεις.
15 ('T\psi.) \tau i \delta \epsilon i \tau \iota \nu' \epsilon \tilde{\nu} \rho [o] \iota \mu' [\delta \sigma \tau] \iota s \epsilon \epsilon \delta \epsilon \epsilon \epsilon \epsilon \gamma \tilde{\eta} s;
      (Xo.) [οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις βούλεται] δούλους ἄγειν.
                                               25 letters
                                                                                            ]\tau\epsilon\rho\sigma[...
```

Fr. 22.		Fr. 23	•
( <b>'T</b> \psi.)	[] . ιτονο[	(A) $\tau i \phi[\hat{\eta}]s \epsilon$	[
	[]βου ταλε[	(B) ἐκεῖ λο[	
	καὶ μη δι' ὀρ[γης	$(A)$ $\overset{\bullet}{\omega}$ $\pi \alpha$ . [	
	χρόνφ δὲ βου[λ	(Β) τὸ μ[	
5	τὸ τῶν γυναι[κῶν		
	καὶ πα[î]δα τ[		
	κάν διαριθμ[η	Fr. 24	
	ην δ' έξαμα[ρτ	( <b>A</b> ) δε[	
$X_{o}( ho \delta s)$ .	γενν[αι̂' έ]λε[ξας	(B) καὶ <b>π</b> [	
10	έν σώφροσιν [	$(A)$ ယ် $s$ $[\delta]$ $\hat{\eta}$ $ au$	ſ
$m{E}\dot{ u} ho u\delta\hat{\iota}]\kappa(\eta).$	τί ταῦτ[α] κομψ[ὰ	(B) ws []p	Ĺ

```
Col. i.
                        Col. ii.
Fr. 25.
                                            Fr. 26. . .
              1
            ]αισ
Fr. 27. .
     [-]
                                            Fr. 28. . . .
         καιχ[..]νί\beta[
                                                      ]δειξ[
         \epsilon\omega\delta\epsilon[...]\nu\lambda\alpha[
                                                      ]επω[
         [.] . ητατηνι[
                                                      ]KOV[
         αρετηνξενο[
    5
                                                      ]έλ[
         δοκωδεταυ[
         ηνμησύπει[[θ]]θ[
         [:]λ . [. . . .]ουκ[
         [......]..[
Fr. 29. . .
                               Fr. 30. . .
                                                                 Fr. 31.
         α.[
                                        [.] • [
         \pi o
                                        πωσδ[
                                        θav[
         π[
                                        01€
                                            Fr. 33. .
```

]µ[

 $\delta' \epsilon \sigma [\dots] \tau o \lambda [$ 

]κε[. .]ιφιλ[[ο]]στεκν[

]νονεκτελειγλυκ[

5 ]ριεχουσεναγκαλ[

]ανυ . α . [. .] . ιασ . [

] $\dot{\omega}[.]$  . .  $\dot{\alpha}[.]$  . [

]ελασθυρῶν . [

]αδοσειργε[

] . τ[.]τ'αποι[

]σασ[ ] . σηδ[

THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

5**2** 

Fr. 32. .

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852. EURIPIDES, HYPSIPYLE
Col. i. Fr. 26
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53

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Fr. 25.
                        Col. i.
                                                                       Fr. 26.
                                                                       . . .
                      ]
                                                                            σ[
                                                                       (B) i[
                    Jais
                                                                                      700
                      1
      Fr. 27. .
                                                             Fr. 28. . . .
        (\Upsilon \psi.) [.]\rho. [....]\nu[
                  καὶ \chi[\epsilon \rho] \nu \iota \beta[
                                                                         ]δειξ[
                  \epsilon \hat{\omega} \delta \epsilon [..] v \lambda \alpha [
                                                                         ]επω[
                  [.] δητα τηνι[
                                                                         ]KOV[
               5 άρετην ξενο[
                                                                         ]ελ[
                  δοκῶ δὲ ταυ[τ
                                                805
                   [:]\(\lambda\) . [. . . .]\(\overline{\sigma}\)
                  [.......]..[
 Fr. 29. . .
                                                                           Fr. 31. . .
                                  Fr. 30. . . .
             α.[
                                                   [\cdot] \cdot [
                                                                                       (A) o[
             πο
                                                    πως δ
                                                                                       (B) p[
                                                    θαν[
             π[
                                              (B) oie[
                                                             Fr. 33. . . . . . . .
Fr. 32. .
    (T\psi.)
                                       ]4[
                                                                             ]\omega[.] . \alpha[.] . [
              ]\delta' \epsilon \sigma[\dots] \tau o \lambda[
                                                                         \pi]\hat{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\hat{\sigma}\theta\nu\hat{\rho}\hat{\omega}\nu. [
              ]ανυ . α . [. .] . ιασ . [
                                                                           ]αδος είργε[
             ]νον έκτελεῖ γλυκ[ύν
                                                                            ] . τ[.]τ' ἀποι[
        5 πε]ριέχουσ' έν άγκάλ[αις
                                                                     5 ]σασ[
```

] . σηδ[

]κε[..]ι φίλας τέκν[

54	THE	OXYRH YNCI	HUS PAPYRI	
	]ηληματο	ſ	]αιθοα[	
]ειλογο			]οχη[	
	]παγκαλαισι[		]κετ[	•
10	]σαπωλομ[			
	]κχερωνν[			
		. ,		
Frs	[ [ 5 [ [	]οικληθρ[ ]ωμαιδωματο ]τεξωδμωϊση ]διδωσινουδο ]ορ		
		<u>ှ</u> ်နှံ့[		
		]ι <b>ων</b>		
		]κτανειν		
		]ζωνλαβ		
		5][.	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	
		• •	•	
]k ] ] <u>r</u> e	Fr. 38. ε[ . άι[ ιλλ[ 	] αρτ[	. 39· Fr. 4 ]πει[ ]εξϊσω[ ] . ια[ · · ·	 ]ανσ[ ]οτα[ ]σα[ 

] 4 0 7 [

5 ]τουσ[

]σα[

EURIPIDES, HYPSIPYLE

852.

]ν οΐου κ[

ľνδ[

]0[

]7000[

]νδ[

]0[

5

kT@0

5 ]τουσ[

]001[

]. ια[

]οτα[

γαλλί

]ν οίου κ[

**)** of

]0[

Fr. 41.	 ]τυσιν[ ]υτο[ 	Fr. 42.	 ] · !σ[ ]αργοσ[ ] · [ · · ·		 ]ιστισ[ ]ιστισ[	Fr. 44.	 ]τικτουσ[ ] · [· ·] · · [ · · · ·
Fr. 45.	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	Fr. 46.			7 ] . αισ[ ]ον[ ]τ'[ 		2  kν[ ]ααή[ ]νπί[ ]ονά[
Fr. 49.	 ]περ[ ] <sup>—</sup> αρα[ ´]ου[ 	Fr. 50.	] ][ ]ακ[ ]οι . [	Fr. 51.	 ]ειται . [ ]αλακ[ 	Fr. 52.	 ]o ].
Fr. 53.	 ]x[ ]n . [ 	Fr. 54.	 ]:aoo[ 	Fr. 55	; ] · ] ! ! 	Fr. 56.	 ]e4[ 
5	Fr. 57. []εοικε [.]εδιονυ [.]αντοσ [.]φεστη [.] . ιδ': τίσποτ'[	σόστ[ εισεσ[  κ'ουδ[  ώσ[.] . ιξ[  ουτ[		Fr. 58.	]αυραιθελο ]μύρνασκο ]λάμ[[ι]]οιο ]απόινασ ]τεφιλαι	ιπν{ βρόμιο[	

	Fr. 41.	Fr. 42.	Fr. 43.	Fr. 44.
	 άρ]τυσιν [	 ] . ισ[	 ]ισι[	 ] τικτουσ[
	]014[	] "Apyos [	]οδ' ϵ[	].[][
	]ιτο[	].[	]ιστισ[	
•			• • •	
	Fr. 45.	Fr. 46.	Fr. 47.	Fr. 48.
		٠٠٠.		 hwai
	]ro[ ]X	]. ρ' α[	] . αισ[	]υνα[
	]ρ ιδ[		]o <i>v</i> [	]as λ[
	]ε . αλιτα[	] <i>·µ</i> [	]7'[	]υπ <i>ι</i> [
	] <i>φορ</i> [		• • •	]ð[
	• • • •			5 ][[
_		-	_	
Fr. 49.	• • •	Fr. 50	Fr. 51	Fr. 52
	$]\pi\epsilon ho[$	][	-]ειται . [	<b>]</b> o
	] αρα[	]ax[	]αλακ[	]
	´]ov[	]oı . [		] $oldsymbol{ u}$
	• • •			• •
Fr. 53.		Fr 54	Fr. 55	Fr. 56
	lxí	] . a σ ο [	].	]€1[
	]η · [		j	
	• • •		]v	
Fr. 57.	( <b>X</b> 0.) [, .]	<b>ἔοικε δε</b> [ <b>F</b>	r. 58     .	
0,		Διόνυσός τ[ε 1085	] αύρα θέλο	uev i
		τος εισεσ[	σ]μύρνας κα	-
		στηκ' οὐδ[	θα]λάμοις Βρόρ	
	۱۰۱۹۲۰	မံတ[.] . မီ[	ι άπ' οίνας	m.vl]es[
	5 [.].	ιδ', οὐτ[	•	
	τίς :	ποτ' [	5 ]τε φίλαι	<b>.</b>
			<b>υσηκα φερ</b> ο	ουσα τριπε[

# THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

	θ	αλαμο[			]ασπαραχειροσεδε[
		άλλειυπ[			σεσοικουσ
		νάτ αιθ			]ερον·ωσδ'επεπώμ[
10	τ	ίτοσημα[		01	]πὰρισσόροδονχεριν[
	β	ότρυσα . [			]σωθεν
	α	ναδίδω[			]ṛṭ[. ` ] . [
	ρ	είδεγά[			
	σ	τάζει[	•		
15	ν	έκτα <i>ρ</i> [			
	λ	ιβανου[		Fr. 59.	• •
	λ το	αχανε[			][
	~ X	αρινὰ[			]ạσἁμᾶσ[
	a	ντάγω[			]οκτῆμα . [
20	.]πότ	τνιαθεω[			]σουχιθιγ[
	,	#ov		5	]νοικοισ [
		τάσκο[[υον]][			]εξαγετα[
		πρωτόγονο[			]ονγενο[
		΄]ρωσότενυ[			]εῖπετ'ά[
		]δητοτε			]μενσα . [
25		]γενο[	-	10	3 · /C · L
	• • •	$\dots$ ] $\cdot \cdot \cdot \dot{\theta}$	l		]ιδ'απο <u>μ</u> [
	•	• •	•		• •
Fr. 60	•		Col. i.		Plate III.
		3 (i	) lines lost.		
		·ν·π[			
	5	ουτωδοκ[			
		οργηπρινορ6	θῶσπραγμ[		
		σιγασ αμειβ	βηδ'ουδενω[	•	
		ωστουθανειν	μενδυνεκ[	ω[	
		τουδεκτανει	ν <b>τοτεκνον</b> ουκορ	$\theta$ [.]σδοκ $\omega$	
	10		ημ'ονεπεμαισιι		•
		πληνουτεκοι	υσαταλλαδωσε	μοντεκνον	
		στεργουσαε	<b>φερονωφ</b> ελημ'ε <sub>ί</sub>	μοιμε[[τ]]α	

		θαλαμο[ ι	090	]as παρὰ χειρὸς έδε[ξα
		βάλλει ὑπ[		]ร จ๋ร อเ้หอบร
		ἀνά τ' αἰθ[έρ		]ερον· ὡς δ' ἐπ' ἐπώμ[ιον
	10	τί τὸ σῆμα [		10 κυ]παρισσόρο(φ)ον χερὶ ν[
		βότρυς α.[		$ec{\epsilon}]\sigma\omega heta\epsilon u$
		άναδίδω[σι 1	095	] $ au\iota[.\ \hat{\cdot}\ \cdot\ .\ ]$ . [
		<i>ρ</i> εῖ δὲ γά[λακτι		
		στάζει [		
	15	νέκταρ [		
		λιβάνου [		Fr. 59
		τάχ' ἀν ϵ[ ι	001	][
		χάριν α[		]as άμâs [
		ἀντάγω[ν		τ]ὸ κτῆμα . [
20	στρ.	ω] πότνια θεω[ν		]s οὐχὶ θιγ[
		φ]άος ἄσκοπον [		5 ]ν οίκοι <b>ς</b>
		α]έρι πρωτόγονο[ν Ι	105	] έξάγετα[ι
		΄]ρως ὅτε νὺ[ξ		]ον γένο[ς
		] δη τότε [		] $\epsilon m{l} m{\pi} m{\epsilon} \ m{ au}' \ m{d} m{l}$
	25	] γενο[		]μεν σα . [
		]		10 ]η χάριν [
				] $\iota$ ဝိ' င်္ $\pi$ ဝ $\mu$ [

Fr. 60.

Col. i.

Plate III.

3 lines lost.

 $(\Upsilon\psi.) \cdot \nu \cdot \pi$ 

5 οὕτω δοκ[είς σὺ δὴ χαρίζεσθαι τυφλῆ όργῆ πρὶν ὀρθῶς πραγμ[άτων μαθείν ὁδόν. σιγᾳς, ἀμείβη δ' οὐδὲν ὧ[ν κατηγορῶ; ὡς τοῦ θανείν μὲν οὕνεκ [αἰτία γ' ἐγ]ώ, τοῦ δὲ κτανείν τὸ τέκνον οὐκ ὀρθ[ῶ]ς δοκῶ, το τοὐμὸν τιθήνημ, δν ἐπ' ἐμαῖσιν ἀγκάλαις πλὴν οὐ τεκοῦσα τἄλλα (γ') ὡς ἐμὸν τέκνον στέργουσ' ἔφερ(β)ον, ὡφέλημ' ἐμοὶ μέγα.

ωπρωρακαικαινονεξαλμησυδωρ αργουσϊωπαιδεσωσαπολλυμαικακωσ 15 ωμαντιπατροσοϊκλεουσθανουμεθα αρηξο[..]λθεμημϊδησυπαιτιασ αισχρασθανουσανδιασεγαρδιολλυμαι ελθεοισθαγαρδηταμακαισεμαρ[[μ]]υρα σαφεστατανδεξαιτ' άνηδ' εμωνκακων 20 αγετε φιλωνγαρουδεναεισορωπελασ οστισμεσωσεικεναδι.]πηδεσθηναρα επισχεσωπεμπουσατ[.]νδεεπισφαγα[.] δομωνανασσατωγαρευτρεπεισϊδων τουλευθερονσοιπροστιθημιτηφυσει 25 ωπροσσεγονατωνϊκετισαμφιαρεωπιτνω [.]αιπροσ[.]ενει . [. .]ησαπολλωνοστεχνης [.]αιρονγαρηκειστοισεμοισινενκακοισ [.]υσαιμε διαγαρσηναπολλυμαιχαριν μελλώτεθνησκεινδεσμιανδεμ' εισορασ 30 προσσοισιγονασινητοθ' ειπομηνξενουσ 

οσα[[ι]]δεπραξεισδ[[ι]]οσωνπρ[.]δουσεμε
ονειδοσαργειοι[[ο]]σινέλλησιντεσ[[οι]]
αλλωδιά[...]νεμπυρωνλευσωντυχασ
δαναοισιν[...]ετηνδεσυμφοραντεκνου
35 παρωνγα[...]βαφησιδεηδεέκουσιως
κτανεινμ[..]αιδακαπιβουλευσαιδομοισ
ειδωσαφειγμαιτηντυχηντ'υπειδομην
τηνσηνάπεισητ'εκπεπνευκοτοστεκνου
ηκ[.]δ'αρηξωνσυμφοραισιταισισαισ
40 τομ[.]νβιαιονουκεχωντοδευσεβεσ
αι[...]ονγαρευμενεξεπιστασθαιπαθειν
δρασαιδεμηδενευπαθονταπροσσεθεν
πρωτονμενουνσονδειξονωξενηκαρα

ῶ πρφρα καὶ λευκαῖνον ἐξ ἄλμης ὕδωρ Αργοῦς, ἰὼ παῖδ' (ες) · ὡς ἀπόλλυμαι κακῶς.

- 15 δ μάντι πατρὸς Οἰκλέους, θανούμεθα.
  ἄρηξο[ν, ἐ]λθέ, μή μ' ἴδης ὑπ' αἰτίας
  αἰσχρᾶς θανοῦσαν, διὰ σὲ γὰρ διόλλυμαι.
  ἔλθ', οἶσθα γὰρ δὴ τἀμά, καὶ σὲ μάρτυρα
  σαφέστατ(ο)ν δέξαιτ' ἀν ἥδ' ἐμῶν κακῶν.
- 20 ἄγετε, φίλων γὰρ οὐδέν εἰσορῶ πέλας ὅστις με σώσει· κενὰ δ [ἐ]πηδέσθην ἄρα.
- (Αμφ.) ἐπίσχες, ὧ πέμπουσα τ[ή]νδ' ἐπὶ σφαγά[ς,] δόμων ἄνασσα· τῷ γὰρ εὐ⟨π⟩ρεπεῖ σ' ἰδὼν τοὐλεύθερόν σοι προστίθημι τῆ φύσει.
- 25 ( Τψ.) ὧ πρός σε γονάτων ἰκέτις, Αμφιάρεω, πίτνω [κ]αὶ πρὸς [γ]ενείο[υ τ]ῆς (τ') Απόλλωνος τέχνης, [κ]αιρὸν γὰρ ἤκεις τοῖς ἐμοῖσιν ἐν κακοῖς, [ρ]ῦσαί με· διὰ γὰρ σὴν ἀπόλλυμαι χάριν. μέλλω τε θνήσκειν, δεσμίαν (τ)έ μ' εἰσορᾶς 30 πρὸς σοῖσι γόνασιν, ἢ τόθ' εἰπόμην ξένοις· δσια δὲ πράξεις ὅσιος ὧν· πρ[ο]δοὺς δέ με
  - οσια οε πραξεις οσιος ων πριο οους οε με δνειδος Άργείοι σιν Ελλησίν τ' έση. ἀλλ' ὧ δι' ἀ[γνῶ]ν ἐμπύρων λεύσσων τύχας Δαναοῖσιν [εἰπ]ὲ τῆ {ν}δε συμφορὰν τέκνου,
  - 35 παρών γὰ[ρ οἶσ]θα· φησὶ δ' ἤδ' ἐκουσίως κτανεῖν  $\mu$ [ε  $\pi$ ]αίδα κάπιβουλεῦσαι δόμοις.
  - (Aμφ.) εἰδὼς ἀφίγμαι τὴν τύχην  $\theta$  ὑπειδόμην τὴν σὴν  $\hat{\alpha}$  πείση τ' ἐκπεπνευκότος τέκνου, ἤκ[ω]  $\delta$  ἀρήξων συμφοραῖσι ταῖσι σαῖς,
    - 40 τὸ μ[έ]ν βίαιον οὐκ ἔχων, τὸ δ' εὐσεβές.
      αἴ[σχρ]ὸν γὰρ εῦ μὲν ἐξεπίστασθαι παθεῖν δρᾶσαι δὲ μηδὲν εῦ παθόντα πρὸς σέθεν.
      πρῶτον μὲν οὖν σὸν δεῖξον, ὧ ξένη, κάρα·

```
σ[[σ]]φονγαρομματουμονελληνωνλογος

     45 πολυσδιηκεικαιφυκουτωσγυναι
          κοσμειντ'εμαυτονκαιταδιαφερονθ'οραν
          \epsilon \pi \epsilon \iota \tau \alpha \kappa o \upsilon \sigma o \upsilon \tau o \upsilon \tau \alpha \chi o \upsilon \sigma \epsilon \tau o \upsilon \delta \alpha \upsilon \epsilon \llbracket o \rrbracket
          ειμενγαραλλοπαναμαρτανεινχρεων
          ψυχηνδεσανδροσηγυναικοσουκαλον
     50 ωξενεπροσαργειπλησια[.]ναιωνχθονα
          παντωνδ' ακοουσ' ο ίδασ εο[.] τασωφρονα
          ουγαρποτ' ειστοδ' ομμα εβλ[.] ψασπαρων
          νυνδειτιβουλεικαικλυε[.]νσεθενθελω
          καισ' εκδιδασκεινουκαναξιοσγαρει
     55 γυναιτοτησδετησταλαιπωρουκ[.]κον
          αγριωσφερουσανσεη\piιον\theta[....]ω
          ουτηνδεμαλ[.]ονητοτησδ[.]κησο[.]ων
          αισχυνομαιδεφοιβονουδιεμπυρων
          τεχνηνεπασκώνψευδοσε[.]ιλεξομεν
     60 ταυτηνεγώξεπεισακρηναιον[..]νοσ
          δειξαιδιάγνωνρευματων[......]
          στρατιαπροθυμα[\sigma \omega \sigma \tau_i \nu[.] .^{\alpha} \nu]δ[. . . . . . . . . . . ]
                     Col. ii.
Fr. 60.
                                           Plate III.
                 3(?) lines lost.
          [\ldots]v\sigma\iota\nu[
          [\ldots]\pia\iota\sigma\mu\epsilon[
          [...]\alpha\sigma\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu[
          [. .]εισδε[
      70 [...]αιθελ[
          [. .]ακωνασ[
       / ἡκόντισεἁ[
          καινινδρομ[
          ειλιξεναμφ[
      75 ἡμεισδεϊδο[
```

σῶφρον γὰρ όμμα τοὐμὸν Έλλήνων λόγος 45 πολύς διήκει καὶ πέφυχ' οὕτως, γύναι, κοσμείν τ' έμαυτον και τα διαφέρονθ' όραν. έπειτ' άκουσον, τοῦ τάχους δὲ τοῦδ' άνες. είς μέν γάρ άλλο παν αμαρτάνειν χρεών, ψυχην δ' ές άνδρὸς η γυναικὸς οὐ καλόν. 50 (Εὐρ.) ὧ ξένε πρὸς Άργει πλησία[ν] ναίων χθόνα, οὐ γάρ ποτ' εἰς τόδ' ὅμμ' ⟨ἀν⟩ ἔβλ[ε]ψας παρών. νῦν δ' εἴ τι βούλ(η), καὶ κλύε[ι]ν σέθεν θέλω καί σ' έκδιδάσκειν ούκ ανάξιος γαρ εί. 55 (Άμφ.) γύναι, τὸ τῆσδε τῆς ταλαιπώρου κ[α]κὸν άγρίως φέρουσάν σ' ήπιον θίεσθαι θέλω, οὐ τήνδε μᾶλ[λ]ον ή τὸ τῆς δ[ί]κης δ[ρ]ῶν. αίσχύνομαι δε Φοίβον οδ δι' έμπύρων τέχνην ἐπασκῶ{ν}, ψεῦδος ε[ί τ]ι λέξομεν. 60 ταύτην έγω 'ξέπεισα κρηναΐον [γά]νος δείξαι δι' άγνων ρευμάτων [δπως λάβω

Fr. 60.

Col. ii.

στρατιάς πρόθυμ', 'Αργείον ώς διεκπερών

Plate III.

3 lines lost.

[.....]υσιν[
[....] παῖς με[
[...]ασα μὲν [
[ἡμ]εῖς δὲ [
το [...]αι θέλ[οντες
[δρ]άκων ασ[
ἤκόντισ' ἄ[
καί νιν δρόμ[φ
εἴλιξεν ἀμφ[ὶ
τς ἡμεῖς δ' ἰδό[ντες

```
εγωδετόξευσ[
      αρχηγαρἡμιν[
      \alpha \rho \chi \in \mu o [\![ \nu ]\!] o \sigma \in [\![
      συτουχισαυτή[
 80 όρνιθαδαργειο[
      καιμηστολ[
     αλλουχ[
      πολλοιδ[
      καδμου[
 85 νοστουκυρησ[
     άραστοσϊξεταρ[
     ξπταστρατηγ[
     ταμενγενομεν[
      άδαῦπαρὰινῶτ[
 90 έφυμενουδεισο[
      \theta \alpha \pi \tau \epsilon \iota \nu \tau \epsilon \tau \epsilon \kappa [
     αυτοιτεθνησκε[
     ειγηνφεροντεσ[
     βιονθεριζεινω[
 95 καιτονμενει[
     στενειναπε[
     άδεικοσαργο[
     θαψαιδοσημ[
     αλλειστοναε[
100 το . [. . .]ισβρότε[
     κλεινοσγαρεσ[
     αγωνάτ αυτω[
     στεφανουσδιδ[
     ζηλωτοσεστ[
105 εντῶδεμε . [
     μνησθησετα[
     επωνομασθη[
```

έγω δ' έτόξευσ' [ άρχη γαρ ημίν [πημάτων πολλών θανών Άρχέμορός έστιν σύ τ' ούχὶ σαυτή[ν 80 δρνιθα δ' Άργείο[ισι καὶ μὴ στολ[ άλλουχ[ πολλοὶ δ[ Κάδμου [ 85 νόστου κυρησ[ "Αδραστος ίξετάρ[α πάτριον αὖ πέδον έπτα στρατηγίων έκσεσωσμένος μόνος. τὰ μέν γενόμεν[α δή σαφώς ἐπίστασαι· ά δ' αὖ παραινώ τ[αῦτά μοι δέξαι, γύναι. 90 έφυ μεν ούδεις δίστις ού πονεί βροτών θάπτει (ν) τε τέκ (να χάτερα κτᾶται νέα αὐτό(ς) τε θνήσκε[ι· καὶ τάδ άχθονται βροτοί είς γην φέροντες [γην. αναγκαίως δ έχει βίον θερίζειν ώστε κάρπιμον στάχυν, 95 καὶ τὸν μὲν εἶ[ναι τὸν δὲ μή· τί ταῦτα δεῖ στένειν ἄπε[ρ δεῖ κατὰ φύσιν διεκπερᾶν; & δ' είκὸς Άργο[ θάψαι δὸς ἡμ[ῖν άλλ' είς τὸν ἀε[ί τοι χρόνον τοῖς πήμασιν 100 τοί[ς σο]ίς βρότε[ιον ώφελήσεται γένος. κλεινός γάρ έσ[ται τάφος έν άνθρώποις ὅδε,

άγωνά τ' αὐτῷ [γυμνικὸν συστήσομεν

στεφάνους διδίόντες τοῖς κρατοῦσι φυλλάδος. ζηλωτὸς ἔστ[αι δ' ἀνδράσιν νίκη πάνυ.

105 ἐν τῷδε μὲν [
μνησθήσετα[ι δ' ὡς
ἐπωνομάσθη [

```
νεμέασκαταλσ[
αναιτίαγάρ·τοισ[
110 συνγαρκαλῶσο[
θήσεισεκαιπαιδ'[
ωπαιτομένσοιτ[
[..]ἡσσονὴμὴν[
[.]ροστασφυσεισ[
115 καιτασδιαιταστω[
π[..]θῶδετοισμε[
το[.....]αιοισ[
```

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Fr. 62. .
Fr. 61. .
                                                 ]. σ. . . [
               ]ειποι[
         ]λο[.]ριαζηλωκα[
                                                  νητομο .
         ]θεκαρδιασεσ[
                                                  ]ημνιαισοδε
         ]σδ[. ]χοισνεανι[
                                                    ξαιμεναν
       5 ]λθομουπαρόνθ'ο . [
                                                     ]ουκωλυει
         ]σινητεθνασιό[
                                                      ]ουσμολειν
         λλαδυστυχουν[
                                                      ξιαστινοσ
          ]δουλειανπικρ[
                                                      ]αυματα
          ]σανηνύτουσλο[
                                                       ]νπλακα
      10 ]άυσομαισεδω[
                                                         ] . ουφρα[
                                               10
          [καταστησειασα[
                                                              ']θο[
          ']σθ'ελευθεραν . [
           ∖ροσεισυμοιτερ[
           ]οφωδοιησχα[
       15 ]υλίκα[...]ιλα[
                      ].[
```

Fr. 63.

] . [. .] . [.]τισ[ ]ανδρακατεφυγεν[ ]θεινέστινειστα[.]δε . [ ]ουσανεθεσαν·τασσυν[

```
Νεμέος κατ' ἄλσ[ος. τήνδε δ' οὖν λῦσαί σε χρή, ἀναιτία γάρ· τοῖς [
110 σὺν γὰρ καλῷ σό[ν, ὧ γύναι, πάθος τέλει θήσει σε καὶ παῖδ' [εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν εὐκλεεῖς.

Εὐρ.) ὧ παῖ, τὸ μέν σοι τ[
[. .] ἦσσον ἢ μην[
[π]ρὸς τὰς φύσεις [χρὴ καὶ τὰ πράγματα σκοπεῖν
115 καὶ τὰς διαίτας τῶ[ν κακῶν τε κάγαθῶν, π[ει]θὼ δὲ τοῖς μὲ[ν σώφροσιν πολλὴν ἔχειν, το[ῖς μὴ δικ]αίοις [δ' οὐδὲ συμβάλλειν χρεών.
```

```
Fr. 62.
Fr. 61.
                                                ].σ...[
(\Upsilon\psi.?)
                    ]ειποι[
            ]λ' ο[ΰ]ρι' ἀζήλφ κα[κῷ
                                                γητομο .
          ηλ]θε καρδίας ἔσ[ω
                                              Λ]ημνίαις δδ€
           ]σδ' [έ]χοις νεανι[
                                                   ]ξαιμεν άν
                                                    ] ού κωλύει
      5 ήλθ όμου παρόνθ δμίως
                                                     ους μολείν
         ζώδσιν ή τεθνασι δίή
                                                     ζείας τινός
          ]λλα δυστυχοῦν[τ
                                                     αυματα
           ] δουλείαν πικρ[αν
                                                      ν πλάκα
           ]ς ἀνηνύτους λό[γους
                                                        ] . ου φρα[σ
           ]αύο ομαί σε δω
                                           10
                                                            700
           ] καταστήσειας ἄ[ν
        πρόζοθ έλευθέραν . [
           ໄρος εἶ σύ μοι τερ[
          σοφφ δοίης χά[ριν
           ]υλίκα[...]ιλα[
                     ].[
```

```
5 ]ουκεχουσισυμμαχουσ[
                                |σαμφιαρεωσ·σωσαι[
                                   ]\thetaισωσπερειν[a]ωσ . [
                                               ]α[.]βανω[
                                        Fr. 64.
                                                    Col. i.
        26 lines lost.
             του
27
                                                                  4 lines lost.
             ]ν
                                                                     ]δωνίσι θρα
                                                       50
        5 lines lost.
                                                                        KLOLO
                                                                     ]τησθρακησ
]γγαιον οροσ
                                                       51
              σ
34
        4 lines lost.
                                                       52
                                                                      ] ασ
              \delta \epsilon \tau \epsilon
                                                                  3 lines lost.
39
                                                                    ]\sigma\hat{\eta}\nu
        4 lines lost.
                                                       56
             ]αστων
                                                                    V KaT KaT
              ]\sigma
                                                                  end of column.
45
     Fr. 64.
                           Col. ii.
                  τέκνάταναμιανόδον
                  αναπ[.]λινετροχασεν
                  επιφόβονεπιτε
60
                  χάρινελίξασ χρονω
                  δεξελαμψενευάμεροσ
  a\mu\phi\iota a^{\rho} \tau\eta\nu\overline{\mu\epsilon}\nu\pi a\rho\eta[.]\hat{\omega}\nu\omega\gamma \nu\nu\alpha\iota\phi\epsilon\rho\eta\chi\alpha\rho\iota\nu
              επειδεμοιπροθυμοσησθότ ηντοτε
              απεδωκακαγώσοιπρόθυμα εσπαίδε σώ
65
              σώζ\llbracket \epsilon 
rbracketδεδησυτέκνα\sigmaωδεμητέρα
              καιχαιρετ'ημε[.]σδ' δισπερορμημεσθαδη
              στρατευμα[.]οντεσήξομενθηβασεπι
   οιυ\psiι^{\pi}
             ευδαιμονοιησ άξιοσγαρωξενε
   ΰοι
```

ευδαιμονοιησ · δητατωνδεσωνκακων

ταλαιναμητερθεωντισώσαπληστοση

70

5 ] οὐκ ἔχουσι συμμάχους
]s ᾿Αμφιάρεως· σῶσαι [ - ]θις ὡσπερεὶ νεὼς . [
λ]α[μ]βάνω[

Fr. 64. Col. i.

	26 lines lost.			
27	]του	1548	4 lines lost.	
	] <b>v</b>		<sub>50</sub> 'Ηβοωνίσι <del>Ο</del> ρα- κίαι <b>s</b>	
	5 lines lost.		51 Πά]γγαιον όρος ] τῆς Θράκης	
34	]\$	<sup>1</sup> <b>5</b> 5 5	52 ]as	1573
	4 lines lost.		3 lines lost.	
39	]δετε	1560	56 ls 1 v	1577
	4 lines lost.		]ν κάτ(ω).	٠
	]αστων		<b>J</b>	
45	]\$	1566		

Fr. 64. Col. ii.

( Τψ.) τέκνα τ' ἀνὰ μίαν ὁδὸν ἀνάπ[α]λιν ἐτρόχασεν 1580 60 ἐπὶ φόβον ἐπὶ {τε} χάριν ἐλίξας,

χρόνο δ έξελαμψεν εὐάμερος.

'Αμφιάρ(αος). τὴν μὲν παρ' ἡ[μ]ῶν, ὧ γύναι, φέρη χάριν,
ἐπεὶ δ' ἐμοὶ πρόθυμος ἦσθ' ὅτ' ἠντό(μην)
1585
65 ἀπέδωκα κἀγὼ σοὶ πρόθυμ' ἐς παῖδε σώ.
σῷζου δὲ δὴ σὺ {τέκνα} σφὼ δὲ τήνδε μητέρα,
καὶ χαίρεθ'· ἡμε[ῖ]ς δ', ὥσπερ ὡρμήμεσθα δή,

στράτευμ' ἄ[γ]οντες ἥξομεν Θήβας ἐπί.

οι Ύψιπ(ύλης) εὐδαιμονοίης, ἄξιος γάρ, ὧ ξένε,

τόδαιμονοίης δῆτα· τῶν δὲ σῶν κακῶν,

τάλαινα μῆτερ, θεῶν τις ὡς ἄπληστος ἦ⟨ν⟩.

 $\ddot{v}$  $\psi$ ι $^{\pi}$  αιαιφυγαστεμεθενάσεφυγον ωτεκνονειμάθοισλημνουποντιασ [4] δτιπατεροσουκέτεμονπολλίονκαρα ηγάρο εταξανπατερασονκατακτανειν 75 φοβοσεχειμετωντοτεκακων:ΐω τεκναδιατεγοργάδεσενλεκτροισ **έκανονευνέτασ** συδ εξέκλεψασπωσπόδαωστεμηθανειν ακτασβαρυ[[δ]]ρομουσ80 ικόμανεπίτ'οιδμαθαλασσιονορνεεων **έρημονκόιτ**αν κακειθενηλθεσδευροπώσ τίνιστολω ναυταικώπαισ  $vav\pi\lambda \iota ov\epsilon\iota\sigma\lambda\iota\mu\epsilon va\xi\epsilon v\iota\llbracket\omega v\rrbracket\pi\delta\rho ov$ 85 αγόνμεδουλοσ[.]νατ'επεβασανωτε[.]νον ενθαδη[[δη]]ναιωνμελεονεμπολαν οιμοικακωνσων μηστέν' επευτυχιαισιν αλλασυπῶσετράφησοτεδ' εντινι 90 χειριτεκνονωτεκνον ενεπ' ενεπεματρισα αργωμεκαιτονδηγαγεισκολχωνπολιν απομαστίδιον γ' εμών στ ερνων επειδ' ια[[ι]]ωνεθανεμοσμητερπατηρ 95 οιμοικακωνλέγεισδακρυάτ'ομμασιν / τεκνονεμοισδίδωσ ορφευσμεκαιτονδηγαγ'εισθρακηστοπον τίναπατεριποτεχαριναθλίω[[τιθεμενοσ]] τιθεμενοσενεπεμοιτεκνον 100 κίθα μοῦσάνμε[[κᾳ]]ρισασϊάδοσδιδασκεται

7	852. EURIPIDES, HYPSIPYLE	
	η). αἰαῖ φυγὰς {τ} ἐμέθεν ὰς ἔφυγον,	'Υψιπ(ύλι
	ῶ τέκνον, εἰ μάθοις, Λήμνου ποντίας	
159	πολιον ότι πατέρος ουκ έτεμον κάρα.	
	η γάρ σ' έταξαν πατέρα σον κατακτανείν;	
	φόβος έχει με τῶν τότε κακῶν· ἰὼ	$(T\psi.)$
	τέκν(ον), οίά τε Γοργάδες έν λέκτροις	
	έκανον εὐνέτας.	
1600	σὺ δ' έξέκλεψας πῶς πόδ' ὥστε μὴ θανεῖν;	
		80 ( <b>Υ</b> ψ.)
	έπί τ' οίδμα θαλάσσιον, δρυ(ίθ)ων	
	έρημον κοίταν.	
	κάκειθεν ήλθες δευρο πως τίνι στόλφ;	•
1608		$(T\psi.)$
	Ναύπλιον είς λιμένα ξενικον πόρον	85
	ἄγαγόν $με$ δουλοσύ $[ν]$ α τ' έπέ $β$ ασαν, $ω$ τέ $[κ]$ νον,	
	ένθάδ(ε Δα)ναί(δ)ων μέλεον έμπολάν.	
_	οίμοι κακών σών.	
1610	μη στέν' έπ' εὐτυχίαισιν.	$(T\psi.)$
	άλλὰ σὺ πῶς ἐτράφης ὅδε (τ') ἐν τίνι	90
	χειρί, τέκνον ὧ τέκνον;	
	ένεπ' ένεπε ματρί σφ.	417 V
1615	Αργώ με καὶ τόνδ' ήγαγ' έ $\{\iota\}$ ς $\langle I\omega\rangle\lambda\langle\kappa\delta\rangle\nu$ πόλιν.	, ,
1015	ἀπομαστίδιόν γ' ἐμῶν στέρνων. ἐπεὶ δ' Ἰάσων ἔθαν' ἐμός, μῆτερ, πατήρ—	(Υψ.)
	επει ο Ιασων ευαν εμος, μητερ, πατηρ	
	οιμοί κακ(α) λεγείς, οακρυά η ομμάσιν, τέκνον, έμοῖς δίδως.	( <b>T</b> \psi.)
	'Ορφεύς με καὶ τόνδ' ήγαγ' εἰς Θράκης τόπον.	/ <b>T</b> P.K., \
1620	τίνα πατέρι ποτὲ χάριν άθλίφ	•
7020	τιθέμενος; ένεπε μοι, τεκνον.	100
	μοῦσάν με κιθάρ(α)ς Άσιάδος διδάσκεται,	

```
Fr. 64.
                                                  Col. iii.
        31 lines lost.
                <u>α</u>[
                                                                       διονυ <u>φ</u>[
                σ[
145
                • [
                                                                                ŧ
                4[
                                                                 155
                                                                                ર્ષ
                ą[
               [
                <u>o</u>[
                                                                                α[
150
```

```
Fr. 65. .
                            Fr. 66. .
                                                       Fr. 67.
               ]δυτοι[
                                      ] . ασεμα[
                                                                 ]ενπο. [
                  €1#0
                                      τονσον . [
                                                                 Jai
             ] . [.]עַתְע[
                                      ]κνιατη[
                                                                 ]οίσ
             ]σμονο[
                                      ]ν'διαετο[
             ]στρατε[
                                   5 ]αιδεδρακ[
                                                              5 ]φιλα
           ]τοθνέ[
                                      ]αισχαγαρλε[
          ξατ'ήκωδ[
```

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EURIPIDES, HYPSIPYLE
                                                                                         73
               τοῦτ[ο]ν δ' ές Άρεως ὅπλ' ἐκόσμησεν μάχης.
      (\Upsilon\psi.)
                  δι' Αίγαίου δὲ τίνα πόρον
                   \epsilon \mu [\delta \lambda] \epsilon \tau' \dot{a} \kappa \tau \dot{a} \nu \Lambda \eta \mu \nu (a \nu ;
                                                                                       1625
 105 (Εύν.) Θόας [κ]ομίζει σὸς πάτηρ τέκνω δύ(ο).
      (\Upsilon \psi.) ἢ γὰ[ρ] σέσ[ω]στ[α]ι;
      (E \tilde{v} \nu.)
                                       Ba[\kappa]\chi[iov] \gamma \in \mu \eta \chi a \nu a is.
                 [\ldots\ldots]\beta\delta[\ldots]\delta\nu\omega\nu
107 (Υψ.)
                   [...... πρ]οσδοκία βιοτᾶς
                  [.... παίδας ή
                                                                                       1630
                   . [. . . . . . . . . . ] μοι.
110
        (Θδ.) κεί [νου .....]ντος οἰνωπὸν βότρυν
       Fr. 64.
                                     Col. iii.
          31 lines lost.
                a[
                σ[
                                                     Διόνυσ(os).
                             1665
           145 . [
                                                                     σ[
                                                                                       1675
                4[
                                                               155 6[
                [
                a[
                                                                    ų
                                                                    ά[
                              1670
          150 0
                                                                        Fr. 67. . .
Fr. 65. .
                                 Fr. 66. . . . .
                                                                               | εν πο . [
                                         ] . as ¿µà[s
              ]δυτοι[
                 el#o[
                                         ]τον σὸν . [
                                                                               Jαι
             ] . [.]עקע[
                                         τέκν ιατη[ρ
                                                                               Pois
             ]ς μόνο[
                                           ]\nu of \epsilon \tau o [\iota \mu (?)]
             ] στρατε[
                                         ]αι δεδρακ[
                                                                            5 ] φίλα
            ]τοθ νέ[
                                           ] αἰσχρὰ γὰρ λέ[γ
```

]ξαθ' ήκω δ' ]

\_

]αισαφωσ[		]ακα[[λ]]λαλέγ[		
	νο[ ΄]στιναι[	•	•	•
	]ταθυειν[			
0	<u>].</u> [			

Fr. 69	Fr. 70
]γανε[	]οπτολιν
]€	]ιτυχαισ
]νθεων[	]
] . 0ν	ייף דָ[
5 ]λαγην	5 ]υγαδων
j	]φαοσ
]•઼	]ωζυγωι
Ø (1)	].
_	]γης
j. ν	10 ]μεν
	]εμασ
	]μονα
	]γανε[ ]ε ]νθεων[ ] · ον 5 ]λαγην ] ]ε ΄] · [΄]ον

Fr. 71	Fr. 72	Fr. 73
$\mu \overline{i[}$	] <b>ð</b> [	] · [·] <i>ṛ!</i> [
<u>κλ[</u>	] . χρώμεν[	]αταπει[
κλ[ μη[ κα[	]ειμοιπαιδ[	]πτεινε[
	]πασηλθε[	.ἡν. ]ιδ' ειπ <i>ρ</i> [
5 τι <u>σ[</u> <u>π</u> [	5 ]λλωνδε[	5 ] - βροντί
<u>બ</u>	],• ]απόδο[	] · · [·]"
<u>• · [</u>	]νδ' απ[	
• •	ſΊ	

]α καλὰ λεγ[

]αι σαφώς [

```
νο[

ξ]στιν αι[
            ]τα θύειν [
     10
             ]..[
Fr. 68. . . . .
                          Fr. 69. . . . .
                                                        Fr. 70. . . .
                                         ]yav€[
                                                                    ἀπ δπτολιν
          ]μα
                                        J€
                                                                     ]ι τύχαις
         \lambda ] \alpha \beta y
                                        ]ν θεῶν
                                                                     ]
                                     ] . 00
                                                                     ]την
           Įυ
           עסע
                               5 άλ]λαγήν
                                                                   5 φ]υγάδων
                                                                    ] φάος
           ]υ
                                     ]€
         ]νω·
                                                                     ]တု (တုတ်
                                    '] σ [.]oν
         ] κακόν
                                                                     ].
         ]a
                                                                     ]γης
         ]δ άφρων
                                                                 10 ]μεν
          ]ŋ
                                                                      ] ė̃µàs
                                                                     ]μονα
 Fr. 71. . . .
                                                            Fr. 73. . . .
                            Fr. 72. . . . .
           (A) μί[
                                        ]બ[
                                                                     ] . [.]τι[
           (B) \kappa\lambda
                                     ]. χρωμεν[
                                                                     ]αταπει[
                                     ]ει μοι παιδ[
                                                                     ]\pi \tau \epsilon \iota \nu \epsilon [
           (A) \mu\eta
           (B) \kappa \alpha [
                                        ]πας ήλθε[
                                                                     \int_{\mathbb{R}} \delta' \epsilon i \pi \rho [
        5 (Λ) τισ[
                                  _{5} ]λλων _{\delta \epsilon}^{\sigma[}
                                                                  5 ]s βροντ[
```

]λ' ἀπόδο[

|νδ' απ[

 $] \cdot \cdot [.] \nu \eta [$ 

][

(B)  $\mu$ 

(A) of

(B) o.[

Fr. 74	Fr. 75.		Fr. 76
] ] σεθί[ ] ωγυνα[ ] σωσαί[ 5 ] ··[ · · ·	5	]υνσοιθα[ ]υεινμ'ει[ ]σουσαδυ[ ]ποτεκ[ ]θανατ[ ] . ] . [	]χ[ ]σσ . ]αφια[ ]νεχει 5 ]ειθεων 
Fr. 77		Fr. 78	[
Fr. 79.	Fr. 80.	Fr. 81.	Fr. 82.
 ]ωσ[.]αδ[ ]ργασηντ[ ]λιδασμι[ 5		]θεασρ[ ]ντετραφ[ ].[]σιν[	] . α [ ]κακ . [ ] . αδέτισ[ ]τε
Fr. 83. ]πεὶθὼ . [ ]κομιζε[ ][]]χρη . [ 		Fr. 8. ]μενεί[ ]στοσο . [ ]σανθρ[	5 ] · [ ] · εισε[·]κ[ ]ισκαμ · [ ] · [·]φ[

```
EURIPIDES, HYPSIPYLE
                                                                     77
  Fr. 74. . . . .
                        Fr. 75. . . . .
                                                Fr. 76. . . .
                                ]υν σοι θα[ν
         ]ησεθί
                                                           lx[
         μέν τε [
                                ]v \in v \mu' \in v
                                                         ]\gamma\mu\epsilon\nu[
                                ]σουσα δυ[
                                                         \sigma\sigma.
         ] ὧ γύνα[ι
                                                        ]αφια[
         ]σῶσαι [
                                ]ποτεκ[
                                                        ]ν ἔχει
                               ] θανατ[
       5]..[
                                                      5 ]ει θεῶν
                                ].
                                ] · [
    Fr. 77. . .
                                     Fr. 78. . . .
                                              ] . [
              ]. a
                                              ]ει [:]ν . [
              1
                                              Įιν
            θ]έμις
                                               ]δανα[
                                             5 ]ις δισ[
            ] χρη πέρας
          5 ]ασθαι
                                                1
            ]
                                                   ]•[
Fr. 79. . . . Fr. 80. . . . Fr. 81. . . . . Fr. 82. . . .
       ]ωσ[.]αδ[
                       ] νῦν δ[
                                          ]θεas ρ[
                                                       ] . a . . [
                        ]ουτ' ἀ . [
                                          ]ντετραφ[
       ργα σην τί
                                                          ]KaK . [
      ]λιδας μι[
                         ]ωξαν[
                                          ]δα θεῶν . [
                                                          ] . αδέ τις [
       παισ
                                         ] • [. .]σιν[
                        ]ωστεσ[
                       5].[
                            Fr. 84. . . . Fr. 85. . . .
      Fr. 83. ] πειθώ . [
             ] κομιζε[
                                   ]μενει[
                                                          ] • [
```

στοσοί

]s  $d\nu\theta\rho[\omega\pi]$ 

] . εισε[.]κ[

]ις καμ . [ ] . [.]ω[

852.

] ov  $\chi \rho \eta$  . [

. . . .

•			
Fr. 86	. Fr. 87	Fr. 88.	
] $\sigma$		χ·[	]
]εισ		n n	1
•	].4[	o]]vπυρ[	]πέρι
]θ[[οι]]π	<b>0</b> Τ <b>€</b>		1
• •	•		
T- 00	E	P	
		Fr. 91 Fr	•
<u>j</u> oσ	]. ν	]!#[	] . εσθ[
]	]	] <u>r</u> !6[	] <u>ę</u> ¢o <i>µ</i> [
]μωσ	$]v\sigma$	]πδρευσ	]λ <sub>ε</sub> [
]	]. 00	] • [• •]ɾe̞ɾ[	]καταπα[
5 ] <i>ບ</i> ຸ <b>ຕ</b>	]		
]evov	]		
• •			
		_	
Fr. 93		Fr. 95 Fr.	
]άυτ <b>η</b> [	][	] <b>઼</b> ઈ€[	]λατ[
]te[	]ὖ <del>ợπ</del> [	]ων{[	] · #[
$]a u\pi[$	]αοσ[	]ειν[	] · <b>p</b> [
]έλα[	] <b>β</b> aκ[	][	]&€[
	• •		• • •
Fr. 97	Fr. 98	Fr. 99 Fr.	100
] <b>ڊ ۴</b> [	] <b>ŋ</b> δ[	]µor[	]avi[
æ[	]órð[	]	]
<b>?</b> [	]&a[	′] <b>;:</b> @[	]ατε[
	•	• •	1.1
		Fr. 103 Fr	
]μσ[	]σινο[	]ωκα[	]ya <u>v</u> [
· ]προ[	]aio . v . [	]x <i>0</i> o[	]ya[
]a[	]		

]a[

]

. .

Fr. 105.		Fr. 106	Fr. 107	Fr. 108
	]τουτ[	]	<b>k</b> · [	) <del>[</del> [
	] . σεπ[	]κοισ	$]\pi\omega[$	]αρε
		• •		
		Fr. 110	Fr. 111	Fr. 112
	]ιοσεί[	]ουτε[	] ( ) [	] <u>7</u> áo . [
				• • •
Fr. 113.		Fr. 114	Fr. 115	Fr. 116
	]801[	]· <u>'</u> ¥[	]θοα[	].
	] [	] [	] [	] <b>£</b> ovợ[
	] [	] [	] [	][
		• •		

We append here the previously known fragments of the *Hypsipyle*; the numbers are those of Nauck's *Fragmenta Tragicorum*, 1889.

752. Aristoph. Frogs 1211-3 and Schol. ad loc.:

Διόνυσος, δς θύρσοισι καὶ νεβρῶν δοραῖς καθαπτὸς ἐν πεύκαισι Παρνασὸν κάτα πηδᾶ χορεύων παρθένοις σὺν Δελφίσιν

The first three lines of the play, spoken by Hypsipyle, or, less probably, one of her sons; cf. introd. p. 23.

753. Didymus in Macrob. Sat. 5. 18. 12:

δείξω μεν 'Αργείοισιν 'Αχελώου ρόον

Hypsipyle accedes to Amphiaraus' request to show him a spring. The line is to be placed between Fr. 1. v. 35 and Fr. 6.

754. Plut. Mor. p. 93 D = p. 661 F:

ἔτερον ἐφ' ἐτέρφ αἰρόμενος ἄγρευμ' ἀνθέων ἡδομένα ψυχα τὸ νήπιον ἄπληστον ἔχων

αἰρόμενος p. 93, ἰώμενος p. 661.
 αἰχρηστον ἔχων p. 93, ἄπληστος ἐών p. 661.

This fragment, spoken by Hypsipyle and referring to Archemorus, probably belongs to the lyrical portion of the scene between her and the chorus immediately after the accident;

Fr. 105	Fr. 106	Fr. 107	Fr. 108
]τουτ[	]	][	]£[
]. σεπ[	]kois	}πω[	]αρ€
Fr. 109	Fr. 110	. Fr. 111	Fr. 112
]ιοσ€ι[	]ουτε[	]ιν[	]τάο . [
	• •	• • •	
Fr. 113. · ·	Fr. 114	Fr. 115	Fr. 116
]δον[	]. λ[	] Θόα[	].
] [	] [	] [	] <b>ξον</b> σ[
] [	. ] [	] [	][

see introd. p. 25, and note on Fr. 10, in the neighbourhood of which it is to be placed. Cf. Statius, *Theb.* iv. 786 sqq. at puer in gremio vernae, &c.

755. Aristoph. Frogs 1328 and Schol. ad loc.:

## άνὰ τὸ δωδεκαμήχανον ἄντρον

This is usually supposed to refer to the lair of the δράκων (cf. Phoen. 1010 σηκόν ές μελαμβαθή δράκοντος), and if so is to be connected with No. 754 and Frs. 10 sqq. δωδεκαμή-χανον, however, is a very strange epithet of ἄντρον. There is another reading ἄστρον, which has been taken to mean the sun or the moon; but this is also unsatisfactory.

756. Aristoph. Frogs 1322 and Schol. 1320:

## περίβαλ' ὧ τέκνον ὧλένας

Spoken by Hypsipyle and probably from the scene of recognition between her and her sons (Fr. 64.11), rather than addressed to the child Archemorus in the early part of the play.

757. = Fr. 60. 89-96.

758. Stob. Flor. 10. 26:

## κακοίς τὸ κέρδος της δίκης υπέρτερον

Probably to be attributed to Eurydice, who is accusing Hypsipyle of corruption; cf. Fr. 60. 35-6. The line will then come from the vicinity of Frs. 22-32.

759. = Fr. 60. 114-18.

760. Stob. Flor. 20. 31 and 20. 12:

έξω γαρ όργης πας ανηρ σοφώτερος

The speaker here is in all probability Hypsipyle, deprecating the anger of Eurydice; cf. Fr. 22. 3  $\kappa ai \mu \dot{\eta} \delta i \dot{\delta} \rho [\gamma \dot{\eta} s \dots]$  Hence this line is likely to come from the same scene as No. 758 and Frs. 22-32.

761. Stob. Flor. 110. 16:

ἄελπτον οὐδέν, πάντα δ' έλπίζειν χρεών

Presumably spoken either by Amphiaraus to Hypsipyle or by Hypsipyle herself after her unexpected deliverance, and to be placed somewhere between Fr. 60. 117 and Fr. 64. ii.

762. Eust. ii. p. 959. 43:

εδφημα καί σα και κατεσφραγισμένα

Valckenaer wished to emend  $\epsilon \delta \phi \eta \mu a$  to  $\epsilon \delta \sigma \eta \mu a$ , and Hartung following Zirndorfer supposes that the reference is to the  $\sigma \eta \mu \epsilon a$  by which the recognition of Euneos and Thoas was effected. Wilamowitz would retain  $\epsilon \delta \phi \eta \mu a$ , supposing a reference to some secret which was to be preserved by silence; but the context cannot be recovered.

763. Aristoph. Frogs 64 and Schol. ad loc.:

ή έτέρα φράσω;

The words give no indication of their context. Bothe supposed that the scholiast's remark ἔστι δὲ τὸ ἡμιστίχιον ἐξ Ὑψιπύλης referred to the first half of the line, δρ' ἐκδιδάσκω τὸ σαφές..

764. Galenus, vol. 18, 1 p. 519:

ίδου, προς αἰθέρ' ἐξαμίλλησαι κόρας γραπτούς (τ' ἐν αἰετ)οῖσι πρόσβλε(ψ)ον τύπους

1. κόραι MSS., κόραι Hermann, κόραις Musgrave. 2. οἶσι πρόσβλεπον MSS., ἐν αἰετοῖσι προσβλέπειν Valckenaer, *Diatr*. p. 214 (the passage being quoted in connexion with ἀέτωμα οτ ἀετός), τ' . . . πρόσβλεψον Nauck.

The reference in these lines is obscure; possibly they occurred in the conversation of Euneos and Thoas on their arrival outside the palace; cf. introd. p. 23, and Fr. 1. i. 1-3, note.

765. Aristoph. Frogs 1320 and Schol. ad loc.:

οινάνθα τρέφει τον ιερον βότρυν

τρέφει RV, φέρει other MSS., ολνάντας τε τρέφει Tzetzes.

This is connected by Welcker (Gr. Trag. ii. p. 559) with the χρυση ἄμπελος referred to in the Scholium on Anth. Pal. iii. 10 (introd. p. 28) as the symbol by which Euneos and Thoas established their identity. But the words might well come from a choral ode such as those to which Frs. 7 and 57–9 belong; cf. also Fr. 64. 111.

766. Hesychius 1, p. 320:

#### άναδρομαί

Hesych. gives as synonyms αἰξήσεις, βλαστήσεις. An ode such as that in Frs. 57-9 would be a likely place for the word to occur.

767. Harpocration, s. v. dpkrevoa:

#### άρκτος

Harp. says ότι δὲ al ἀρκτευόμεται παρθέτοι ἄρκτοι καλοῦνται, Εὐριπίδης 'Υψιπύλη, 'Αριστοφάτης Αημείαις καὶ Αυσιστράτη. These so-called ἄρκτοι were devoted to the cult of Artemis Brauronia, who was associated with Lemnian legend through the story told by Hdt. vi. 138 of the rape of Athenian women from Brauron. At what point an allusion to them came in the Hypsipyle is quite obscure.

768. = Fr. 1. iv. 15?

769. Cf. Fr. 1. ii. 7 and introd. p. 24.

770. = Fr. 1. ii. 13?

862. (fab. inc.) Bekker, Anecd. p. 362:

δράκοντος αίματωπον δμμα

Cf. Fr. 60. 71-2, note.

Lydus, de mensibus iv. 7. p. 72, ed. Wünsch:

ω θνητά παραφρονήματ' άνθρώπων, μάτην

οί φασιν είναι την τύχην άλλ' οὐ θεούς.

εί γὰρ τύχη μὲν ἔστιν, οὐδὲν δεῖ θεοῦ,

εί δ' οί θεοὶ σθένουσιν, οὐδὲν ἡ τύχη.

Our attention was drawn by Wilamowitz to this citation, which is given with the name of the poet and play. The two last lines appear in the form εἰ μὰν θεοὶ σθένουσω οὐκ ἔστω τύχη εἰ δ οὐ σθένουσω οὐδέν ἐστω ἡ Τύχη in Floril. Monac. 108 (cf. Schol. Lucian, p. 171), and so stand in Nauck, Fr. adesp. 169; W-M would read θεῶν for θεοῦ in l. 3. The lines are likely to have occurred towards the end of the play, after Fr. 60.

Fr. 1. i. 2-11. Hypsipyle. '... toys to soothe thy mind from lamentation. Was it you, young sirs, who knocked at the gates? Oh happy woman your mother, whoe'er she was. What do ye come seeking from these halls?

Thous. We desire to be taken within the house, woman, if it be possible for us to rest here a single night. We have with us all we need: wherein should we be any trouble to these halls? Thy duties will be undisturbed.

Hyps. It chances that the house is left without a man to rule it . . .'

1-3. Hypsipyle is apparently quieting the child, which had been crying, before addressing the strangers; possibly their appearance was the cause of the child's alarm. In l. 3 some

alteration of  $\sigma\omega\nu$  seems almost necessary, and  $\sigma\acute{as}$ , which W(ilamowitz)–M(öllendorff) suggests, is a simple remedy;  $\tau \tilde{\omega}\nu$  would be easier than  $\sigma \tilde{\omega}\nu$ . The remains of the two preceding verses give little clue to their sense; at the end of l. 1 the letter before  $\omega$ s had a curved base, and may be  $\epsilon$ ,  $\sigma$ ,  $\pi$ , or  $\nu$ .  $\gamma\rho\sigma$  suggests Nauck Fr. 764. 2  $\gamma\rho\sigma\pi\tau\sigma\dot{\nu}s\langle \tau'\dot{\epsilon}\nu$  aleryofor  $\pi\rho\dot{\nu}\sigma\beta\lambda\epsilon\langle \psi\rangle\omega$   $\tau\dot{\nu}\pi\sigma\nu s$ , but the difference of termination seems to preclude any identification with that verse;  $\omega\epsilon$  ros could not be read, and to suppose that  $\tau\nu\pi\omega s$  was written for  $\tau\nu\pi\omega s$  is too bold. In l. 2 the doubtful  $\pi$  may be  $\omega$  or  $\omega$ .

4. The accents of expourar and rearials are wrongly placed.

7. Obas: this was the name of the second son of Jason and Hypsipyle according also to Schol. Pind. Nem. Argum., Myth. Vat. 1. 133, 2. 141, Anth. Pal. iii. 10, and Statius, Theb. vi. 342; Apollod. i. 9. 17 calls him Nebrophonus, Hyginus, c. 17, Deipylus.

[έ] [τὸς ἀ]χθηναι is due to Murray.

8. ἐν αυλίσ μι (Murray) suits the scanty traces sufficiently well, and is more euphonious after the preceding ἀ]χθηνω than another passive infinitive such as δεχθηνω. ἐναυλίζειν occurs in Soph. Phil. 33.

9. The reading of the latter half of the line is doubtful.  $\tau$  after  $\partial \epsilon_i$  is only fairly satisfactory, and  $\kappa$  or  $\nu$  might well be substituted;  $[\tau \epsilon]$  hardly fills the lacuna after  $\pi \circ$ , but the scribe's spacing is irregular, and  $\epsilon$  especially sometimes occupies a good deal of room.

11. [ἀδέσ]ποτος μ[ἐν ο]κ[ο]ς (Bury) suits the papyrus decidedly better than [ἀπρόσ]τατος μ[ἐν ο]κ[ο]ς (W-M).

Fr. 2. 1. The gap between this and the preceding fragment is evidently very slight, and Fr. 2. 1 may well be the next line to Fr. 1. i. 11. It is indeed just possible that the two lines should be combined into one, reading  $[i\partial]/\sigma\pi\sigma\tau\sigma$  s.  $\tau$ .  $\lambda$ ., but the vestiges in Fr. 2. 1 though scanty are not in favour of  $\sigma$ . The purport of the passage clearly is that Lycurgus the king was away (cf. introd. p. 23), and that in his absence the queen Eurydice was at the head of affairs.

4 sqq. The remains of these verses suggest that the sense of Thoas's remark was 'Then we cannot find quarters here but must seek them elsewhere?' to which Hypsipyle replied, 'By no means; strangers are always made welcome here.' Ll. 4–5 may accordingly be restored e. g. οὐκ ἐν ξε[νῶσι τοῖσδ' ἄρ' ἀναπαυσαίμεθ ἄν, πρὸς δ' ἄλλο δή τι δῶμ' ἀφορμᾶσθαι χρεών; cf. for the latter line Herc. F. 1286 ἐς ἄλλην δή τιν' ὁρμήσω πόλιν; Alc. 1040 εἴ του πρὸς ἄλλου δώμαθ ὡρμήθης ξένου, and, for the reply of Hypsipyle in ll. 6–9, Alc. 566–7 τἀμὰ δ' οὐκ ἐπίσταται μέλαθρ' ἀπωθεῖν οὐδ' ἀτιμάζειν ξένους.

Fr. 1. ii. 1-14. Hypsipyle is singing to the child Archemorus; cf. introd. p. 23. The metrical identity between ll. 9-14 here and ll. 11-7 in Col. iii, makes natural the supposition that the preceding verses of these two sets of lyrics were in strophic correspondence, though as they stand in the papyrus they do not at first sight appear to be so. But, as W-M points out to us, a sufficient correspondence can be obtained in ll. 5-8 with very slight manipulation, the verses being glyconics, in which a free responsion is permissible. Between ll. 8 and 9 the loss of a verse, answering to iii. 10 Θρήσος εβόα κάθαρις 'Ορφέως, is marked by the marginal ἄν(ω); cf. note on ll. 8-10. By writing ποταμοῦο for ποταμοῦ in iii. 6, and in the following verse omitting the ν ἐφελκυστικόν in ἐτέκνωσεν and transposing the first syllable of Πηλέα, the following correspondence is obtained:—

Owing to the imperfect text it is hazardous to attempt to extend this process to the preceding lines; but it seems likely that in Col. iii. 3-5 the scribe's division is at fault, and that the glyconic-pherecratic measure should be restored by writing  $\sigma[\ ]_{\mu\nu\eta\gamma} \ \partial\rho\omega\nu|\sigma\sigma s \ \delta\eta^{\alpha}$  odd a  $\eta \rho \mu \mu \gamma \sigma i$  dráfau. Similarly in Col. ii. 4 the second syllable of  $a \partial \gamma d\sigma \nu$  very likely belongs to the following verse; in l. 3 there seems to be a more serious dislocation or corruption.

3. Perhaps ὑ πάρχον, but the vestiges are too slight to give any confirmation.

4. λευκ]οφαή: cf. I. A. 1054 λευκοφαή ψάμαθον; but this is only one of several possibilities.

8-14. Hyps. 'Lo this rattle's sound! (...) No Lemnian strain as solace for the shuttle or for the comb pressed within the web, O Muse, is this which I have to utter, but whatever befits a young child, for his slumber or amusement or meet tending, of this I make my song' (i. e. I sing for the benefit of my nursling, not to beguile labour at the loom).

8-10. For κροτάλων cf. Aristophanes, Frogs 1305-6, and the other references given in introd. p. 24. Frogs 1313-6 αι θ ύπωρόφιοι κατά γωνίας εξειειειλίσσετε δακτύλοις φάλαγγες Ιστότονα πηνίσματα κερκίδος ἀοιδοῦ μελίτας was perhaps intended to be a parody on ll. 9-11, and Ιστοτόνου here strongly supports Ιστότονα in the Aristophanes passage where the Ravennas alone has Ιστόπονα, the reading preferred by recent editors.

 $\tilde{a}r(\omega)$ , written in a probably different hand at the end of 1.8, and the critical signs in front of 11.8–9 refer to an insertion in the lost upper margin supplying a textual omission which is also indicated by the metre; cf. note on 11. 1–14. Cf. also Fr. 64. 57, where  $\kappa \acute{a}r(\omega)$ 

occurs in a similar position, and 228. 125, 700. 27.

11. W-M suggests καλεῖ for μελει, but, as Mr. E. C. Marchant observes, this is unnecessary if Mοῦσα be taken as a vocative. λεγειν has been altered (perhaps by the first hand) to κρεκειν; cf. l. 26, where Λημνου has replaced νησου. Murray remarks that these variations recall the double readings which are found in the Laurentian MS. in several of Euripides' plays, the Ion, I. A., I. T., and Rhesus, and which perhaps descended from the edition of Aristophanes of Byzantium; cf. Wilamowitz, Heracles, I. pp. 147 sqq., 214 sq.

13. mapi: perhaps this is the passage referred to in Bekker, Antiatt. p. 109. 15 (= Nauck

Fr. 770) νεαρός αντί τοῦ νέος Εὐριπίδης Ύψιπύλη.

14. τάδε: this construction ad sensum of a plural substantive with a singular relative having a collective sense is common from Homer downwards. A good parallel to the present passage is Soph. Ant. 707 ὅστις γὰρ αὐτὸς ἡ φρονεῖν μόνος δοκεῖ, ἡ γλῶσσαν, ἡν οὐκ ἄλλος, ἡ ψυχὴν ἔχειν, οὖτοι διαπτυχθέντες ώφθησαν κενοί.

15-37. Chorus. 'Why art thou, dear one, at the vestibule? Art thou sweeping the palace-entrance or sprinkling water-drops upon the ground in servile wise, or art thou hymning the fifty-oared Argo which is ever on thy lips or the sacred fleece of gold guarded upon oaken branches by a dragon's eye? Are thy thoughts with sea-girt Lemnos, echoing to the rolling billows of the Aegean, now, when hither up Nemea's meads in brazen panoply fleet Adrastus having passed the plain of Argos is bringing swift war against the lyre-built wall, the work of Amphion's hand? He has summoned the might (of Hellas) with divers scutcheons and gilded bows . . .'

15 sqq. As with the lyrics of Hypsipyle (cf. note on ii. 1-14), so too in the two choral odes, strophic responsion was naturally observed, and ii. 15 sqq. = iii. 18 sqq., the metre being as before to a large extent glyconic, and the correspondence of a free character. A greater licence in the use of the polyschematic glyconic verse, as was remarked by G. Hermann, *Elem. doctr. metr.*, is a characteristic of Euripides' later period. Hypsipyle's

third song, of which the conclusion remains at the top of Col. iv, served as an epode; the general scheme thus is  $\alpha \beta \alpha \beta \gamma$ .

17. σαίρειs: cf. e.g. Hec. 363-4 σαίρει» τε δώμα κερκίσι» τ' έφεστάναι λυπράν άγουσαν ήμέραν μ' άναγκάσει. The accent on η is erroneous; cf. i. 4, note.

18. olá re: so again Fr. 64. 77; cf. Homer, y 73, Hdt. ii. 175.

19 sqq. Cf. Statius, Theb. v. 615-6 quotiens tibi Lemnon et Argo sueta loqui et longa somnum suadere querela.

21. πεντηκόντορος is the usual Attic spelling; -ερος was an Ionic form, and appears in Hdt. Cf. Apollod. i. 9. 16 κάκεῖνος (sc. Argus) 'Αθηνᾶς ὑποθεμένης πεντηκόντορον ναῦν κατεσκεύασε τὴν προσαγορευθεῖσαν . . . 'Αργώ.

22. χρυσεόμαλλον: cf. El. 724-5 χρυσεόμαλλον . . . ποίμναν and Apollod. i. 9. 16

χρυσόμαλλον δέρας.

28. κυμοτύπος though unattested is quite a possible word, but κυμοκτύπος (Simmias ap.

Hephaest. p. 74 Gaisf. κυμοκτύπων ήραν άλίων μυχών) is required by the metre.

29. δεῦρ' ὅτ' (Murray) seems preferable to δεῦρο (δ'), bringing out more clearly the connexion of thought; 'Are you still harping,' the chorus asks, 'on the old themes when events of such importance are passing at our doors?' A comma-like mark just below the a of λειμωνα seems to be meaningless.

30. απαγει is not a quite satisfactory reading. The π is represented only by the second of the two uprights, which is drawn so long as to be more like ρ or ν with a space for an intervening letter after the α; there would also be room for a narrow letter between γ and ει. But we can find no suitable alternative to ἀπάγει, and a π of just this shape occurs in the next column in l. 20 πατριους; cf. also παις in l. 21. The verse can be easily reduced to a third glyconic and brought into harmony with the remains of iii. 15 by reading χαλκέοισιν for χαλκείοις. Murray suggests α[ι]ρ' ἀγει, with e. g. κτύπον αfter Νέμει[ον in l. 29 (cf. Or. 181 κτύπον ἢγάγετ') and πα[τούντων in l. 31 instead of πα[ρείς. But something of the base of a ν would be expected to be visible between α and ρ, and a mixture of dochmiacs (-ον κτύπον κ.τ.λ.) with glyconics does not seem very probable in a choral ode.

31.  $\pi a \rho \epsilon is$  (W-M) suits the sense, and to a sufficient extent also the metre, though the corresponding line (iii. 34) is catalectic. Part of the tail of the  $\rho$  would indeed be expected to be visible, but the scribe does not always make that letter very long (cf. e. g.  $\epsilon \rho \nu \mu a$  in the next line), and it is not quite clear how far the accent on  $\epsilon$  of  $\epsilon \rho \nu \mu a$  extends, i. e. the upper

extremity of it might belong to a  $\rho$  of the line above.

32-3. The wall raised by the lyre of Amphion is of course Thebes. Cf. Phoen. 823-4

φόρμιγγί τε τείχεα Θήβας τας 'Αμφιονίας τε λύρας υπο πύργος ανέστα.

34. ἀ[κυ]πόδας (= ἀκυπόδης: cf. Anth. Pal. v. 223, ix. 371) is due to W-M. It is noticeable that ἀκύπορος occurs in the corresponding verse of the antistrophe (l. 37). The supplement at the end of the line aims at reproducing the metre of iii. 37, but is of course highly conjectural; for ἀπάγει... "Αρη cf. Phoen. 1123-4 πύλαις "Αρη προσήγε, I. A. 283-4 λευκήρετμου δ' "Αρη Τάφιου ήγεν. Α[δρ]ασ[το]ς is very doubtfully read, but his name can hardly be spared in this line, and the initial a is fairly certain.

35. ἐκάλεσε μένο[s, as Wilamowitz suggests, is more apposite than καλεσόμενο[s since the army was already on the march, and it would be more natural to describe the result than the process of Adrastus' preparations. The scanty vestiges between  $\sigma$  and  $\mu$  are consistent

with either o or e, though an e must have been written rather small.

36. Apparently συεματα was originally written, the v being afterwards crossed through, but not the ε; possibly, however, the second letter is a deleted ι or γ, and the cross-bar of the supposed ε represents the stroke of deletion. Above the line is an α, and σάματα (σήματα) would be a natural word in this context; cf. El. 455-6 ἀσπίδος ἐν κύκλφ τοιάδε σήματα, I. A. 275 πρύμνας σήμα ταυρόπουν. W-M, however, would prefer σάγματα (cf. Andr.

617 κάλλιστα τεύχη δ' έν καλοίσι σάγμασιν), and it is indeed possible that an overwritten γ followed the a, for the papyrus is rubbed here.

37. The accentuation of τόξά τε is in accordance with the rules of ancient grammarians;

cf. Fr. 64. ii. 1, 841. V. 44 évbá pe and note ad loc.

- 38. μονοβάμονε[s: the only other instance of this word is Anth. Pal. xv. 27, where it is applied to μέτρον in the sense of having only one foot. Cf. τετραβάμων, El. 476, &c.
- iii. 3-17. Hyps. '... speeding over the waves in the calm to make fast the cables, him whom the river-maiden Aegina bore, even Peleus; and by the mast amidships Orpheus' Thracian lyre of Asia sounded a dirge of invocation, playing a measure for the rowers of the long-shafted oars, now a swift stroke, now easying the blade of pine. This, this my soul longs to celebrate: let others hymn the toils of the Danai.'
- 3-5. In its present condition this is an obscure passage. On the question of the metre cf. note on ii. 1-14.

6-7. ποταμοῖο and ἐτέκνωσε Πη|λέα are changes made on metrical grounds; cf. note on ii. 1-14. Peleus is introduced here as one of the Argonauts; cf. Apollod. i. 9. 16; but according to the usual mythology he was the son of Aeacus, and grandson, not son, of

Aegina. The 'river' of course is Asopus.

- 8-10. Cf. Statius, Theb. v. 342 sqq. vox media de puppe venit... Oeagrius illic acclinis malo mediis intersonat Orpheus remigiis. ἐλεγον is a certain emendation of W-M. The termination has been altered in the papyrus, but what was first written is doubtful; possibly it was actually ελεγον, with a very small o. The combination of ᾿Ασιάς and Θρῆσσα as epithets of κίθαρις is harsh but excusable on account of the frequency of the conjunction ʿAsian lyre'; cf. Fr. 64. 101, Cyclops 443, &c. Orpheus is enumerated among the Argonauts by Pindar, Pyth. iv. 315, and according to later mythographers his musical art had much to do with the success of the expedition. Cf. Fr. 64. 98.
- 11 sqq. We rearrange the division of the verses so as to correspond to that of ii. 9 sqq.
- 11. μακροπόλος is not found elsewhere, but may perhaps be defended here on the analogy of the Homeric ἐν ἀκροπόλοισιν ὅρεσσιν Ε 523, τ 205. W-M's suggestion to read μακροπόδων (though that word too lacks classical support) is, however, very attractive; cf. e. g. Timotheus, *Persae* 101-2, where ὀρείους πόδας ναός is a synonym for oars.
  - 11-2. Cf. I. T. 1125 sqq. συρίζων θ ό κηροδέτας κάλαμος οὐρείου Πανός κώπαις ἐπιθωύξει.
- 15. εδεῖν W-M: the earliest examples of this verb are in Alexandrian poets, but the ineptness of εδεῖν and the parallelism of ἀναβοάτω make the correction practically certain here; cf. also ii. 19-21.
- 18-32. Chorus. 'From wise men have I heard the tale how of old the Tyrian maid Europa left the city and Phoenician home of her fathers, and journeyed on the waves to sacred Crete, nurse of Zeus and home of the Curetes; yet to a threefold birth of children she left sovranty and happy sway over the land. And another maiden, I hear, queenly Io of Argos, quitted her fatherland to take the horns of a cow and suffer a gadfly's torment. When the god calls this to thy mind...'

18 sqq. On the sequence of thought cf. introd. p. 24.

- 21-2. Cf. Cretes, Nauck Fr. 472 Φοινικογενοῦς παῖ τῆς Τυρίας τέκνον Εὐρώπας. Nauck following Bothe omits παῖ τῆς Τυρίας, and παῖ followed by τέκνον can hardly be right, but a less drastic remedy would be to emend παῖ τῆς to παιδός; cf. Τυρία παῖς here.
- 22. There does not seem much to choose between the alternative readings ἀπέβα and ἐπέβα, but ἀποβαίνειν does not happen to occur with a direct accusative elsewhere in Euripides,

and the idea of departure is sufficiently expressed by λιποῦσο. Whether the interlinear ε was added by the first or second hand is doubtful; cf. introd. p. 21.

23-4. Cf. Bacch. 120-2 & θαλάμευμα Κουρήτων ζαθέου τε Κρήτας Διογενέτορες έναυλοι. The collocation Διοτρόφον . . . τροφόν is a little inelegant, but probably sound; Διοτρόφος is a new compound.

26. τρισσοῖs: i. e. Minos, Rhadamanthys, and Sarpedon; cf. Hesiod, Fr. 39 (Schol. II. M 292), Apollod. iii. 1. 1, &c.

27. Both a circumflex and an acute accent have been placed above the  $\omega$  of  $\chi\omega\rho\alpha s$ ; the former of course is erroneous.

29. [οίσ]τρφ: [κίν]τρφ would remove the hiatus, but is both a less natural term (cf. however, Aesch. *Prom.* 596 sqq. νόσον . . . à μαραίνει με χρίουσα κέντροις φοιταλέοις) and less suited to the size of lacuna. The following word as originally written was a vox nihili; the first of the two deleted letters seems to be λ rather than a.

30.  $[\pi \acute{ar}] \rho as$ : the supplement is rather longer than would be expected on the analogy of the verses above, but the scribe tends to make the point of commencement of the lines advance slightly towards the left as the column proceeds; cf. l. 31 where  $[\kappa \epsilon \rho] a \sigma \phi \acute{\rho} \rho \sigma \sigma$  is practically certain.  $[\chi \acute{a}] \rho as$  is less appropriate, especially so soon after l. 27.

dμφis, a word common in Homer and also used by Pindar, is not found elsewhere

in tragedy, but that is not a sufficient reason for questioning its genuineness here.

31. [κερ]ασφόρον (Murray) seems guaranteed by the parallel of *Phoen.* 248 τᾶς κερασφόρον... 'Ιοῦς, though ασ is not certain, and two letters would be enough for the lacuna if the column was kept straight; cf. the preceding note. Aeschylus, *Prom.* 588, calls Io τᾶς βούκερω παρθένου.

32 sqq. In this passage the chorus is with little doubt seeking to offer consolation and encouragement to Hypsipyle, and Wilamowitz suggests that Il. 32-7 may have run somewhat 28 follows :-- [ταῦ]τ' αν θεὸς εἰς φρωντίδα θη σοι [συνίει]ς δή, φίλα, το μέσον | έλπὶς δ' οὐκ] ἀπολείψει | [έτι σε τὸν π]ατέρος πατέρα | [ῥύσεσθαί πο]τ' έχει σέθεν | [ὧραν καὶ τάχα σ'] ὧκύπορο[ς] μετανίσσεται. Cf. Soph. O. C. 385-6 έσχες ελπίδ ώς έμου θεούς ώραν τω έξειν, ώστε σωθήναι ποτε. This restoration, which is made only exempli gratia, brilliantly satisfies the requirements of sense and metre, but in the last verse can only with difficulty be reconciled with the papyrus, where the lacuna at the beginning of ll. 35-7 is practically of the same size; one letter more than in l. 35 might be conceded in l. 37 on account of the slope of the column, but hardly three more. In 1. 33 also [ours][1]s though just possible is unsatisfactory, since [1] would not normally fill up the space; moreover a future would be more apposite than a present tense. The letters  $\sigma \delta$  are quite doubtful; the  $\delta$  may well be  $\theta$  or  $\sigma$  and the  $\sigma$  possibly o or ω: γ νωση might be read were it not for the difficulty of the apparent vestige of an accent above the place where the y would come; the accent might, however, belong to the preceding letter. Perhaps ἀπολείψει is the apodosis of the sentence, and we should read [καν (?)] α[Ι]σθη, φίλα, τὸ μέσον, | [έλπίς σ' οὐκ] ἀπολείψει κ.τ.λ. This would well satisfy all the conditions except that [xdv] is a short supplement for the beginning of l. 33; a[1] would not be open to the objection brought above against [1]. The supposed acute accent cannot be a mark of elision or length. In ll. 36-7 it is evident that the scribe's division of the verses was not the

same as in ii. 33-4.

38. yered fits in with the context as explained in the preceding note; the god will not forget his descendant.

iv. 2-9. Hyps. '... sang a lament for Procris the huntress whom her husband slew. Death is the meet end of these my woes. What wailing, what song, what music of the lyre with tearful lament, though Calliope inspired it, could come up to my suffering?'

2. The insidious corruption in this line was detected by Murray. The legend of Procris, daughter of Erechtheus, who was accidentally killed when hunting by her husband Cephalus is thus told by Apollod. iii, 15. 1 διαλλαγείσα Κεφάλφ μετὰ τούτου παραγίνεται ἐπὶ θήραν ην γαρ θηρευτική. διώκουσαν γαρ αυτήν εν τη λόχμη άγνοήσας Κέφαλος ακοντίζει και τυχών αποκτείνει Πρόκριν. καὶ κριθεὶς ἐν ᾿Αρείφ πάγφ φυγὴν αἰδιον καταδικάζεται.

3. This line at first omitted has been inserted by the original scribe; cf. ii. 8, note.

5. In view of the imperfect context we have left this verse as it stands in the papyrus, though the transposition suggested by W-M τὰ δ' ἐμὰ πάθεα θάνατος ἔλαχε may be right.

Or possibly θάνατο(ν) έλαχε (sc. Procris). τὰ δ' έμὰ πάθεα τίς κ.τ.λ. should be read.
6. For the form of this verse cf. I. T. 895-9 τίς ἄν οὖν τάδ' ἄν ἡ θεὸς ἡ βροτὸς ἡ τί τῶν άδοκήτων . . . (φαίνοι) κακῶν ἔκλυσιν ;, and for the substance of this and the following lines Phoen. 1498-1501 τίνα δέ προσφδόν ή τίνα μουσοπόλον στοναχάν έπι δάκρυσι δάκρυσιν, & δόμος δ δόμος, ἀνακαλέσωμαι; The marginal κιθαρι is perhaps more probably κιθάρι σμα, as W-M suggests, than κίθαρι s as a variant for κιθάραs, but either of these would involve some alteration of μοῦσ' ἀνοδυρομένα in the following line; cf. the next note.

7. επιδακρυσι was originally written, and then altered to επιδακρυσι, επιδακρυσι being added in the margin as a variant. The  $\mu$ [ following is presumably the initial letter of  $\mu$ οῦσα in some form, and possibly μοῦσαν was substituted for μοῦσ' ἀν-, which could not be constructed with the variant κίθαρις (?) for κιθάρας. ἐπιδακρύσει, however, would neither scan nor construe with any of these readings.

9. nóvovs without a possessive or similar adjective is obscure, but perhaps admissible in consequence of the proximity of εμά πάθε[a in l. 5. W-M thinks that μοῦσ' in l. 7 conceals an original ἐμούς, but if so the corruption has gone very deep.

The chorus now catches sight of the approaching strangers, whose advance is signalized

by the usual anapaests, ll. 10-4.

iv. 10-42. Chor. 'O Zeus, Lord of our Nemea's grove, what is the quest of these strangers, marked by the Dorian fashion of their dress, whom I see approaching hard by, on their way towards these halls through the lonely grove?

Amphiaraus. How distasteful to a man is travel, and the sight of fields deserted or with lonely habitations when a wayfarer is overtaken by some need, unbefriended, with none to interpret his want, in doubt which way to turn. E'en upon me has this strait come, but with joy I saw yon house in the mead of Zeus in Nemea's land. And thee, strange woman, whether thou art a slave who watchest over the house, or no servile person, thee will I ask, what man is called the lord of this mansion where the sheep are tended in the land of Phlius?

Hyps. Lycurgus call men the master of these rich halls, who was chosen from out all

Asopia to be the warden of Zeus, the country's god.

Amph. I desire to take some running water in our pitchers as a libation to the gods offered by us on our journey. For streams of stagnant water are impure, and they have all been defiled by the army's throng.

Hyps. Who are ye, and from what land do ye come?

Amph. We are from Mycenae and of Argive race, and on crossing the border into another land we wish to offer sacrifice for the Danaid army; for we have set forth against the gates of Cadmus—if haply the gods may speed us prospering on our way, woman.

Hyps. Why are ye marching, if I may learn this of thee?

Amph. We would restore Polynices, an exile from his fatherland.

Hyps. And who art thou who seekest to take the troubles of others?

Amph. I am the seer Amphiaraus, son of Oecles.'

11. τοῦσδ': this abnormal accent was preferred by some grammarians; cf. Fr. 64. 66 τηνδε.

12. For πελάτας cf. Soph. Phil. 1164 εὐνοία πάσα πελάταν. The scribe apparently began to write a λ in place of the first π of πεπλων.

13. ἐσθητι: ἐσθ. Pap., following the analogy of ἔννυμι, &c.; but the spiritus lenis (due

probably to the following θ) is usual in ἐσθήε, &c.

15. The correction of ερημιαι to ἐκδημίαι is due to W-M. ἐκδημία is quoted from the Hypsripyle in Bekker, Antiatt. p. 93. 26 (Nauck Fr. 768), and ἐρημίαι followed by ἀγρούς

έρήμους in l. 17 produces an awkward tautology.

18. αποιν' was originally written, and the ι was subsequently converted into ρ and o written through the mark of elision, the correction being probably by a different hand; an acute accent seems to have been erased over the first o. ἄπορον... ἀπορίαν is intolerable, and some other adjective must be substituted. It also seems likely that the nominative case in this and the next word has been replaced by the accusative, though the latter need not be wrong. ἄπολις, as Murray remarks, would be closer to the text of the papyrus than ἄφιλος; cf. Hec. 811 ἄπολις ἄρημος ἀθλιωτάτη βροτῶν. This passage supports Wakefield's correction ἀνερ(μ)ήνευτα in Ion 255.

24. The compound μηλοβοσκός is not otherwise attested.

27. alpedeis is a simple correction of evpedeis, which is not a natural word here.

28. κληδούχος 'priest', as in I. T. 131 δσίας κληδούχου,

29–30.  $[\chi]\rho[\eta'\zeta_0\iota]\mu^{i}$  äν and δ[διον] were suggested by Murray, χεαίμεθα instead of χρησαιμεθα by W-M. The middle χέασθαι is idiomatic (cf. e.g. Soph. O. C. 477 χοὰς χέασθαι), whereas χρησαίμεθα is indefensible with  $[\chi]$ έρνιβα; perhaps the scribe was influenced by χρήζοιμι in the previous verse. Statius describes the country as suffering from a drought, and it was water for drink not a libation that Hypsipyle was begged to indicate; cf. Theb. iv. 754 sqq.

31. στρατων was an easy error with στρατου at the beginning of the next verse.

35. [õ]osa W-M.

37.  $\omega\rho\mu\dot{\eta}\mu\epsilon\sigma\theta a$  appears likely here, but the supposed  $\rho\mu$  are extremely doubtful; the vestiges would suit v or  $\xi$  better than  $\rho$ . A combination with Fr. 92, though the papyrus

is very similar in appearance, does not seem practicable.

38. ειδη in the margin at the end of this line is no doubt a variant like those in Col. iv, and we therefore infer that the verse began with εl and some other particle than δή, e. g. πως or γάρ. This opening combined with εβὐτυχῶς renders the general sense sufficiently clear, and the line may be completed in various ways, of which we print an illustration. To suppose that ειδη is the commencement of a line originally omitted and subsequently supplied is inadmissible, for the margin between the columns is not nearly broad enough to contain a verse in a single line, while if the verse were divided into several lines, something of these should be visible below ειδη.

39. The restoration of the first half of the verse is the suggestion of Bury; but it is quite likely that the letters should be divided by the state of the suggestion of Bury; but it is

quite likely that the letters should be divided s οὐ θέμs1...;
41. πημονζὰς θηρᾶs1 λαβεῖν W-M. & [ξένs6, ἄλλων πημονζὰς θηρᾶs5 τίς ων; would also be suitable. The position of Fr. 3, containing the beginnings of ll. 41-4, is practically assured by the appearance of the papyrus and the appropriateness of its contents.

42. Both here and in Fr. 60. 15 the papyrus has the Homeric and Pindaric form 'Οιλης, but Οικης is preferred by editors of Aeschylus and Euripides. In Suppl. 925, the only other passage in Furio where the paper account I P road 'In Your Company of Furior where the paper account in the paper account account in the paper account account

only other passage is Eurip. where the name occurs, LP read 'lonkéous.

43. Hypsipyle evidently knew Amphiaraus by name; cf. e. g. Ion 260-3 (Κρ.) Κρέουσα μέν μοι τοῦνομ', ἐκ δ' Ἐρεχθέως πέφυκα, πατρὶς γῆ δ' Αθηναίων πόλις. ("Ιω.) ὧ κλεινὸν οἰκοῦσ' ἄστυ γενναίων τ' ἄπο τραφεῖσα πατέρων κ.τ.λ.

44. αλ[: Or αχ[?

Fr. 4. The precise position of this fragment is uncertain, but there are two reasons for

placing it above rather than below ll. I-II of Col. v: (1) Amphiaraus after telling Hypsipyle his name would naturally proceed to ask hers before making any further disclosures, especially when he found that his name was familiar to her (cf. l. 43, note), (2) a dark fibre in the papyrus in front of the lines is noticeable in Fr. 4 and also in the upper part of Col. v, but disappears lower in the column. Since the break along the top of Cols. iv and v is horizontal and the number of lines in a column here is about 60 (cf. introd. p. 20), there is a loss of at least 15 lines between iv. 44 and v. I.

2. 3: or 5 or 4?

3-4. We print a restoration suggested by Bury; the same sense can of course be represented in various other ways.

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Fr. 1. v. 1-11. Amph. 'My wife persuaded me . . .

Hyps. With righteous intent or (guilefully)?

Amph. She received a necklace . . .

Hyps. Whence (was it obtained)?

Amph. Famed Cadmus once married Harmonia,—

Hyps. He was one of those whose nuptials were attended by gods.

Amph. To her Aphrodite gave a lovely necklace.

Hyps. The gods to children of gods are ever kind.

Amph. Now their son was called Polydorus.

Hyps. If he was the son of a goddess, and received gods' gifts, 'twas a fit name.

Amph. His son was Labdacus . . .'
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- 1-11. The subject of this passage, as was perceived by both W-M and Bury, is clearly the famous necklace of Harmonia with which Polynices bribed Eriphyle, the wife of Amphiaraus, to persuade her husband to join the expedition against Thebes; Amphiaraus had sworn that Eriphyle should be the arbiter in any question that might arise between himself and Adrastus, and so could not reject Eriphyle's request, although he was aware of her duplicity; cf. Apollod. iii. 6. 2.
- Only the bottoms of the first two letters remain, and their identity is extremely doubtful; but the vestiges suit γυ, and if ὅσια φ[ρονοῦσα is right in l. 2, Eriphyle must have been the subject of l. 1. Cf. Apollod. iii. 6. 2 Ἐριφύλη τὸν ὅρμον λαβοῦσα ἔπεισε τὸν (ἄνδρα) στρατεύειν.
- 3. The line may be completed e. g. εδέξ αθ δρμον χεροί Πολυνείκους πάρα. πόθεν in l. 4 probably indicates that the δρμος in particular and not merely δῶρα in general had been mentioned, but it hardly follows that Polynices had also been specified.
- 5. For the genealogy here following cf. Phoen. 5 sqq. Κάδμος . . . δε παίδα γήμαε Κύπριδος 'Αρμονίαν ποτὰ Πολύδωρον ἐξέφυσε, τοῦ δὲ Λάβδακον φῦναι λέγουσιν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦδε Λάῖον.
  - 6. Restored by W-M. Cf. Phoen. 822 'Αρμονίας δέ ποτ' εἰς ὑμεναίους ήλυθον οὐρανίδαι.
- 7. Accounts differ as to who gave the necklace and to whom it was given; according to some Harmonia received it from Cadmus. But that the giver in this line should be divine is necessary from the emphasis on θεοί in 1. 8; cf. Schol. Phoen. 71 τον μεν δρμον Αφροδίτη...αὐτῆ (sc. 'Αρμονία) ἐχαρίσατο.
  - 8-10. The restorations were suggested by W-M.
- Fr. 5. The appearance of the papyrus suggests that this fragment goes closer to 1. 12 than to 1. 27, and the first line of it may even coincide with 1. 12. It is noticeable that on the lower edge of the recto there are two or three half obliterated letters in a small hand, whereas the recto of the rest of Cols. iv-v is blank. But these few letters run in the reverse

direction to the other writing on the recto, and their presence is not a valid reason against placing the fragment in Col. v, which is its most suitable position. Which of the speakers is Amphiaraus and which Hypsipyle is not clearly defined.

- 5. The letter after 8 is more probably 0 than e.
- Col. v. 27. A comparison with the preceding column indicates a gap of 14 lines after l. 12. If  $\gamma \sqrt{n}$  in l. 28 is  $\gamma \sqrt{n}$  in the vocative the speaker there must be Amphiaraus, but that is far from certain.
- 29. The 8 in the left margin marks the 400th line of the play; cf. Fr. 25, and introd. p. 20.
- Frs. 6-9. We regard these fragments as forming part of the stasimon which followed the scene between Hypsipyle and Amphiaraus. That Frs. 6-7 and 9 belong to a single column is practically assured by a vertical crease in the papyrus, made, as the writing in the case of the two latter shows, after the recto but before the verso was inscribed. This crease has also served as a rough guide to the number of letters lost at the beginnings of lines in Frs. 6 and 7. The position of the three fragments relatively to each other is quite uncertain, and they may be arranged in any order; but it is likely on account of the difference of subject that Fr. 9 was separated by a considerable gap from the other two. The reference to  $\chi \epsilon \rho \nu \nu \beta \sigma$  in Fr. 6. 1 affords a slight reason for placing that fragment first; also Frs. 7 and 9 are alike in colour, while that of Fr. 6 is rather different. Fr. 8, containing the beginnings of nine lines from [..]  $\lambda \epsilon \nu$  [ is shown to belong to the same column by the appearance of the papyrus on both recto and verso (the line of junction between two selides accurately corresponds in Frs. 8 and 9), and its place has been determined on internal evidence, especially ll. 6-7 and 9.
- Fr. 6. 1.  $\chi \neq \rho \nu \psi$  is usually accented, like other words in  $\psi$ , on the penultimate, but the accent  $\chi \neq \rho \nu i \beta o s$ , &c., as in the papyrus, was usual  $\pi a \rho a \tau o i s$   $\pi o i \eta \tau a i s$  according to Suidas s. v.
- 3. The supposed interlinear  $\nu$  is possibly only a circumflex accent, but the angle seems to be too acute.
- Fr. 7. 4.  $\delta \rho$ ] o  $\sigma \iota \zeta \rho \mu e \nu$  W-M.  $\delta \rho \sigma \iota \iota \zeta \rho \mu e \nu \omega$  in Aristoph. Frogs 1312 may well be a reminiscence of this passage.
- Frs. 8-9. The chorus is here tracing the events which led to the expedition against Thebes. According to the well-known story Polynices of Thebes and Tydeus of Calydon, both fugitives from their homes, arrived simultaneously at Argos and began quarrelling in front of the palace of Adrastus about their quarters for the night ( $\kappa\lambda\iota\sigma ias\ \pi[\epsilon\rho]$ ) evertipov, l. 10). Adrastus roused by the noise separated the combatants; and, believing that they represented the lion and the boar which an oracle had foretold as the husbands of his daughters (ll.  $13-5\ \Phi oi\beta ou \delta' in [o]\pi i[s] \ldots rikua\ \theta \eta \rho oir [c]ei[\xi]au$ ), adopted them as sons-in-law and undertook to restore them each to his country. Cf. Suppl. 131 sqq., Phoen. 409 sqq., Apollod. iii. 6. 1.
  - 2. Pleuron was close to Calydon, the capital of Tydeus.
- 6-15. 'By night in lairs by the court-yard, exchanging frequent defiances, by oarage of iron and by slaughter they made proof with the spear, fugitives as they were, of the spirit of their noble fathers. And king Adrastus lay in his couch, having received the behests of Phoebus that he should wed his daughters to wild beasts . . .'
- 6-9. The restoration, which proceeds on the assumption that θυμόν in l. 12 is correct (cf. note ad loc.), is mainly due to Murray. For l. 6 cf. Phoen. 415-6 (Πο.) νὺξ ἢν, 'Αδράστου

δ' ηλθον εἰς παραστάδας. (Io.) κοίτας ματεύων...; κο[ is evidently κύξ in some form, and if φυγας in l. 5 is masculine and not feminine it is probable, as Bury remarks, that l. 6 is a fresh clause and κυ]κτὸς δέ should be restored. At the end of the line either αὐλῆ or αὐλα[ῖς is possible. In l. 7 W-M suggests ἔριδ' [ἔριδος ἀ]μειβόμενος, which may be right; but the dative would perhaps be expected rather than the genitive in such a phrase, as e. g. in Aret. p. 71. 30 ἀμείψασθαι τὸ κακὸν κακῷ. In l. 8 σιδ[άρου τ' εἰρ]εσίᾳ (Bury and Murray) seems certain, though we can find nothing quite parallel. In l. 9 the letter before ον may be χ. σφαγῆ is a somewhat strong expression, since nobody was killed or, for anything the story tells us, even hurt; but the imperfect ἐποίουν serves to soften it.

12. θυμων: only very slight vestiges remain of the letters after μ, and the first of them may also be a or ω; θυμωδ[...] could be read, but there is not room for θυμωδ[ειs], even if that prosaic word could be admitted here, and δορὶ θυμωδ[ει] is an improbable combination. A compound adjective δοριθυμ ... agreeing with φυγάδεs would be attractive, but none such is known, nor are there obvious analogies upon which to coin one that would suit the

papyrus.

13. ἐν[ο]πά[s] was suggested by Murray. Cf. Phoen. 409-11 ἔχρησ' ᾿Αδράστφ Λοξίας χρησμόν τινα . . . κάπρφ λέοντί θ' ἀρμόσαι παίδων γάμους, and El. 1302 Φοίβου τ' ἄσοφοι γλώσσης ἐνοπαί.

15. [ζ] [ε] [ε] is somewhat too cramped to be quite satisfactory, but is adopted in default

of a better reading; άρμόσαι is excluded.

16-17. ἀμπετάσας probably refers to some word like 'house' or 'gates' and hence δ]όμο[ν (so Bury; δ]όμο[ν or δ]όμο[ν are alternatives) is a natural restoration. Cf. Alc. 597 δόμον ἀμπετάσας, Phoen. 297 ἀμπέτασον πύλας.

- Fr. 10. As explained in introd. p. 25 we regard this and the three following fragments (the relative order of which is quite uncertain) as belonging to a lyrical dialogue between the chorus and Hypsipyle after the latter's return from her disastrous expedition with Amphiaraus. Much depends upon the correctness of the decipherment in l. 3 of Fr. 10, where there is a broken letter of the name of the speaker. If the name is, as we believe,  $(\Upsilon\psi_i)\pi(\hat{\nu}\lambda\eta)$ , the view adopted of this fragment seems necessary. The doubtful  $\pi$  may also be a letter with a round top like  $\theta$  or o (hardly  $\rho$ ), but the abbreviation  $\chi[o(\rho \delta s)]$  is unsuitable because something of the  $\chi$  ought also to be visible. Murray proposed to make Fr. 10 refer to a search for Hypsipyle and Fr. 11. 1-2 represent her cries when captured, while Bury thought that Fr. 10 is a dialogue between the members of the chorus, who caught sight of the struggle with the serpent going on in the distance. But the name of Hypsipyle before 1. 3 would of course be inconsistent with either of these interpretations.
- 2. There is a speck of ink at the edge of the papyrus in front of this line, but the absence of a paragraphus below l. 1 is against referring l. 2 to a different speaker whose name might be given in the margin, as in l. 3.

3. μα[κράν Murray. There is no paragraphus below εγγυς.

- 4. If λεβόσσειν is right, this line projected by a letter further to the left than ll. 3 and 7-8.
- 5. For  $\delta\lambda$ ] uses cf. Herc. F. 513 πανύστατον νῦν, ῆλικες, δεδόρκατε, Phoen. 1747 πρὸς ῆλικας φάνηθι σάς. Either two or three letters may be lost according as l. 4 or ll. 7–8 are taken as the standard (cf. note on l. 4); γυνα Γικες would be too long. At the end of this line some correction has been made; apparently a letter like  $\gamma$  or  $\tau$  has been crossed through and  $\sigma$  or  $\rho$  written above. Whether the next letter, which is rounded like  $\sigma$ ,  $\sigma$ , was also altered cannot be determined; είρηκε is unsatisfactory as the remains stand.

- 6. If  $\epsilon\gamma\omega$  is right the  $\gamma$  has been corrected, perhaps from  $\tau$  or because as first written the effect of  $\tau$  was produced; cf. Fr. 1. iv. 2 and Fr. 64. 12, where there has been a confusion of  $\gamma$  and  $\tau$ .
- Fr. 13. 1. The vestige in the margin may be part of an oblique dash (cf. Ff. 57. 16, Fr. 60. 72, &c.) or represent a letter, e.g.  $\chi[o(\rho\delta s)]$  as in l. 4 below.
- Frs. 14-7. These fragments may be connected either with Frs. 6-9 or 10-3. Frs. 14 and 15 were found adhering together, face to face, and the worm-eaten edges follow the same pattern.
- Frs. 18-9. On the position and interpretation of these two pieces cf. introd. p. 25. They were found with the main group of fragments, but are distinguished from them by the dark colour and semi-decayed condition of the papyrus.
- Fr. 18. 1. The letters νδ are very doubtful: κρήνη σκιαζ might be read; cf. I. T.

1245-6 δράκων σκιερά κατάχαλκος (?) εὐφύλλφ δάφνα.

- 3. A mark like a grave accent has been placed above  $\pi$  as well as the preceding  $\omega$ ; probably the accent intended for the  $\omega$  was first written too far to the right, and then repeated in its proper place. The acute accent on  $\lambda \epsilon \nu \sigma \sigma \omega$  seems to have been corrected from a circumflex.
- 4. πήληκα σείων presumably refers to the δράκων, though πήληξ is not used elsewhere of a serpent's crest. Cf. Statius, Theb. v. 510 auratae crudelis gloria frontis prominet, 572 perque iubas stantis capitisque insigne corusci emicat.

5. Perhaps ἐπεὶ σῖγ' or ἔπεισί γ', as W-M suggests; but the passage is very obscure.

The vestige of the letter after enes is too minute to be recognized.

- 6. At the left edge of the papyrus opposite this line are two letters, in a smaller but perhaps not different hand, which may be read as λα or λα. They probably belong to a marginal note on the preceding column (cf. Fr. 64. 50-1) rather than to an entry of the dramatis persona, since the paragraphus shows that a change of speaker does not occur till the line below. The commencement of the verse is difficult. The letter after the lacuna seems to be either δ or a, and rather the former than the latter. πώ[τα] διαδρᾶσω suggests itself, but the compound διαδρᾶν does not occur. On the other hand if the words are divided πω[...]δια δρᾶσω a satisfactory restoration is not evident; neither πώ[θ δ]δια (Murray) nor πω[τ 1]δια seems very likely. πω[τ]οῖα is not suitable.

  7. The first letter of the line had a tall stroke and was with little doubt either φ or ψ.
- 7. The first letter of the line had a tall stroke and was with little doubt either  $\phi$  or  $\psi$ . We suppose the verse to have begun with a hypermetrical  $\phi \in \hat{v}$  on account of the difficulty of filling up a foot with the remaining two letters; but there is a rather similar problem in the next line.
- 8. The vestige supposed to represent the top of the  $\epsilon$  in res and the stop at the end of the word might together be taken as a diaeresis over the  $\epsilon$ ,  $\kappa[.]\bar{\epsilon}$ ; but there would then be room only for a very narrow letter, another  $\epsilon$  or  $\epsilon$ , in the lacuna. At the beginning of the line the space is so short that the foot and a half to be supplied there (if ] or press is right) must have consisted mainly of vowels.
- 9. Some insertion has been made over the line, but its nature is very uncertain. The after  $\phi$  is on a small fragment which broke away when the papyrus was being flattened, and should perhaps be put closer to the  $\rho$ . Ap $\phi[\omega]$  of  $\omega$ s cannot be read.
- Fr. 19. This fragment is closely connected with Fr. 18 by the appearance of the papyrus. Possibly it joins on above & [in l. 1 of Fr. 18.]
  - Frs. 20, 21. On the scene here see introd. p. 24. The position of Fr. 20, which con-

tains the beginnings of ll. 1-4, is probable on internal evidence and confirmed by the correspondence of the fibres of the recto.

1-16. Hyps. 'Dear friends, I stand on the razor's edge, (in danger of) shameful treatment; I am full of fear.

Chor. Hast thou no word of hope to tell thy friends?

Hyps. Flight! if only I had knowledge of these roads! Chor. What then hast thou found that spurs thee to boldness?

Hyps. I am fearful of what I shall suffer because of the child's death.

Chor. Poor soul, thou hast some acquaintance with such ills!

Hyps. Yea, I know them, and I will be on my guard.

Chor. Where then wilt thou turn? What city will receive thee?

Hyps. My feet and zeal will decide that.

Chor. The land is guarded round about by sentinel-posts. Hyps. You are right: let that be; but I go.

Chor. Consider, for thou hast friends in us to give thee counsel.

Hyps. What if I found some one to conduct me forth from this land?

Chor. There is no one who is willing to conduct a slave.'

1. & φ[λτα]ται, suggested by Bury, is suitable in itself but not a very satisfactory reading of the papyrus, as it makes the letters between  $\phi$  and  $\tau$  rather crowded, while on the other hand there is a slight space between the  $\omega$  and the  $\phi$ ;  $\omega$   $\rho$  could be read.  $\delta$   $\phi \partial \lambda \tau \alpha \tau \alpha \omega$ yurakes occurs in Orest. 136; & p[Ara]ras however may of course stand alone, and the γ here is quite doubtful. At the end of the line έπὶ ξυροῦ is only one of many possibilities: cf. Herc. F. 630 &δ ἔβητ' έπὶ ξυροῦ ; Homer K 173 έπὶ ξυροῦ ισταται ἀκμῆς, &c.

3. To your seems preferable to Tyour on account of the preceding Their; but Tyeur is the

usual word, e. g. Fr. 64. 76, Orest. 1255 φόβος έχει με.

- 5. στε[γ]ων των[δ', which could be read, is an obvious restoration, but the line is then difficult to complete; there is not room for ἐκβο[αμοῦσα. Bury suggests ἔ[δρ[αν' ώς τάχος δοκεί, but έδρανα, though a word used by Euripides as well as Aeschylus and Sophocles, occurs only in lyrics. Hence we adopt the restoration proposed by Murray, which is sufficiently consistent with the papyrus; something of the lost 8 might have been expected to be visible, but would not necessarily be so.
- 6. W-M would restore at the end of this line kaker, on the analogy of Androm. 28 άλκήν τιν' εύρεῖν κἀπικούρησιν κακῶν, but ἀλκή in the present passage seems to have a different sense. Hypsipyle has just stated in the previous line what her ἀλκή κακῶν, her desence or resource, was to be, namely flight; and her reply in 1. 7 shows clearly that the present question must be, what induced her to contemplate such a bold step. Our proposed restoration attempts to give this meaning. Whether the alteration of the original reading dy mor, for which  $\delta \eta \tau a \gamma$  has apparently been substituted, is by the first hand, is doubtful.

10. So Med. 386 τίς με δέξεται πόλις;

- 11. For the conjunction of πούς and προθυμία cf. Ιση 1109-10 τίς προθυμία ποδών έχει σε; and Phoen. 1430 προθυμία ποδός.
- 12-3. φρο[υρίο] σεν and [ν] ικά[ε] W-M; for the latter cf. Suppl. 946-7 (Θη.) τί δηντα λύπην ταϊσδε προσθείναι θέλεις; (Αδ.) νικάς μένειν χρη τλημόνως. We had thought of [ε] ἰκα[ε] ἐω δη τ(α) ὑτ(ά γ'), on the analogy of El. 379 κράτιστον εἰκῆ ταῦτ' ἐᾶν, but this is not so close to the papyrus. In l. 12 ηδε has been lightly crossed through with ink of the same colour as that of the overwritten ev.
- 14-6. The restoration of these lines is largely due to Murray. In l. 16 [σὐδεὶς θελήσει δραπέτας] may be suggested as an alternative supplement.

- Fr. 22. The speaker of ll. 1-8 is evidently pleading the cause of Hypsipyle, and we assign them to Hypsipyle herself for the reasons given in introd. p. 26.
  - 2. The doubtful  $\beta$  may be  $\theta$ .
- 7. διαριθμ[ may be some part of the verb διαριθμεῖν or δι' ἀριθμ[ῶν]; for the former cf. I. T. 966 ψήφους διηρίθμησε, and for the latter (W-M) Bacch. 209 δι' ἀριθμῶν δ' οὐδὲν αῦξεσθαι θέλει.
- 9. The fas Bury; ha or ha can also be read, or possibly  $a\sigma$  though the first letter is more like  $\lambda$  than a. There would not be room for  $\partial \rho a\sigma$  as.
  - 11. This was the last line of a column.
- Frs. 23-36. The relative position of these pieces is mostly indeterminate, though there are grounds in certain cases for connecting two or more of them somewhat closely together; see the notes on the individual fragments.
- Frs. 28-4. These two fragments are similar in appearance, and may well belong to the same dialogue; if the speakers are, as we conjecture, Eurydice and Hypsipyle, (A), the questioner, would naturally be the former in both pieces.
- Fr. 23. 3. Perhaps & παν[κακίστη (cf. Hipp. 682), if the line is spoken by Eurydice to Hypsipyle; cf. the previous note.
- Fr. 25.  $\zeta$  in the margin of Col. ii marks, we suppose, the 600th, not the 700th line, the numeration being by the letters of the alphabet, not figures; thus 1000 =  $\kappa$ , not  $\iota$ , 1100 =  $\lambda$ , not  $\iota$ , and so on; cf. Fr. 64. 79, 841. II. 25, VI. 7, and P. Brit. Mus. 732. Col. xvi (Journal of Phil. xxvi. No. 51, p. 43), where a  $\zeta$  denotes the 600th line of Iliad xiii. The same alphabetical system, in which  $\varsigma$  is omitted and  $\zeta = 6$ , is commonly used for the numeration of the books of a work, e.g. Homer and Herodotus. In P. Grenf. II. 11. ii. 4 (Pherecydes), where a  $\varsigma$  which is in all probability stichometrical is found, the scribe has confused the alphabetical and numerical systems or employed the latter.
- Frs. 27-9. Fr. 28 was found adhering, face downwards, to the upper right-hand side of Fr. 27, and the worm-eaten edges have the same pattern. This indication that the two fragments are to be connected gains some confirmation from the recto, where part of an oblique dash denoting a total occurs on Fr. 27, and on Fr. 28 there is in the right position the end of a stroke which may be the continuation of the same oblique dash. If so, the gap between them is unlikely to be large, and sat  $\chi[e\rho]^{\mu}i\beta[\omega\nu]^$
- Fr. 27. 1. Only the bottom of the stichometrical letter in the margin remains, and it may be read as  $\epsilon$ , but  $\epsilon$  does not suit the supposed situation here; cf. the previous note and introd. p. 26.
- a. The accent of  $\chi[\epsilon\rho]\nu i\beta[$  does not prove that the termination was the genitive plural; cf. Fr. 6. 1, note.

- 3. There is not room for  $\epsilon\gamma\omega$  at the beginning of this line, but  $\nu\pi\sigma$  would be just possible; perhaps not more than a single letter is lost in the lacuna between  $\epsilon$  and  $\nu$ . A paragraphus below this or the next line would probably be invisible, the papyrus being much rubbed.
- 4. A single broad letter would fill the space before  $\delta \eta \tau a$  (?), but there would be room for e.g. ov or  $\tau a$ . Either  $\gamma$  or  $\pi$  could well be read in place of a before the final lacuna.
- Fr. 28. 1.  $]\delta\epsilon\iota\xi[: \text{the }\iota \text{ may be } \nu, \text{ i. e. }]\delta'\epsilon\dot{\iota}\xi[.$  For a possible combination with Fr. 27. 2 cf. note above on Frs. 27-9.
  - 3. Only part of the  $\nu$  remains, but there is enough of it, we think, to exclude  $\mu$ .
  - Fr. 29. See note on Frs. 27-9.
- Fr. 32. The speaker here, evidently, is again Hypsipyle, who is dwelling upon her love for her dead nursling, probably in repudiation of the accusations of Eurydice; cf. Fr. 60. 10. It is clear from the recto that the fragment is not from the same column as Fr. 22 or Fr. 27.
- 3. v after av is fairly certain, but beyond this the remains of letters are very slight till  $\iota a\sigma$  is reached; the  $\iota$  may be part of a  $\mu$ , and  $\nu\mu a\sigma$  or  $\iota\mu a\sigma$  could be read.
  - 4. W-M suggests υπ νον.
  - 7. κ]ηλήματο[s: κηλήματα is used in Troad. 893 of the charms of Helen.
- 9.  $\epsilon_{j}^{*}\pi^{*}$  ἀγκάλαις: cf. Fr. 60. 10; perhaps  $\epsilon_{j}^{*}\pi^{*}$  ἀγκάλαισί [μου, but the last letter may also be e. g. κ, λ, or ν.
  - 11.  $\chi$  is corrected, apparently from  $\gamma$ .
- Fr. 83. The speaker and subject of this fragment are both problematical.  $\theta o a = 0.5$  in 1. 7 naturally suggests  $\theta o a = 0.5$ , and perhaps this fragment belongs with Frs. 34-5 to a scene in which the sons of Hypsipyle again figured; cf. introd. p. 29.
- 1. The supposed grave accent on  $\omega$  is very doubtful; a circumflex or breathing, or an interlinear letter, is equally possible.
- Frs. 34-5. The suggested combination of these two fragments is made probable by its suitability in ll. 5-6, and some confirmatory evidence is supplied by the recto. But the situation remains very doubtful, and we abstain from attempts at reconstruction. That Eurydice is one of the characters concerned is probable (cf. l. 2 déa mour), and W-M thinks that she is confronted by Euneos and Thoas, but we are not convinced that the periphrasis used in speaking of Hypsipyle in l. 5 really involves this; cf. introd. p. 29, and the notes below. The number of letters to be supplied at the beginnings of the lines is uncertain; they are estimated on the hypothesis that six are lost in ll. 4-6, but though there can hardly have been less, there may have been more. The worm-eaten pattern of Fr. 35 is identical with that of Frs. 14-5.
- 3. Bury suggests  $[\chi a\lambda \hat{a}r\epsilon \ \mu]$  or  $\kappa\lambda \hat{g}\theta\rho$ , or  $\hat{e}s$   $[\hat{a}v\ \epsilon i\sigma\epsilon\lambda]\theta o\hat{v}\sigma'$   $\hat{\epsilon}[\sigma\omega]$ , supposing the speaker to be Eurydice who had been away from the palace, and had now just returned. He thinks that the absence of the queen as well as the king when Amphiaraus arrived would be an advantage to the plot as helping to excuse Hypsipyle, who thus could not ask leave to grant his request. But the data seem scarcely sufficient to substantiate this view. The vestige before our suits a  $\theta$  only moderately well, and the proposed restoration of the preceding lacuna is somewhat overlong.
- 4. Perhaps φρον]τίδα[; the letter before ι (which is almost certain) may be γ. Bury suggests τρωμαι . . . [πρεσβύ]τιδα, but δωμάτων πρεσβύτις is not a very suitable phrase in referring to Hypsipyle.
  - 5-6. ή τροφίος W-M, Murray. We had proposed to read ή τροφίας τέ κνου . . . δίδωσιν,

but W-M objects to this (1) that τέκνφ would be expected, and (2) that Hypsipyle was a dry-nurse. No doubt the dative would be more natural, but the genitive hardly seems impossible; and to the latter objection it may be answered that Hypsipyle would not be more than middle-aged (Statius, Theb. v. 466, makes her sons about twenty years old), and that her own language rather conveys the impression that she fulfilled all a mother's functions πλην οὐ τεκοῦσα, especially if ἔφερβον be read in Fr. 60. 12, and secondly that she was certainly imagined as a nurse in the fuller sense by Statius; cf. Theb. v. 617 ubera parvo iam materna dabam. It may also be questioned whether τροφὰs διδόναι would necessarily imply suckling. οὐδ ἔσω βαίν[ει suggests something like [ἐξφχε]r' ἔξω at the beginning of l. 5.

Frs. 87-56 are too small to give clear indications concerning their metre. They were found at the same time as Frs. 6 sqq. (cf. introd. p. 20), and are therefore grouped here with them.

- Fr. 41. 1. μάρ τυσιν: cf. Fr. 60. 18.
- Fr. 46. 1. The deleted a was originally unelided.
- Fr. 49. 2. There was a horizontal stroke like a mark of length or a rough breathing above the letter preceding the first a.

Frs. 57-9 probably belong to the stasimon preceding the act partially preserved in Fr. 60; cf. introd. p. 27, and note on l. 17. We have not succeeded in finding a combination between them, but the texture of the papyrus and the character of the script, as well as similarities in subject and metre, serve to connect them. The praise of Dionysus is the main theme, and the metre had a large anapaestic element.

Fr. 57. 1. This line is apparently the first of a column.

5. The supposed stop after 6 may well be one of two dots inclosing the interlinear variant, though such dots are not commonly used in this papyrus; cf. however, Fr. 1. iv. 6-7 and Fr. 73. 4.

10. Cf. Rhes. 12 τί τὸ σῆμα θρόει.

13-6. Cf. Bacch. 142 sqq. ρεί δε γάλακτι πέδον, ρεί δ' οἴνφ, ρεί δε μελισσῶν νέκταρι, Συρίας δ' ώς λιβάνου καπνός.

17. The traces of the stichometrical figure are slight, but that it is such a figure is evident from the horizontal dashes above and below it, and this granted the only suitable reading is  $\lambda$ , i. e. 1100; the stroke seems to be too diagonal for the right-hand limb of a  $\mu$ .

20 sqq. The commencement of a new strophe or antistrophe is marked by the paragraphus and the projection of the lines to the left; cf. e. g. Fr. 1. iii. 18. Who is addressed in πότινα θεῶν is not clear.

22. Cf. I. T. 209 πρωτόγονον θάλος.

Fr. 58. I. avpat: Or hupat.

2. Cf. Fr. 57. 16 and Îon 89 σμύρνης δ' ανύδρου καπνός είς ορόφους Φοίβου πέταται, Ττο. 1064 σμύρνης αίθερίας τε καπνόν.

3. Cf. Fr. 57. 7.

10. κυπαρισσόρο (φ)ον: this word was conjectured by Casaubon in Mnesim. Hipp. 1.

1, where the MS. reading is κυπαριστοτρόφον. It is just possible that φ and not δ stood in the papyrus, but something of the vertical stroke of a φ ought certainly to appear. κυπαρισσόροδος, as W-M remarks, is a hardly possible compound.

Fr. 59. The colour of the papyrus suggests that this fragment is to be placed below rather than above Fr. 58; it does not seem likely that Fr. 58. 12 and Fr. 59. 1 coincide.

Fr. 60. 5-62. Hyps. '... So seemest thou to indulge blind rage without staying to learn truly the events' course. Art thou silent, and answerest none of my complaints? For of the child's death I am indeed the cause, but of killing him I am not justly accused, my nursling, whom I fed in my arms, and who to my love was as my own child in all save that I bare him not, my great comfort! O prow of Argo, and the sea's white foam! O my children, I perish miserably! O seer, son of Oecles, death is upon me! Help me, come, suffer me not to die on a shameful charge; since for thy sake I am lost! Come, for thou knowest my case, and wouldst be received by this woman as the surest witness of my mishap.—Let us go, since I see no friend at hand to save me. Vain then was my compunction!

Amph. Stay, thou who art sending this woman to be slain, O queen of the palace; for

from thy comeliness to my view I attribute to thee noble birth.

Hyps. O, by thy knees, Amphiaraus, from the ground I supplicate thee, by thy beard, by Apollo's sacred art, save me, for thou art come at the very moment in my extremity, and 'tis for thy sake that I perish. I am at the point of death, and in bonds thou seest me at thy knees who then went with the strangers. So thou, a holy man, wilt do a holy deed; but if thou desertest me thou wilt be a reproach to the Argives, yea, to the Hellene race. O thou who by the altar's sacred flame dost foresee the fortunes of the Danai, tell this woman of the child's disaster, for thou wert by and knowest. She says that of set purpose I killed her son and plotted against her house.

Amph. With knowledge am I come, having suspected the fate which the child's end would bring upon thee; and I am here to aid thine evil case, armed not with might, but right. For it were shame to know well how to receive benefits from thee, and having received them, how to do nought in return. First then, stranger lady, show thy face; for the discreetness of my eye is much noised abroad among the Hellenes, and it is my nature, lady, to restrain myself and to discern qualities. Next listen and relax this hastiness. In all else error needs must be, but error against the life of a man or woman is a foul thing.

Euryd. Stranger, native of the neighbouring land by Argos, I have learned of all men of thy discretion, else hadst thou never stood by and looked upon this face. And now if thou desirest, I am willing to listen and to instruct thee; for thou art not unworthy.

Amph. Lady, I would soften thy bitterness at this poor creature's injury, not so much out of regard for her as for justice; and I am shamed before Phoebus whose art I practise by sacrificial fire if I speak any falsehood. 'Twas I who persuaded this woman to show a spring of water running with a pure stream that therefrom I might take an offering for the army in crossing the bounds of Argos . . .

4 sqq. Hypsipyle on her way to death is making a last effort to move Eurydice; cf. introd. p. 26.

5. δοκ[εῖς σύ: or δοκ[εῖ σοι, and the sentence is perhaps interrogative. For χαρίζεσθαι cf. Nauck Fr. 31 from the Aeolus ὀργη γὰρ ὅστις εὐθέως χαρίζεται.

11. ⟨γ'⟩: δ' Pap., but δέ as W-M remarks, is superfluous; τἄλλ' ὅπως, which he

suggests, is a rather larger alteration.

12. Murray's ἔφερβον for ἔφερον seems the best remedy for this defective line. The mistake would be a very easy one especially after ἐπ' ἐμαΐσιν ἀγκάλαις (cf. Or. 464 παΐδ' ἀγκάλαισι περιφέρων), and ἔφερβον can be supported by Cycl. 142 δν ἐξέθρεψα ταῖσδ' ἐγώ ποτ' αγκάλαις. W-M suggests ἔφερον (ἐπ)ωφέλημ. Cf. for the language here Fr. 32, and for ωφέλημ Statius, Theb. v. 608 sqq. O mihi desertae natorum dulcis imago, Archemore, o rerum et patriae solamen ademptae servitique decus.

13. λευκαίνειν is transitive elsewhere in Euripides; cf. Nicander, Al. 170 άφροῖο νέην

κλύδα λευκαίνουσαν.

14. The dot which is placed directly over  $\sigma$  of  $\pi a i \partial \epsilon \sigma$  was perhaps intended to cancel that superfluous letter, but it may be a carelessly written stop.

16.  $\tilde{a}\rho\eta\xi_0[\nu,\hat{\epsilon}]\lambda\theta\hat{\epsilon}$ : so Herc. F. 494.

19. σαφέστατ ον: cf. Hipp. 972 μάρτυρος σαφεστάτου. σαφέστατ αν would not yield the required sense.

20. ayere is addressed by Hypsipyle to her guards.

22. o of πεμπουσα has been corrected apparently from ε, and probably πεμπεισ was first written. The left margin is broken away close to the beginnings of the lines throughout

this column, and the entries of the speakers' names, if they occurred, are lost.

- 23. ευτρεπες was first written, the i being a later insertion though possibly by the original scribe. τῷ εὐπρεπεί is instrumental and there is no need for an alteration like εγω γὰρ εὐπρεπεί. The sentence was begun as if ελευθέραν τὴν φύσιν εἶναι εἰκάζω, or something of the sort, was to follow.
- 25.  $\sigma \epsilon : . . i κ \acute{\epsilon} r \iota s π \acute{\epsilon} r \iota v \omega = \sigma \epsilon i κ \epsilon r \epsilon \iota \omega$ , the abnormal construction being assisted by the familiarity of the formula  $\pi \rho \delta s \sigma \epsilon \gamma \sigma \nu v \sigma v \omega v$ , &c., which is sometimes used with an entire ellipse of a verb. Cf. for this appeal e. g. Andr. 572 sqq. ἀλλ' ἀντιάζω σ', & γέρον, τῶν σῶν πάρος πίτνουσα γυνάτων— χειρὶ δ' οὐκ ἔξεστί μοι τῆς σῆς λαβέσθαι φιλτάτης γενειάδος—ρῦσαί με πρὸς θεῶν.
- 29. Since the second sentence expands the first and does not stand in any sort of opposition to it,  $\tau\epsilon$  is more appropriate than  $\delta\epsilon$ . Perhaps the particles should be transposed,  $\mu\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omega$   $\delta\epsilon$ ...  $\delta\epsilon\sigma\mu\epsilon\omega$   $\tau\epsilon$ .
- 30.  $\theta$  of  $\tau \circ \theta$  is corrected from  $\tau$ . The mistaken v in  $\xi \in v \circ v$  has not been crossed out.  $3 \cdot 1 2$ . Some or even all of the corrections may be in another hand; the  $\eta$  above o in 1. 32 looks as if it had been enlarged after it was first inserted.

35.  $[oi\sigma]\theta a$  (Murray) is more likely than  $[\eta\sigma]\theta a$ .

- 43. Eurydice had veiled herself on the sudden intrusion of a strange man. Cf. the words of the τροφός of Hermione in Andr. 876 ἀλλ' εἴσιθ εἴσω μηδε φαντάζου δόμων πάροιθε τῶνδε, μή τω' αἰσχύνην λάβης πρόσθεν μελάθρων τῶνδ' ὁρωμένη, τέκνον. It is also to be remembered that Eurydice's husband was absent from the palace. A more subtle interpretation of her attitude has been proposed by Murray, who thinks that shame at being surprised by a good man in an act of blind vindictiveness led to an outburst of tears. There is, however, no real hint of this in the Greek, and ll. 51-2 are hardly consistent with it. For the turn of the verse cf. Heracl. 942 πρῶτον μὲν οὖν μοι δεῦρ' ἐπίστρεψον κάρα.
- 44-5. There seems to be no similar instance of this use of δίηκειν, which inverts the ordinary construction, e. g. Soph. O. C. 305-6 πολύ γάρ, & γέρον, τὸ σὸν ὅνομα διήκει πάντας. But the locution may be defended on the analogy of διιέναι, διέρχεσθαι, &c., and there is no need to suspect a corruption. κοί και has been corrected; the scribe apparently began to write σ.
- 46. κοσμεῖν = 'regulate,' 'restrain,' as in Andr. 956 χρεων κοσμεῖν γυναῖκας τὰς γυναικείας νόσους. By τὰ διαφέρουθ' δρᾶν Amphiaraus apparently means that he regarded essential qualities, not allowing himself to be distracted by vanities.
  - 47. Perhaps the interlinear  $\delta$  as well as the  $\epsilon$  and  $\sigma$  is by a later hand.

49. Cf. Alc. 301 ψυχης γάρ οὐδέν έστι τιμιώτερον.

52. Sense and metre both demand the insertion of aν after δμμα.

53. βουλει here Pap., but -η is the regular form elsewhere.

60. The circumflex accent on εγῶ, influenced apparently by the prodelision, is curious; but the accentuation is not seldom at fault; cf. Fr. 1. i. 4, iv. 11. κρηναΐον γάνος occurs in Aesch. Pers. 483.

61. [ὅπως λάβω Murray.

- 62. What was originally written in place of 'Aργεῖον ω΄s is obscure; perhaps the a of προθυμα was also deleted. The mark above ω of ωs was presumably intended as a rough breathing but it consists of a single horizontal stroke. δίτεκπερῶν, followed by some such word as ὅρισμα, W-M.
  - 67. In the initial lacuna W-M suggests χώ, which might be written και ο, Bury ἴανε.
    68. μεν : or μει. [, in which case με ν probably followed παι in the preceding line. ] las

apery could be read.

- 71-2. Bury suggests ἄσ[ημος and in the next verse α[ Ιματωπὸν ὅμμασιν βλέπων, comparing Nauck Fr. 870 δράκοντος αίματωπὸν ὅμμα, which is quoted from Euripides in Anecd. Bekk. p. 362, and has been referred to this play by Hartung, Eurip. Rest. ii. p. 436. The subject of ἡκόντισ' is evidently δράκων; Bury compares ἀκοντίας, the name of a kind of serpent. The breathings in l. 72 are both not quite certain.
- 77. We adopt the restoration proposed by Bury; the line of course easily admits of several variations, e. g. μυρίων πόνων οτ κακῶν οτ πολυπόνου μοίρας, but the sense is evident.

80. δρνιθα = 'omen', as e. g. in I. A. 988 δρνις γένοιτ' αν . . . θανοῦσ' έμη παῖς.

81. The letters after  $\mu\eta$  are represented by exiguous vestiges and are all very doubtful. Above the second of them there is a faint vertical mark which may represent an inserted iota; that it is the top of a  $\phi$  or  $\psi$  is not probable.

82.  $d\lambda\lambda'$  où $\chi$  or  $d\lambda\lambda$ ou  $\chi$ .

84. Κάδμου: sc. πόλ(ις) or some equivalent expression.

85. Probably κυρήσ[as agreeing with "Αδραστος.

- 86. ιξεταρ, as Murray suggests, seems to be a crasis of ιξεται αρα. Our restorations in this and the next two lines only attempt to give the sense.
- 89-96 = Nauck Fr. 757. 1-8. Lines 89-92 and 95 end-96 are quoted by Clement Alex. Strom. iv. p. 587, ll. 89-96, by Plutarch, Mor. p. 110 F, and Stobaeus (who gives the name of the play), Flor. 108. 11, ll. 94-5 μή, by Marcus Antoninus 7. 40, and l. 94 again at 11. 6. Lines 90-4 are translated by Cicero, Tusc. 3. 25. 59.

89. δ' αὖ: γοῦν Clem.; δ' αὖ is clearly right.

- 90. οὐ πονεί βροτῶν: οὐκ ἀεὶ πονεί Stob. οὐ νοσεί βρ. is conjectured by F. G. Schmidt, Krit. Stud. ii. p. 487, on the ground that Cicero has quem non attingit dolor.
- 91. There is considerable variation in this line in the authorities; Stob. has θάπτειν... καὶ ἔτερα κτᾶσθαι πάλιν, Plutarch θάπτει... χἄτερ' αι κτᾶται νέα, Clement θάπτει καὶ ἔτερα σπείρει νέα. We follow Nauck's text.
- 92. αυτοι in the papyrus is a slip for αὐτός as read by Plut. and Clem. αὐτοὺς θυήσκειν Stob., who also has κατὰ δ' (= κἦτα δ' ?) for καὶ τάδ'.
- 93. [γην ἀναγκαίως δ': τῆνδ' ἀναγκαίως Plut. and Stob., corrected by Grotius from Cicero's translation reddenda terrae est terra.

94-5. βίου M. Ant. 11. 6, and τὸ . . . τό for τὸν . . . τόν 7. 40.

96. στένειν . . . διεκπεραν: στέγειν . . . δει δ' έκπεραν Clem.

After this line Plut. and Clem. give another, which Nauck edits as δεινὸν γὰρ οὐδὲν τῶν ἀναγκαίων βροτοῖς (οὐθὲν γὰρ δεινόν Plut., οὐ δεινὸν οὐδέν Clem.), and it is quite possible that there has been an omission in the papyrus; cf. Fr. 1. ii. 8 and Fr. 64. 57. On the other hand the verse is not added here by Stobaeus, who quotes it (in the form οὐκ αἰσχρὸν οὐδὲν κ.τ.λ.) as Εὐριπίδου simply, without the name of the play, in another place, Flor. 29. 56. Stobaeus' testimony, therefore, tends to corroborate the papyrus, and as the line is easily spared we do not insert it.

97. The letter before the lacuna seems to be o rather than ε, i.e. "Αργο[υς οτ 'Αργόθεν. Something like "Αργο[υς εξάγουσι πρόσφορα | θάψαι δὸς ἡμ[ῖν' κοὺ κενόν τι πράξομεν seems indicated.

99-101. Cf. Statius, Theb. v. 536-7 ut inde sacer per saecula Grais gentibus et tanto

dignus morerere sepulcro, and 741 mansuris donandus honoribus infans.

102-3. Cf. the words of the scholiast on Clement quoted in introd. p. 22 ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὸν Νεμεακὸν ἄγωνα συνεστήσατο, and Schol. Pindar, Nem. arg. 4 ὁ δὲ στέφανος ἐκ χλωρῶν πλέκεται σελίνων.

106. The line may be completed e. g. 'Αρχεμόρου τεθνηκότος, as Bury suggests.

111. είς τὸ λοιπόν Murray.

112. Murray proposes τ ίμιον προσκείσεται. τ ίμιον is also suggested here by Bury.

113.  $\dot{\eta}$  after  $\eta\sigma\sigma\sigma\nu$  is naturally interpreted as  $\ddot{\eta}$ ; cf. Fr. 1. ii. 19 and 22, where  $\ddot{\eta}$  is written in the same way. But  $\mu\dot{\eta}\nu$  is obscure.

114-7 = Nauck Fr. 759, quoted from the *Hypsipyle* in Orion, *Flor.* 7. 5, p. 51, 10; l. 114 also appears, without statement of the source, in Flor. Monac. 100.

114. φύσεις: so correctly Flor. Monac.; χρήσεις Orion.

117. οὐδέ: οὐδέν Orion, corr. Schneidewin. Wecklein, Rhein. Mus. xxxiii. p. 121 proposes to read λόγον in place of χρεών.

- Frs. 61-8. These fragments, as W-M suggests, may be assigned with probability to the columns intervening between Fr. 60. ii and Fr. 64. i; the allusions to Hypsipyle's sons in Fr. 61. 4-6, to Lemnos in Fr. 62. 3, and to Amphiaraus in Fr. 63. 6 suit that position. But though all three give ends of lines they appear to come from different columns. Fr. 63 is distinguished by a selis rather to the right of the centre; and the other two are quite dissimilar, Fr. 61 being light-coloured and well preserved, whereas Fr. 62 is dark and rubbed. It is likely enough that some of the other pieces among Frs. 65-73 also belong to this part of the play, but in the absence of definite indications we do not attempt to assign their position.
- Fr. 61. Hypsipyle is the speaker in part of this fragment at any rate, perhaps throughout. In l. 6 she is probably expressing her ignorance whether her sons survive or not, and ll. 8 and 12 contain allusions to her servitude. A reference to the strange young men precedes in l. 4; W-M may well be right in thinking that Hypsipyle is addressing one of the latter, and asking him to obtain her liberty. If so the fragment would be preliminary to their recognition.

2. ἀζήλφ κο[κῷ W-M; ο[τ]ρια ζήλφ κο[κά (Murray) seems more difficult. ἀλ]λό[τ]ρια ζηλῶ κο[κά is objectionable owing to the neglect of caesura: perhaps å ζηλῶ.

4. <sup>8</sup>]χοις: or possibly [δ]χοις: cf. Fr. 33. 8, where ]οχη[ might be ὅχη[μα.

- 5. μ of ομου is corrected from λ, probably by a later hand. The words may also be divided ὅ μ' οὐ παρόνθ' ὄμ[ως (?) as Murray suggests, which would imply a masculine speaker for this line.
  - 15. Apparently not huika.

Fr. 62. 2. The v above the line seems to have been inserted by the first hand, and was perhaps deleted by the second.

- 5. The short v in κωλύει, if the reading is right, is remarkable. The v is similarly scanned e.g. in Aristophanes' Knights 723, 972, but is long elsewhere in tragedy wherever the quantity is determinable, Ion 391, Phoen. 990. Murray notes the parallel of μηνίων in Rhes. 494.
  - 7. TIPOS: OF TIPOS; the fragment may be stichomuthic.

Fr. 68. The speaker is probably Hypsipyle, who after her rescue by Amphiaraus seems in ll. 5-8 to be asking for further assistance; cf. note on ll. 7-8.

3. An acute accent on earny has been substituted for a barytone; cf. 841. VI. 88.

4. v of ovo was originally omitted.

7–8. W–M proposes  $a\vec{b}$ ]θις ώσπερεὶ νεὼς  $\zeta[\hat{a}\lambda\eta \, \pi\lambda a\gamma\kappa r\hat{\eta}\varsigma \, \kappa\nu\beta\epsilon\rho\nu\hat{\eta}\tau\eta\nu \, \sigma\epsilon] \, \lambda a[\mu]\beta \hat{a}\nu\omega \, [\sigma o\phi \delta\nu \, as representing the sense of these two verses; <math>\zeta[\hat{a}\lambda\eta \, however \, could \, not \, be \, read, though \, \sigma[\hat{a}\lambda\phi \, would \, suit.$ 

Fr. 64. i. ἀναγνώρισι between Hypsipyle and her sons; cf. introd. p. 26. It is tempting to place Fr. 70 at the top of this column. The recto is blank save for the tip of an oblique dash, and in the margin of Fr. 64. i recto there are two incomplete oblique dashes, to one of which the tip in Fr. 70 might well belong. On the other hand the strongly marked fibres of the papyrus do not correspond in the two pieces as they should do, and the combination cannot therefore be regarded as satisfactory.

50-1. These explanatory glosses are in a small hand resembling that of the text, though perhaps distinct from it. The words Ἡδωνίσι and Πάγγαιον of course occurred

in the text.

57.  $\kappa \acute{a}\tau(\omega)$  refers to an entry in the (lost) margin below, replacing a deletion (apparently) in the text; cf. Fr. 1. ii. 8.  $\kappa \acute{a}\tau(\omega)$  has been written twice, perhaps through mere inadvertence, or possibly the corrector thought that the word was placed too near the end of the verse, and so rubbed it out and rewrote it further off.

58-106. Hyps. '... (the wheel of the god)... me and my children has run back again along a single road, rolling us now towards terror, now delight; and at last he has shone forth serene.

Amph. This is the guerdon, lady, that thou receivest from me; since thou wert zealous towards my entreaty, I in my turn have shown my zeal towards thy sons. God keep thee now, and keep ye this your mother, and fare ye well; while we will go on with our army to Thebes, even as we have set forth to do.

The sons of Hyps. Blessings on thee, friend, for thou dost merit them; yea, blessings on thee. Hapless mother, how insatiate of thy woes was one among the gods!

Hyps. Ah, if thou shouldst learn of my banishment, my son, my banishment from sea-washed Lemnos, because I cut not off the grey head of my father!

Eun. Can they have ordered thee to slay thy father?

Hyps. I am full of terror at those bygone woes. Oh, my son, like Gorgons they slaughtered their husbands in their beds.

Eun. And thou, how didst thou steal away from death?

Hyps. I reached the resounding shore and the sea-wave where the birds make their lonely nests.

Eun. And how camest thou thence, what convoy brought thee hither?

Hyps. Sailors carried me by ship to Nauplia's haven, the place of travellers' passage, and brought me to servitude here, my son, a sorry merchandise of Danaid maidens.

Eun. Alas for thy woes!

Hyps. Lament not in our good fortune. But how wert thou and thy brother here brought up, and by whose hand, O my son? Tell me, tell thy mother.

Eun. The Argo brought me and him to the city of Iolcus.

Hyps. Yea, the nursling of my breast!

Eun. But when my father Jason died, mother,—

Hyps. Alas! thou speakest of my afflictions, my son, and bringest the tears to my eyes. Eun. — Then Orpheus brought him and me to the land of Thrace.

Hyps. What kindness was he doing to thy hapless father? Tell me, my son.

Eun. He taught me the music of the Asian lyre, and my brother he schooled in Ares' art of arms.

Hyps. And by what way went ye over the Aegean to the shore of Lemnos?

Eun. Thy father Thoas conveyed thy two children.

Hyps. Is he then safe?

Eun. Yea, by the contrivance of Bacchus.

58-62. ἐμέ evidently preceded, and the subject of the sentence is δαίμων or Βάκχος or some equivalent expression. χρόνφ . . . εὐάμερος is a regular dochmiac dimeter, and ll. 58-60 as they stand in the papyrus may also be regarded as resolved dochmiacs, but it is perhaps better, as W-M suggests, to regard those verses as iambic on account of thisas. In either case τε is best omitted. For the metaphor of έτρόχασεν cf. e.g. Soph. Fr. 787 πότμος έν πυκνφ θεού τροχφ κυκλείται.

64. ἢντόμην is a somewhat strong expression, but we can find no more suitable correction for the meaningless ἦν τότε of the papyrus, and it is well to suppose that Hypsipyle was not

easily persuaded.

65. A slightly curved stroke in which we can see no meaning stands above ε of παιδε;

it might be meant for an iota.

66. The line as left by the first hand though grammatically correct will not scan, since it gives a short final vowel before σφ. Το omit τέκνα and bring in τήνδε (accented τῆνδε, cf. Fr. 1. vi. 11), which was inserted at a different time and probably by a different hand, is an easy remedy, but the construction then becomes more difficult, since a transitive σφίζετε οτ σφίζεσθε has to be supplied out of the passive σφζου.

69-71. The marginal annotation assigns these lines to both sons, which implies a fourth actor; cf. introd. p. 30. Perhaps one of them spoke l. 69, the other ll. 70-1; this adds point to the repeated εὐδαιμονοίης (cf. however, Soph. El. 1163-4 ως μ' ἀπώλεσας ἀπώλεσας δητ', Orest. 219 λαβοῦ, λαβοῦ δητ'). W-M reminds us of the parallel in Med. 1271 sqq., where the MSS. prefix to l. 1271 mais, to 1272 erepos mais, and to 1277-8 maides or of dio maides. The stop in 1. 70 should have been placed after  $\delta \eta \tau a$  instead of before it.

72-3. τ which follows φυγας in the papyrus might be regarded as an error for γ' (cf. Fr. 60. 12), but is better omitted altogether. The metre of these two verses is iambic monometer, dochmiac monometer, dochmiac dimeter.

74. The deleted v, which was written by the first hand over v of  $\epsilon\mu\nu\nu$ , implies the division οὐκέτ' ἐμοῦ, though if the words were so understood ὅτι ought also to have been altered to ὅτε. The transposition of πολιόν is suggested by W-M in order to produce a dochmiac dimeter.

75 sqq. Since Euneos is the speaker in l. 101 (cf. introd. p. 28), it is best to regard him as sustaining the whole of this conversation.

77. The correction of Terra to Terror, proposed by W-M, is probable since one son is addressed throughout this passage; cf. ll. 73, 86, 91, &c. An anapaestic dimeter is here interposed between a dochmiac dim. and a dochmiac monom. For old re cf. Fr. 1. ii. 18. Γοργάδες in the sense of Γοργόνες is quoted in Phot. Lex. πλόκιον Γοργάδος· τον δοθέντα πλόκαμον τῆς Γοργόνης 'Αστερόπη τῆ Κηφέως; cf. Lycophr. 1349 ή παλίμφρων Γοργάς, which is explained by some scholl, as meaning Hera ή έμποιοῦσα φόβον παρὰ τὴν γοργότητα. The word Γοργάδων is glossed by Hesychius, who cites it (1 p. 851) from Sophocles' Daedalus, as δλιάδων; cf. ibid. Γοργίδες al 'Ωκεανίδες, Zon. Lex. p. 448 γοργάδες al δέσποιναι. 79. On the marginal  $\pi=1$ . 1600 cf. Fr. 25, note.

80-82. ορνεεων (sic) Pap., but δρνεον though a good word does not occur elsewhere in tragedy and W-M's correction ὀρνίθων is also metrically preferable. Transposing ἰκόμαν to 1.80 we then get here an iambic dimeter, an anapaestic dimeter, and a dochmiac with irrational penultimate. The papyrus shows both the old Attic (properispome) and the later accentuation of ερημος. For ορνίθων . . . κοίταν cf. a fragment from the Polyidus (Nauck 636. 5) ο κύματ' ολκών όρνις. ολόμα θαλάσσιον occurred in the Bellerophon (Nauck 301. 2)

84-6 = spond. dip., dactyl. tetrap., 2 dactylo-epitrit. dims., with catalexis in the second. 87. We adopt W-M's conjecture ἐνθάδε Δαναίδων, which produces a dochmiac dimeter, for the unintelligible ενθαδη (another δη deleted) ναιων. Murray suggests ἐνθάδ' ἢ ναίω, which is closer to the papyrus but makes the construction of μέλεον ἐμπολάν more difficult, besides being less satisfactory metrically. The ο of μελεον is more like ω, and perhaps μελεων was written owing to confusion with ναιων.

89-92. Dactylo-epitrit. dim. (προσοδιακόν), dactyl. tetrap., 2 cretic dims. (apparently).

οτε δ was written for οδε τ: cf. Fr. 60. 29, note; the partial correction is by the first hand. 93. We substitute ès Ἰωλκόν for εἰε Κόλχων, the incongruity of which had already struck us and was further emphasized by Dr. Mahaffy. According to Ovid, Heroid. 6. 56, Jason stayed two years at Lemnos, but his children were not yet born when he sailed for Colchis: at any rate it is improbable that he could have wished to take two infants on that dangerous expedition; moreover there would be a strange hiatus in Euneos' story if he said nothing of going to Thessaly. Euripides apparently imagined Jason as calling again at Lemnos on his return from Colchis (cf. Pindar, Pyth. 4. 251), and on finding Hypsipyle gone—she had in the meantime been banished—his natural course would be to carry his young children away with him to his own home; according to Statius, Theb. v. 467, Hypsipyle on going into exile left them in the charge of a person named Lycaste, who is unknown from other sources. Cf. Apollon. Rhod. i. 904-6 (Jason to Hypsipyle) εἰ δ' οῦ μοι πέπροται ἐς Ἑλλάδα γαῖαν ἰκέσθαι τηλοῦ ἀναπλώοντι, σὺ δ' ἄροτενα παίδα τέκηαι, πέμπε μεν ἡβησαντα Πελασγίδος ἔνδον Ἰωλκοῦ. W-M however, in spite of the foregoing considerations, would retain εἰς Κόλχων on the ground that this is required by Hypsipyle's interjection in the next line, ἀπομαστίδιον κ.τ.λ.

The interlinear e is written through a mark of elision.

94 = Anapaestic monom. (equivalent to dochmiac) + catalectic dochmiac.

95. The letters οσ of εμοσ are converted from an ω.

96-7. κακά for κακων Murray, restoring the dochmiac trimeter.

98. For Orpheus cf. note on Fr. 1. iii. 8-10.

99-100 = Řesolved dochmiac + iambic trim. For χάριν . . . τιθέμενος cf. El. 61 χάριτα τιθεμένη πόσει.

101. This verse which shows that Euneos is the speaker alludes to the Attic clan of Εὐνεῖδαι: cf. introd. p. 28. The first hand perhaps wrote μακαρισαs, but the vestige of the

letter after μ is too slight to show whether it was corrected.

102. "Αρεως ὅπλα . . . μάχης: ὅπλα-μάχης coalesces into a single term, being practically equivalent, as W-M remarks, to ὁπλομαχίαν. Cf. Phoen. 307-9 βοστρύχον τε κυανόχρωτα χαίτας-πλόκαμον, Soph. Ant. 795 βλεφάρων-ἴμερος εὐλέκτρου νύμφας, &c. The letters εσ, though broken, are practically certain.

103-4 = Dochmiac trim., the first member catalectic, the third with an irrational first syllable.

105. The papyrus has δυοιν τεκνω, which is obviously wrong. W-M believes that there is a serious corruption, first on account of the form τέκνω, and secondly because the words would naturally mean 'his children' not 'your children'. But although dual neuters in -ω are certainly rare, they do occasionally occur, e. g. I. T. 487 δύ ἐξ ἐνὸς κακώ, Phoen. 582 δύο κακώ, Aristoph. Birds 1464 πτερώ, Lysisl. 291 τὰ ξύλω, Xen. Cyr. v. 4. 51 τὰ δὲ δύο φρονρίω; and though the expression is not clear, no doubt could arise concerning the intended meaning. It would be easy to complete the line differently, e. g. τὰ παιδέ σον, or ἐκείσε νώ, but not easy to account for the corruption. We therefore leave the text as nearly as possible in the form in which it stands, while quite admitting its questionable authenticity. Murray ingeniously proposes δύ οἶ τέκνω, which no doubt might readily produce δύοιν τέκνω; but the collocation does not seem quite satisfactory.

106. Ba | x | x | (10v) suits the space better than Ba | x | x | (10us), and, as Murray remarks, is more

probable in itself in view of the extremely common use in Euripides of Βάκχιος = Βάκχος. In Statius, Theb. v. 283-4, Dionysus in aiding Thoas to escape from Lemnos promises to watch over his fortunes: tu lato patrem committe profundo. Succedam curis.

107. Perhaps π όνων, but μεταβο λαί (cf. Nauck Fr. inc. 864 μεταβολάς γάρ πόνων αεί

φιλώ) is excluded by the accent on o.

109. παίδας ή: for the circumflex on η cf. Fr. 1. ii. 17; παίδα σŷ is less likely.

- 111. Possibly βροτοίσι δό] στος, as Murray suggests: but the sense of the passage remains too obscure for a restoration.
  - 152. On this appearance of Dionysus and the purport of his speech cf. introd. p. 28.
- Fr. 65. στρατέ, in l. 4 and θύειν in l. 9 are doubtless references to the Argive army (cf. Frs. 1. iv. 36 and 60. 62), and the speaker is perhaps Amphiaraus, in which case the fragment should probably be placed with Frs. 61-3 in the gap between Frs. 60 and 64.
- Fr. 67. The rubbed papyrus is very similar in appearance to the bottom of Fr. 1. iii; it is quite likely to be lyrical, but does not seem to join on there directly.
- Frs. 68-9. Fr. 68 cannot be placed in Col. i of Fr. 64, nor is it at all likely that Fr. 69 belongs there.
- Fr. 70. Possibly this fragment belongs to the top of Fr. 64. i; cf. note ad loc. It does not come from the same column as Fr. 77.

  - λ τύχαις: Οι πτυχαίς.
     This may be a lyric verse.
- Fr. 71. Since the recto contains beginnings of lines, this fragment does not belong to Fr. 1. v, where the recto is blank.
- Fr. 72. This piece approximates in condition to Frs. 18-9, but not closely enough to be definitely grouped with them.
- Fr. 73. 4.  $\sqrt[n]{\nu}$  (not  $\sqrt[n]{\nu}$ ) is inserted above the line apparently as a variant on  $\epsilon i$ : in the absence of the context it is of course impossible to give either the preference.
- Fr. 76. 3. The insertion above the line is puzzling: the two sigmas are clear, and at a short distance from them is a vestige of what seems to be another letter.
  - **Fr. 77.** 4. The slight vestige of the first letter would suit  $\chi$ .
- Fr. 79. This fragment looks as if it belonged to Fr. 1. ii, but we cannot find a place for it there.
- Fr. 86. 3. A vestige on the edge of the papyrus above the top of the  $\theta$  may represent a breathing or belong to another inserted letter.
  - Fr. 90. 4. This is probably the last line of a column.
- Fr. 96. 4. The supposed  $\epsilon$  has been corrected apparently from v; but perhaps the first letter is a and the v was merely crossed out, being followed by a r.
- Fr. 97. In the margin slightly above l. 1 is what appears to be a small  $\theta$  with two horizontal strokes below it. The remains do not well suit either one of the *dramatis* personae or a stichometrical figure, though  $\xi = 1400$  is just possible.
- Fr. 115. Judged by the manner of writing,  $\Theta \delta a$  is more probably part of the text than a marginal dramatis persona, though the blank space below would suit the latter hypothesis.
- Fr. 116. This is perhaps part of a marginal note; cf. Fr. 64. i. 50-1. The stroke like an accent is some little way above the  $\xi$ .

#### 853. COMMENTARY ON THUCYDIDES II.

Height 20.5 cm.

Late second century. Plate IV (Cols. xvi-xvii).

These considerable portions of a commentary upon the second book of Thucydides belong to the large find of literary papyri which produced 841-4 and 852, and consisted originally of about a hundred fragments of varying sizes, two-thirds of which have been pieced together. Excluding the small unplaced fragments, 19 columns (about 600 lines) are preserved, divided into eight separate sections which we have called A-H, and covering the first 45 chapters of the book, though with large gaps at certain points. Like 842, which was written on the verso of a long official document from the Arsinoite nome (918), this commentary is on the back of a series of non-literary documents from that district. A detailed description of these texts is given under 986; here it is necessary to state that the writing proceeds in the opposite direction to that of the scholia, and that at least three originally different papyri have been joined together to form a roll of sufficient length for the literary text. Cols, i-iv of the recto (= Cols. xix-xiv of the verso) belong to a survey-list of confiscated house property; Cols. v-viii of the recto (= Cols. xiii-viii of the verso) are in the same hand and of a similar character, but are concerned with property in land, the writer, a comogrammateus of the village of Oxyrhyncha in the 16th year of Hadrian, making a fresh start. Col. viii of the recto was cut down the middle and joined to another second-century document, Col. ix (=Col. vii of the verso), containing a return by sitologi which has itself had the beginnings of lines cut off; the line of junction corresponds to the margin between Cols. viii and vii of the verso. Cols. x-xv of the recto (= Cols. vi-i of the verso) belong to a third document, a second-century account concerning loans of seed-corn to cultivators of Crown lands.

The script of the commentary is a small and neat informal uncial, with a tendency to lapse into cursive forms, especially in the letters  $\epsilon$  and  $\kappa$ , and presents much similarity to the hand of the Oxyrhynchus scholia on *Iliad* xxi (221). The circumstance that one of the documents on the recto is dated in A. D. 131-2 provides a *terminus a quo* for the date of the text on the verso, which on palaeographical grounds is not likely to be later than A. D. 200. Probably 842, 852, and 858 were all written about the same time, somewhat later than 221. Iota adscript is rarely (e. g. x. 15, 31, xv. 34) omitted. There are no stops, and accents, breathings, and elision-marks are used sparingly; but paragraphi

occur frequently to separate the notes, and the lemmata project into the left margin by the width of one letter, as in the Berlin Didymus papyrus, and are separated from the notes referring to them by a short blank space. With each new quotation the scribe begins a fresh line. The common angular sign (sometimes doubled) is employed to fill up short lines.  $\iota$  and  $\nu$  occasionally have the diaeresis. The concluding word of a note is four times (v. 15, vii. 28, xv. 4, xvi. 11) abbreviated, even though in the first two cases there was plenty of room to write the word out in full; but of the conventional abbreviations often found in commentaries of this period (cf. e.g. 856) there is no trace. The columns contain from 35 to 38 lines, the beginnings of which tend to slope away to the left as the column proceeds. There are a few corrections, all due to the original scribe, who was not a very careful copyist, so that several minor alterations in the text, chiefly due to omissions, are necessary; cf. i. 22, ii. 19, 28, vii. 24, ix. 13, x. 27, xv. 4, 38.

Of the eight sections into which the papyrus falls, A contains Cols. i-iii in a very fair condition, and the beginnings of lines of Col. iv. So far as the external evidence is concerned, there is no special indication that Col. i is the original beginning of the writing on the verso, but since the first note refers to the opening words of Book II, it is probable that in Col. i we have the actual commencement of the work, and that the roll did not contain our author's commentary on Book I if he wrote one. i. 7-iv. 9 is taken up by a long discussion of the criticisms directed against Thucydides' method of writing history by Dionysius of Halicarnassus in his extant work  $\pi \epsilon \rho l$  Θουκυδίδου, so that by the end of Col. iv our author has only reached c. 2. 4. B, comprising the two wellpreserved columns v and vi, follows immediately after A and covers cc. 2. 4-8. 2, after which there is a gap. Since the writing on the recto of B has no connexion with that on the recto of C, it does not help to decide the width of the lacuna between these two sections, but the internal evidence of the scholia shows that at least one column and probably not more than two are missing between Cols. vi and vii. C, which contains the two damaged columns vii and viii, begins at c. 11. 4 and reaches c. 13. 6. D, containing the upper half of Col. ix, follows C without an interval, and down to l. 18 covers c. 13. 6-7. Fr. 1, however, apparently refers to c. 14. 1 and probably belongs to the lower part of Col. ix, which no doubt covered all c. 14; for E begins at c. 15. 1, and though, as far as the verso is concerned, there might be a column or two missing between D and E, the writing on the recto makes it practically certain that Col. x follows immediately after Col. ix. While Col. i of E (=Col. x), which covers cc. 15. 1-17. 1 is in moderate preservation, Col. ii (=Col. xi) is represented only by three small detached fragments. The exact position of that containing parts of ll. 1-3 is obvious from internal evidence, while that containing the beginnings of ll. 15-7 is fixed not only by its suitability to this context, but by the writing on the recto, and the accuracy of the position assigned to the third fragment, containing parts of ll. 14-21 (Fr. 2), is hardly open to question. The next section, F, consists of the ends of lines of Col. xii and three quarters of Col. xiii, covering cc. 17. 4-24. 1. That anything is lost between Cols. xi and xii is most unlikely, but after Col. xiii there is a long gap, since G begins at c. 34. 5. In this section we have the ends of lines of Col. xiv, then three well-preserved columns (xv-xvii) and the beginnings of lines of another (xviii) covering cc. 34. 5-41. 3. The beginning of the funeral oration of Pericles (cc. 35-45) is noted in xiv. 3. After Col. xviii there is another considerable lacuna in which probably 3 or 4 columns are lost, and H (Col. xix) has only the ends of 18 lines on a fragment dealing with c. 45. 2, near the conclusion of the funeral oration.

The date at which these scholia were composed can be fixed within tolerably narrow limits. Dionysius of Halicarnassus came to Rome in 30 B.C. and issued his great work on Roman Archaeology in 7 B.C. (Ant. i. 7. 2), while Q. Aelius Tubero, to whom the treatise on Thucydides was addressed, is probably identical with the consul of 11 B.C., so that our commentary which discusses that treatise cannot be earlier than 30 B.C. and is not likely to be earlier than 10 B.C. On the other hand, since the MS. itself is not later than A.D. 200, the composition of the commentary can hardly have taken place later than Hadrian's time, and it is more likely that it was written soon after the beginning of the Christian era.

The extant scholia on Thucydides, derived from the Byzantine MSS, and of varying dates, are fairly full, but do not display much learning, and are rarely of great value either for the elucidation of the text or for quotations from other writers; and in spite of the greater antiquity of our commentary it is but little superior to them in point of quality. Our author's interest in Thucydides was mainly grammatical, and most of the notes are devoted to the explanation of words, phrases, or constructions, with frequent paraphrases of clauses or even whole sentences which were difficult, especially in the funeral oration. Questions of spelling and accentuation are discussed in v. 12-5 and vi. 25-8. In exegesis our author displays more intelligence than the extant scholia (e.g. v. 1-3); and though many of his remarks are trivial enough, his opinions on several wellknown and much disputed passages have some importance, as supporting now one, now another of the modern commentators, or suggesting something new; e.g. x. 25-30, xiv. 6-11, xv. 16-24, xvii. 16-9, 23-9, and 31-3. But his authority cannot be ranked high, for in several places his interpretation is certainly wide of the mark; cf. v. 22-9 (two explanations of the infinitive τοῦ μὴ ἐκφυγεῖν,

both of which are unsatisfactory), ix. 4-6 (an impossible explanation of  $i\pi\delta$ as equivalent to  $\partial \pi \partial$ , xix. 4 sqq. (a hopelessly wrong interpretation of  $\hat{\eta} \circ \partial \nu \in \pi'$ ἐλάχιστον κ.τ.λ.). Of more interest than his exegetical remarks are his critical notes on the text. The variant ωρμητο for ωργητο recorded in xiii. 13-5 was already known, but neither ἐκστρατευομένων (vii. 29), which occurred in our author's text of Thucydides II. 12. 2, nor the alternative reading in the note στρατευόντων (vii. 30) have found their way into the existing MSS., which all have εξεστρατευμένων, a reading ignored by our author. Of real value is the note on Πειράσιοι (xiii. 20-3), which explains the origin of a long felt corruption in the text of c. 22. 3. In the rare cases where the commentary deals with historical or geographical rather than with grammatical or textual questions, it is singularly disappointing. The brief indication of the position of Phrygia in xiii. 16 slightly modifies the current view of the site of that unimportant village, and the note on the temple of Dionysus at Limnae (x. 7-14) might have been of some value if more complete, but that on the Anthesteria (x. 16-8) merely confirms what was already known to us from other sources, and such annotations as vi. 16-24 and xiii. 25-8 are elementary. Our author, indeed, exhibits a very limited acquaintance with Greek literature. There is not a single quotation from other Greek historians and apart from the discussion of the criticisms of Dionysius, the only prose writer of any kind who is referred to is . . . los (apparently an earlier commentator on Thucydides) mentioned in x. 11. A well-known quotation from Pindar, which in its later proverbial form is also quoted by the extant scholia on Thucydides, occurs in vi. 34-5, and there is a passing allusion to the Erechtheus of Euripides in x. 3; but the only other writers with whom our author shows familiarity are Homer and Callimachus. The former is quoted by way of illustration not less than ten times (iv. 6, 17, vi. 9-10 (?), 14-5, vii, 10-1, 27-8, ix. 5-6, xiii. 17-9, 20-1, xvii. 18-9, xix. 6-7), the interpretation in the last instance being singularly perverse, though in accordance with that of the earlier Alexandrian commentators, while the citation in ix. 5-6 is quite inapposite (cf. vi. 9-10, note). The text is uniformly the vulgate except in xvii. 18-9, where our author probably relied on his memory and quoted inaccurately. Callimachus is cited twice, the first quotation (x. 7-10, from the Hecale) being partly extant, the second (x. 37-8) new.

In view of the general similarity in mode of treatment between this commentary and the extant scholia it is surprising that the points of actual agreement are so few. The most noteworthy is the Pindar quotation alluded to above (vi. 34-5), but even here the scholia quote the saying as a  $\pi a \rho o \iota \mu l a$  and in a slightly different form. Elsewhere there are occasional verbal similarities, such as would be expected from any commentators covering the same ground (cf. e.g. notes

on v. 33, viii. 7-9, ix. 10, x. 19-20, xii. 10, xiii. 17, xv. 16, xvi. 19-24), but amid innumerable divergencies no striking coincidences are found anywhere, and there is no reason to think that our author is one of the direct sources of the extant scholia, while even an indirect influence upon them seems unlikely.

The somewhat unfavourable impression which our author makes as a commentator on the text of Thucydides is improved when we turn to his discussion of the views of Dionysius about Thucydides' methods as a historian. As a literary critic he exhibits himself to greater advantage than as a grammarian, and his defence of Thucydides is both just and sensible. Dionysius, whose whole treatment of Thucydides though not wanting in learning and acumen is marked by a lack of appreciation of his real merits, in cc. 9-20 of his De Thucyd. Iudic. censures the historian's mode of dealing with his subject-matter, the following chapters (cc. 21-55) being concerned with his style. Dionysius' criticisms on the former topic are represented as coming not from himself but from twés, i. e. his predecessors, and his objections fall under the three heads of διαίρεσις, τάξις, and έξεργασία (c. 9). Our author replies to the criticisms under the first two heads, briefly summarizing cc. 9-12 in i. 7-33. To Dionysius' strictures with regard to διαίρεσις on firstly Thucydides' choice of a division according to summers and winters in preference to the years of the archons or Olympiads or the geographical arrangement adopted by Herodotus, and secondly on the consequent want of connexion and abrupt transitions in his narrative, our author justly retorts that there was no reason why Thucydides should have chosen to reckon by archons or Olympiads (ii. 6 sqq.), and that the Herodotean method of narrating events according to localities was quite inapplicable to a history of the Peloponnesian war (ii. 15-27), concluding with an effective argumentum ad hominem against Dionysius (ii. 33-iii. 1), whose own theory of what system of chronology ought to have been followed is shown to be open to the objection concerning abrupt transitions which he had brought against Thucydides. A system of dating by the years of the archons or Olympiads which began in the summer would in fact disturb the sequence of the narrative far more than Thucydides' division of the year into summer and winter, which in describing military operations is the most natural one. In iii. 2-17, a passage which is much mutilated, our author deals with the supposed want of connexion in Thucydides' narrative, and shows that this charge is exaggerated. In iii. 18-iv. 9 he contradicts Dionysius' criticism directed against the τάξις, that in his account of the origin of the war Thucydides ought to have begun by describing the true cause of it, the rise of Athens, instead of postponing this to his description of the commonly alleged causes, the Corcyrean and Potidaean incidents. The point at issue between our author and Dionysius is here more debateable. No doubt a modern historian of the Peloponnesian war would in agreement with Dionysius prefer to begin with a sketch of the rise of Athens rather than to introduce this subsequently as a digression. But looking at Book I from the point of view of Thucydides' aims as expressed in his preface, the arrangement adopted by him is quite descensible. As our author points out (iii. 22-30), Dionysius was wrong in thinking that Thucydides was under an obligation to give an elaborate account of events preceding the Peloponnesian war. Probably his desire to avoid becoming involved in this so serious an undertaking was one of the chief reasons for the postponement of the sketch of the rise of Athens. Further, our author's dictum in iii. 30-iv. 1 about the duty of a historian to relate the obvious before the remoter causes of events is at least as true as Dionysius' opposing aphorism in c. 11 that true causes ought to precede false ones, the fact being that no a priori rule can be laid down on the subject, which has to be settled with regard to expediency. Whatever his demerits as an annotator, our author must on the points in dispute be credited with a fairer appreciation of Thucydides than his adversary, one of the ablest critics of the day.

Can our author be identified with any of the known commentators upon Thucydides? The answer, is, we think, in the negative. The extant scholia mention three of their sources, Antyllus, Asclepius (or Asclepiades), and Phoebammon. Of these Phoebammon, who lived in the fourth century, is out of the question. The dates of Antyllus and Asclepius, who is generally thought to have been a rhetorician rather than a grammarian, are quite uncertain, and might therefore fall within the period (about 10 B. C.-A. D. 140) in which the author of our commentary wrote; but the slightness of the connexion between it and the extant scholia (cf. p. 110) excludes the likelihood of an identification with writers utilized in them. Nor is much more to be said in favour of identifying our author with any of the other rhetoricians or grammarians who composed commentaries upon Thucydides; cf. E. Schwabe, Leipz. Stud. iv. pp. 81 sqq., Doberentz, De Scholiis in Thue., Halle, 1876. Numenius, who wrote περὶ τῶν τῆς λέξεως σχημάτων, ύποθέσεις των Δημοσθένους καὶ Θυυκυδίδου, χρειών συναγωγή, &c., probably lived in the time of Hadrian, which barely falls within the right period, and to judge by the title his work seems to have consisted of short arguments, not a detailed commentary. Julius Vestinus, who also lived under Hadrian, and wrote an ἐκλογὴ ἐκ τῶν Θουκυδίδου, was apparently a lexicographer, not a regular commentator upon Thucydides. The title of Claudius Didymus' work, composed probably in the first century, περί των ήμαρτημένων παρά την αναλογίαν Θουκυδίδη, indicates that it was quite different from our commentary, as were the ζητήσεις κατὰ στοιχεῖον Θουκυδίδου Οτ τῶν παρὰ Θουκυδίδη ζητουμένων κατὰ λέξιν written by Evagoras of Lindus, also probably in the first century. Didymus χαλκέντερος,

though a contemporary of Dionysius, is also, we think, out of the question, for it is very doubtful whether he wrote on Thucydides (cf. Pauly-Wissowa, Real-encycl. v. p. 460), and his recently discovered commentary on Demosthenes is almost entirely historical, not grammatical, and abounds in quotations, being thus far removed in character from our papyrus. Caecilius Calactinus, who was also coeval with Dionysius, has no stronger claims than Didymus to be identified with our author. He discussed and quoted Thucydides (cf. pp. 57-8 and 193-6 of Ofenloch's edition), and though Dionysius (Ep. ad Cn. Pomp. 3, 20) calls Caecilius φίλτατος, the two critics seem to have had controversies (cf. Ofenloch, p. xiii). But Caecilius was primarily a rhetorician, and that he wrote a grammatical commentary on Thucydides is improbable. Sabinus (time of Hadrian), Tiberius, and Heron son of Cotys (dates unknown) wrote ὑπομνήματα upon Thucydides about which nothing further has been recorded, and since our commentary is technically a ὑπόμνημα, it is possible that one of these writers is identical with our author; but it is more likely that he was some obscure Alexandrian grammarian whose works were not long preserved, and whose name even is lost. Of his influence on later grammarians (apart from the Thucydides scholia already discussed) we have not discovered any clear trace, though cf. x. 36-7,

It remains to examine our author's text of Thucydides, in so far as this can be ascertained from the lemmata. The chief MSS. fall into two main families, CG and ABEFM, of which the former is now generally considered to be superior. As usual, the text of the papyrus is of an eclectic character and does not consistently agree with either family; but it supports the ABEFM group seven times (cf. notes on i. 6-7, xiii. 13, xiv. 4, xv. 15, xvii. 20, 30, xviii. 24) against only four agreements with the other (cf. notes on vii. 37, xiv. 25, xvi. 29, 31). Several new readings occur, of which we append a list.

- (1) i. 7 (c. 1. 1) v. l. θερη και χειμωνας above the line for θέρος καὶ χειμώνα.
- (2) v. 5 (c. 2. 4) χρησθαι for χρήσασθαι.
- (3) v. 21 (c. 4. 2) εκφυγείν for ἐκφεύγειν (ἐκφυγείν only in a late Paris MS.).
- (4) v. 30 (c. 4. 3) στυρακι for στυρακίω.
- (5) vii. 15 (c. 11. 9) υμιν for ἡμίν.
- (6) vii. 29 (c. 12. 2) εκστρατευομενων, with v.l. στρατευοντων, for εξεστρατευμένων.
  - (7) ix. 3 (c. 13. 7) υπο for ἀπό.
  - (8) x. 15 (c. 15. 4) αρχαιστατα for αρχαιότερα.
- (9) xiii. 20 (c. 22. 3) Φαρσαλιοι Πειρασιοι (Κραννωνιοι) for Φαρσάλιοι Παράσιοι Κραννώνιοι Πειράσιοι.
  - (10) xv. 34 (c. 37. 2) δρα τι for τι δρά.

- (11) xvi. 25 (c. 39. 1) διαιτωμεθα for διαιτώμενοι.
- (12) xvii. 35 (c. 40. 3) autor for of autol.

Of these (5), which confirms a conjecture of Hude, and (9), where the note shows that Παράσιοι is an interpolation, are undoubtedly better than the readings of the MSS. On the other hand (7) is certainly wrong and (1), (11), and (12) may be merely due to mistakes on the part of the copyist of the papyrus (cf. his omission in ix. 3) and in any case are not likely to be right. In respect to the other new readings there is little to choose between them and the MSS., the sense being hardly if at all affected by any of them. As regards the passages in Thucydides which have been suspected of being corrupt, the explanation of Παράσιοι supports the conclusions of modern editors, and there is some reason to believe that the formidable anacoluthon in the MSS. reading at c. 7. 2 did not occur in our author's text (cf. vi. 16, note); but elsewhere the papyrus, like other Thucydides papyri (cf. 878-880), tends to confirm the ordinary text even where alterations have generally been accepted. Thus in c. 15. 4 (x. 15) the words  $\tau \hat{\eta} i \beta'$ , usually regarded as a gloss, are found, and neither Cobet's insertion of τοῦ in c. 15. 4 (x. 7, note) nor Lipsius' transference of πανοικησία in c. 16. 1 (x. 31) nor the proposals to omit words in c. 4. 2 (v. 21-2, note) and c. 16. 1 (x. 25, note) are confirmed. On the whole our author's text, though not on a level with the first-century fragments of Book IV (16 and 696), and perhaps affected to some extent by errors of the copyist, is a good one, and its early date gives it considerable value.

In the restoration of the very imperfect text of this papyrus, we have received much assistance from Professors U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff and J. B. Bury; some suggestions are also due to Dr. C. Hude and Mr. H. Stuart Jones. We give the text and reconstruction in parallel columns, the lemmata being distinguished in the latter by thick type. In the notes Schol. = the extant scholia on Thucydides.

σιοσ[.]αλικαρνασσευσεντωιπερι θουκυδιδο[.]συνταγματιπεριου πολλωνμ[.]μφεταιτονθουκυδι δηνταδαν[.]τατωιτριακεφαλαια διεξεισινοί. . τεουκαρχοντασκαι ολυμπιαδα[...]σοιλοιποιπροτε θεικετωνχ[...]ναλλ'ιδιωσ θερηκαιχεί[...]ασκαιοτιδιεσπα κεκαιδιη[. . . .] ετηνίστοριαν > καισυνκο[. . . .]ταπραγματαου καπα[.]τιζω[..]α[.]περιεκαστων διηγ[.]σεισα[..]απαλλωνεπαλλατρεπομενοσπρ[.]ντελειωσαικαι > οτιτηναληθητουπολεμουαιτ[.] ανεπιωνωσσφοδρααυτοσεξη τακωσοτιδιευλαβειαντησϊσχυοσ τωναθηναιωνεπολεμησαναυ τοισοιλακεδαιμονιοιουμαδια διατακορκυραϊκαηποτειδαιατι κακαιτασπαρατοισπολλοισλέγο > μενασαιτιασομωσουκαποτου > τωνων εκριν εναυτο σδιηγειται εκ[.]ιθεναρξαμενοσαφοιωνπρα γματωνμεταταπερσικαηυξη θησανοιαθηναιοιαλλαπαλινεπι τασκοινασαιτιαστρεπεται· τοιαυ > ταμενοδιονυσιοσεικοτωσδαν τισπροσαυτονπροπετωσουτωσ >

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σιος [ό] Αλικαρνασσεύς έν τῷ περὶ Θουκυδίδο[υ] συντάγματι περὶ οὐ πολλῶν μ[έ]μφεται τὸν Θουκυδί-δην, τὰ δ΄ ἀν[ω]τάτω τρία κεφάλαια διέξεισιν, ὅ[τι] τε οὐκ ἄρχοντας καὶ ᾿Ολυμπιάδα[ς ὡ]ς οἱ λοιποὶ προτέ-θεικε τῶν χ[ρόνω]ν ἀλλ' ἰδίως θέρη καὶ χει[μῶν]ας, καὶ ὅτι διέσπακε καὶ διή[ρηκ]ε τὴν ἰστορίαν καὶ συγκό[πτει] τὰ πράγματα οὐκ ἀπα[ρ]τίζω[ν τ]ὰ[ς] περὶ ἐκάστων

διηγ[ή]σεις ά[ $\lambda\lambda$ ]α άπ' ά $\lambda\lambda$ ων έπ' ά $\lambda\lambda$ α τρεπόμενος πρ[ί]ν τελειῶσαι, καί δτι την άληθη τοῦ πολέμου αἰτ[ί-]  $αν ε(i)π{ι}ων ως σφόδρα αὐτὸς έξη$ τακώς, ότι δι' εὐλάβειαν τῆς ἰσχύος των 'Αθηναίων ἐπολέμησαν αὐτοίς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οὐ μὰ Δία διά τὰ Κορκυραϊκὰ ή Ποτειδαιατικά καὶ τὰς παρά τοῖς πολλοῖς λεγομένας αίτίας, δμως ούκ άπο τούτων ὧν ἔκρινεν αὐτὸς διηγεῖται έκ[ε]ιθεν ἀρξάμενος ἀφ' οΐων πραγμάτων μετά τὰ Περσικά ηὐξήθησαν οἱ Άθηναῖοι, άλλὰ πάλιν ἐπὶ τάς κοινάς αίτίας τρέπεται. τοιαθτα μέν ὁ Διονύσιος είκότως δ' άν τις πρός αύτον προπετώς ούτως

### Col. ii (=A col. ii).

$[\dots\dots]$ $[\cdot]$	[μεμφόμενον άντεγκαλέ]σε[ι]εν [δ]τι
$[\ldots\ldots]$ . $[\ldots]$	[ ] . τοσο[] . ε . [.
τ[)τωνπραγματων	τ[ ] τῶν πραγμάτων

	σ[]νλογισμονοσκαι
5	α[ ]νοσπαρεδωκεν >
	€[]ανηγαρκατααρ >
	$\chi[\cdots]$ καικατολυμπια
	δ[ ]ενπλάτεικαιου
	κ[]νουδωσηροδο
10	τ[ ]υτουσυνεχωσ
	τ[]υσποικι
	λον[ ]μονγρα
	φω[]οιοντη $ι$
	του[ ]ο[]αστουσ
15	α[]πλα[.]αϊκααπο
	[]μεχριτωνΰστατων
	[]ταειταπαλινπασασ
	τασ[]βολαστωνπελοποννη[
	ων[.]παλληλουσγραφειν[]κ[
20	κυραϊκαεφεξησδιαφεροντ[
	τοισχρονοισπανταγαρανσυν[
	χεενηπαλινεπιτουσαυτουσχ[
	νουσανετρεχεναπρεπωσκα[
	αλογωσουγαρμιαϋποθεσισην[
25	ουδεενένιχρονωιητοπωιαλλα[
	πολλαικαιπολλαχουκαικατα
	πολλουσχρονουσ καιμην >
	εικαικατααρχονταεγραφενα > >
	ναγκηπαλινηνδιαιρεινταπρα
30	γματαεπαλλωνγαρκαιαλλων
•	ταυτααρχοντωνσυνεβαινεν
	οτανδετισενκεφαλαιονγραφηι
	μονονσυνεχωσειρειεαυτωιουν
	εαντιαλεγειοδιονυσιοσκαιγαρ >
35	εικαταρχοντασεδειγραφεινωσ
	φησινομοιωσεχρηνδιαιρειντα

σ[.... λογισμον δς καὶ α[.... παρέδωκεν ε[.... ή γὰρ κατὰ ἄρχ[οντας διάθεσις] καὶ κατ' 'Ολυμπιάδίας ούπω έγεγόνει έν πλάτει και ού κ[. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . μ οὐδ' ὡς 'Hρόδοτ[ος . . . . . . . . . . ]υτου συνεχώς τ[.....]υς ποικίλον [......μον γρά- $\phi \infty [\nu \ldots ]$  olov  $\tau \hat{\eta}$ τοῦ [....]ο[..]αστους α[..... τὰ] Πλα[τ]αϊκὰ ἀπδ [τῶν πρώτων] μέχρι τῶν ὑστάτων [διεξελθόν]τα, είτα πάλιν πάσας τάς [έσ]βολάς τῶν Πελοποννη[σίων [έ]παλλήλους γράφειν, [τὰ] (δὲ) K[ορκυραϊκά έφεξης διαφέροντ[α τοις χρόνοις. πάντα γάρ αν συν[έχεεν ή πάλιν έπὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χ[ρ6νους ἀνέτρεχεν ἀπρεπώς κα[ὶ άλόγως. οὐ γὰρ μία ὑπόθεσις ήν ούδε εν ενί χρόνφ ή τόπφ, άλλα πολλαί και πολλαχού και κατά

πολλούς καιρούς. καὶ μὴν εἰ καὶ κατὰ ἄρχοντα(ς) ἔγραφεν, ἀνάγκη πάλιν ἢν διαιρεῖν τὰ πράγματα: ἐπ' ἄλλων γὰρ καὶ ἄλλων 
ταῦτα ἀρχόντων συνέβαινεν: 
ὅταν δέ τις ἐν κεφάλαιον γράφη 
μόνον συνεχῶς εἴρει. ἐαυτῷ οὖν 
ἐ⟨ν⟩αντία λέγει ὁ Διονύσιος: καὶ γὰρ 
εἰ κατ' ἄρχοντας ἔδει γράφειν ὡς 
φησιν, ὁμοίως ἐχρῆν διαιρεῖν τὰ

# Col. iii (=A col. iii).

	•	•
	$\pi[.]$ αγματαακολου $ heta[.\ .\ .\ .\ .\ .\ .]$ ου $oldsymbol{\sigma}$ ιν	π[ρ]άγματα ἀκολούθ[ως τοῖς ἄρχ]ουσιν.
	[.]ανγετοισυνειρη[]ακαι	[ἐ]άν γέ τοι συνείρη [τὰ πράγματ]α καὶ
	[.]ηκωλυωσινοιχρ[ ]ησ[.	[μ]η κωλύωσιν οἱ χρ[όνοι ἐφεξ]ης [ό
	$[\ldots]$ κυδιδη $[\ldots]$ διηγ $[\ldots]$ ι $[\ldots]$	$[\Theta$ ου]κυδίδη[s] διηγε $[\hat{\imath}\tau$ αι, οἶον .]ι[
5	$[\cdots]\cdots[\cdots]$ $\bar{\tau}\eta i \bar{\zeta} \sigma v v [\cdots \cdots $	$[\ldots] \ldots [\ldots]  \tau \hat{\eta}  \zeta'  \sigma v \nu [\epsilon \chi \hat{\omega} \varsigma \ldots \ldots$
	[••••.]ταιουδειτ[••••	[]ται. οὐδ' ϵἰ τ[
	[····.]ροικατο[]···[····	[ ]ροικατο[ ] [
	[]ικακα[.]οικι[	[]ικα κα[τ]οικι[
	[]πολλ $[.]$ σκεφ $a[$	$[\ldots\ldots]$ πολλ $[a]$ ς κεφα $[\lambda a]$ ς .
10	[ ]εταζεινοδεδί	[ δ δε Δ[ιονύ-
	[]εξωθενπαραβα[	[σιος ] έξωθεν παραβα[
	[]μεταβασεισμεταξ[	[] μεταβάσεις μεταξ[ύ τῶν
	[] ωνουκεπιτιμᾶι[	[πρασσομέν]ων οὐκ ἐπιτιμᾶ ['Ηροδό-
	$[\ldots\ldots]$ νπροκειμενην $\bar{\iota}$ . $[\ldots]$	[τφ]ν προκειμένην ι΄ . [
15	[]ν.[]τααιγ[.]πτιακαιλυδ[	[]ν.[] τὰ Αἰγ[ύ]πτια καὶ Λυδ[ιακά,
	$\pi \cdot [.]\delta\epsilon_0[\ldots]\alpha\ldots \alpha\sigma\eta_i[.]\lambda \cdot [\ldots]$	$\pi \cdot [\cdot] \delta \stackrel{\triangleright}{\epsilon} o[\ldots] a \ldots a \sigma \eta [\cdot] \lambda \cdot [\ldots]$
	$\alpha \kappa \rho \epsilon i \beta \omega \sigma [\ldots ] \alpha \chi [\ldots ] \alpha$	ἀκριβῶς []αχ[]α.
	προσδετο[]ντη[]ασ	πρός δε το [την άρχη]ν τη[ς ίστορί]as
	μηαποτηστω[]ηνα[.]ωναυξη	μη άπο της τω[ν 'Αθ]ηνα[ί]ων αὐξή-
20	σεωσπεποιησθαιτον[.]ουκυδιδην	σεως πεποιήσθαι τον [Θ]ουκυδίδην
	ηνπερφησιναληθεστεραναιτι>	ηνπερ φησίν άληθεστ <b>έραν α</b> ἰτί-
	ανειναιτουπολεμουπρωτονμεν	αν είναι τοῦ πολέμου, πρῶτον μὲν
	ρητεονωσουκεμελλετονπελο	<b>ρητέον ώς ούκ ξμελλε τον Πελο-</b>
	ποννησιακονπροβ[.]μενοσσυν	ποννησιακόν προθ[έ]μενος συγ-
25	γραφεινπολεμονπλειουσπολε >	γράφειν πόλεμον πλείους πολέ-
	μουσαποτωνπερσικωναυτων	μους άπο τών Περσικών αύτών
	σχεδοναφωνπρωτωνηυξηθη	σχεδον αφ' ων πρώτων η εξήθη-
	σαναθηναιοιεπεισαγεινενπροσ	σαν Άθηναῖοι ἐπεισάγειν ἐν προσ-
	θηκησμερειεξωγαρτελεοντησ	θήκης μέρει έξω γάρ τέλεον τῆς
30	ϋποθεσεωσεγινετοεπειτενθυ >	ύποθέσεως έγίνετο. έπειτ' ένθυ-
-	<b>T</b>	•
	μητεονοτι[[τ]]ασσυνγραφευσοφει	μητέον δτι πας συγγραφεύς όφεί-
	λειτασφανερασκαιθρυλ[.]υμενασ	λει τὰς φανερὰς καὶ θρυλ[ο]υμένας

αιτιαστωνπραγματωνενπρω > τοισακριβωσαφηγεισθαιειδετι > 35 νωναφανεστερωνυπονοειτου

αίτίας τῶν πραγμάτων ἐν πρώτοις ἀκριβῶς ἀφηγεῖσθαι, εἰ δέ τινων ἀφανεστέρων ὑπονοεῖ τοῦ-

```
Col. iv (= A col. iv).
      τοεπι[
                                     το έπι
                                     σθαι δ Δ[ιονύσιος
      σθαιοδί
      τοικατ[
                                     TOL KAT
      καιπε[
                                     καὶ πε
                                                                    ď-
      ναμεσ[
                                     να μέσ[ον
      ομηρικ[
                                    'Ομηρικ[ῶς
                                     χων α . [
      χωνα . [
                                     πιεική [
      πιεικη
      συκοφ
                                     συκοφ[αντ
                            2. 1. al \taupiak[ovtoúteis σπονδαί· \alpha \hat{v}-
10 αιτριακ[
                                     ται κατα[
                                                       τριακοντού-
      ταικατα
      τεισκα
                                     TELS Ka
      κονωσ
                                     κον ώς [
      δησκ . [
                                     δης κ. [
15 εσπλατα
                                  ές Πλάτα[ιαν της Βοιωτίας· ή πό-
      λισενι[
                                    λις ένι κῶς λέγεται. καὶ "Ομηρος
      οιτεπλα[
                                    οί τε Πλά[ταιαν έχον.
                                 [τῷ δὲ π]έ[μπτφ καὶ δεκάτφ ἔ-
   [\cdots ]\epsilon[
                                  τ[ει ἐπὶ Χρυσίδος ἐν Αργει τότε
   ?[
20 π
                                  π[εντήκοντα δυοίν δέοντα έτη
   ϊ€ρ[
                                  ίερ[ωμένης.
                                    τι[
      T4[
      ĸ[
                                    ĸ[
      \pi \rho
                                    \pi \rho
25
      \tau\eta . [
                                    τη . [
      ταουκ€ . [
                                    τα οὐκ € . [
      φασιτινο
                                    φασί τινος
                                    καὶ κατ' 'Ολ[υμπιάδας (?)
      καικατολί
      ορισαιτου
                                    δρίσαι του[
```

30 ουδοκιμα[
 τοπροστα[
 θεμενοιδ[
 αντιτουθ[
 θεμενος[
 35 καιθρεψαμ[

οὐ δοκιμα[
τὸ προστα[
2, 4. θέμενοι δ[ὲ ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν τὰ ὅπλα·
ἀντὶ τοῦ θ[έντες

θέμενος [ καὶ θρεψάμ[ενος ἀντὶ τοῦ θρέψας.

## Col. v (= B col. i).

 $\tau \circ \delta \in \theta \in \mu \in \nu \circ (a\nu)$ .  $\tau \circ \nu \circ \pi \circ (\cdot) \in \mu \in \nu$ νοικαιστρατοπ[...]υσαμενοιεν τηιαγορα γνωμηνδεπο[. .]υντοκηρυγμασιν 5 τεχρησθαιεπιτηδε[.]οισ εγνωσαν > δεφιλικοισκηρυγμασινχρησθαι καιεισφιλιανυπαγαγεσθαιλεγουσι γαρεπιτηδειουστουσφι[.]ουσ εδοκειουνεπιχειρητεαειναι τωι συνηθεισχηματικέχρηταιαντι τουεπιχειρητεον καιεισχειρασηισανκαταταχοσ δι > συλλαβωσαναγνωστεονηισανοι μενγαρίωνεσκαιαιολεισδιαιρου σινουτοιδεαδιαιρετω 15 οιπλειουσενσκοτωικαιπηλωι > τωνδιόδω[.]ηιχρησ[.]θηναι σκο τωιανωμαλωσ χρηταιενιοτεωσ αρσενικωιενιοτεδεωσουδετερωι 20 εμπειρουσδεχοντεστουσδιωκον ταστουμηεκφυγεινωστεδιεφθει ροντοοιπολλοι ητοιουτωσρητεον εμπειρου[.]δεχοντεστουσδιωκον τασειστομηεκφυγεινδιεφθειρον τοοιπολλοιωστεπαρελκεσθαιτο 25 ωστεητοαρθρονπλεονασειτο >

τὸ δὲ θέμενοι ἀν[τ] τοῦ ἀπο[θ]έμενοι καὶ στρατοπ[εδε]υσάμενοι ἐν τ $\hat{g}$  ἀγορ $\hat{q}$ .

γνώμην δ' ἐπο[ιο]θυτο κηρύγμασίν
τε χρήσθαι ἐπιτηδε[ί]οις· ἔγνωσαν
δὲ φιλικοῖς κηρύγμασιν χρῆσθαι
καὶ εἰς φιλίαν ὑπαγαγέσθαι· λέγουσι
γὰρ ἐπιτηδείους τοὺς φί[λ]ους.

- 3. 3. **ἐδόκει οὖν ἐπιχειρητέα εἶναι·** τῷ συνήθει σχήματι κέχρηται ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπιχειρητέον.
- 3. 4. καὶ εἰς χεῖρας ἦσαν κατά τάχος· δισυλλαβῶς ἀναγνωστέον ἦσαν. οἰ μὲν γὰρ Ἰωνες καὶ Αἰολεῖς διαιροῦσιν, οὖτοι δὲ ἀδιαιρέτω(ς).
- 4. 2. οι πλείους ἐν σκότφ και πηλῷ
  τῶν διόδω[ν] ἢ χρὴ σ[ω]θῆναι· σκότφ ἀνωμάλως χρῆται, ἐνίστε ὡς
  ἀρσενικῷ, ἐνίστε δὲ ὡς οὐδετέρφ.
  ἐμπείρους δ' ἔχοντες τοὺς διώκοντας τοῦ μὴ ἐκφυγεῖν ὥστε διεφθείροντο οι πολλοί· ἤτοι οὕτως ῥητέον,
  ἐμπείρου[ς] δ' ἔχοντες τοὺς διώκοντας εἰς τὸ μὴ ἐκφυγεῖν διεφθείροντο οἰ πολλοί, ὥστε παρέλκεσθαι τὸ
  ὥστε· ἡ τὸ ἄρθρον πλεονάσει τὸ

	τουεμπειρουσδεχοντε[.]τουσ > >
	διωκοντασωστεμηεκφυγειν
	διεφθειροντοοιπολλοι
30	στυρακιακοντιου τωισαυρωτηρι
-	καλουμενωιεστιδετοεσχατον
	τουδορατοσ
	ξυνεβησαντοισπλαταιευσι συνε
	θεντοεισσυμβασεισηλθονμετα
35	φορικωσαποτουεισταυτοβαιν[]ν
	τουσενπαραταξειδιεστωτασ >
	αλληλων

τοῦ, ἐμπείρους δ' ἔχοντε[ς] τοὺς διώκοντας ὥστε μὴ ἐκφυγεῖν διεφθείροντο οἱ πολλοί.

- 4. 3. στύρακι άκοντίου· τῷ σαυρωτῆρι καλουμένω. ἔστι δὲ τὸ ἔσχατον τοῦ δόρατος.
- 4. 7. ξυνέβησαν τοῖς Πλαταιεθσι· συνέθεντο, εἰς συμβάσεις ἢλθον, μεταφορικῶς ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰς ταὐτὸ βαίν[ει]ν τοὺς ἐν παρατάξει διεστῶτας ἀλλήλων.

## Col. vi (= B col. ii).

πανστρατιαι φ[	5. 1. πανστρατιφ: δ[s
διααπροσδοκητου[	5. 4. ο <b>ί</b> α ἀπροσδοκήτου [κακοῦ· <i>ἴσον</i>
τωιάτεαπροσδο[	τῷ ἄτε ἀπροσδο[κήτου. 5. 5. [ὑ]ποτ[οπήσ]αντες· [ἀντὶ τοῦ ὑπο- πτεύσαντες καὶ κ[ τινὲς λέγουσι.
[.]εισαντεσπεριτοισ[	[δ]είσαντες περί τοις [ἔξω· ἀντὶ τοῦ
περιτωνεξωομοι[	περὶ τῶν ἔξω, ὁμοί[ως
10 δαμασθεισγραφετ[	δαμασθείς. γράφετ[αι δὲ
βουλευσωσιπεριαυτ[	6. 2. βουλεύσωσι περί αὐτ[ῶν·
τωιτοιουτωιλεγειδ . [	τῷ τοιούτφ λέγει δ.[
σιτοντεεσηγαγον [	6. 4. σιτόν τε έσήγαγον· [σίτον έσήνεγ-
κανομηροσνηεσ[	καν· "Ομηρος νηες [δ' έκ Λήμνοιο
15 παρεστασαν[]ονα[	παρέστασαν [οἶν]ον ἄ[γουσαι.
εξιταλιασκα[]κελιασ ε[	7. 2. ἐξ Ἰταλίας κα[ὶ Σι]κελίας· ἐ[πέταξαν,
φησινοθ[.]υκυδιδησκα[	φησὶν ὁ Θ[ο]υκυδίδης, κα[ὶ τοῖς Ίτα-
λιωταισκα[.]τοισαποσικ[	λιώταις κα[ί] τοις άπο Σικ[ελίας οί
λακεδαιμονιοιναυσπ[	Λακεδαιμόνιοι ναῦς π[οιεῖσθαι
20 ειστηνσυμμαχιανουδί	είς την συμμαχίαν· οὐδ[εὶς δὲ έ-
κειθενπαρεδωκενπε[	κείθεν παρέδωκεν πε[μφθηναι

ναυσησυμμαχησαντασ[	ναῦς ἡ συμμαχήσαντας, [εἰ μὴ ἐπ' ἐ-
σχατ[.]σαποσυρακουσσω[	σχάτ[οι]ς ἀπό Συρακουσσῶ[ν είς τὴν
ϊωνιαντασμεθ[.]ρμοκρατ[	'Ιωνίαν τὰς μεθ' ['Ε]ρμοκράτ[ους.
25 ορωντεσείσφισι εγκλιτεο[	7. 3. δρώντες εἴ σφισι· ἐγκλιτέο[ν
οσονοιοντεδεισωζειν[	δσον οίδν τε δεί σώζειν [τον τόνον,
πολλακισδεεναντιουτα[	πολλάκις δὲ ἐναντιοῦτα[ι
περιτασμεταβασειστωνδί	περὶ τὰς μεταβάσεις τῶν δ[
αρχομενοιγ[.]ρπαντεσοξυτ[	8. 1. άρχόμενοι γ[ά]ρ πάντες όξύτ[ερον άν-
30 τιλαμβανονται δηλονωσ[,	τιλαμβάνονται· δῆλον ὡς [οὐ κατα-
πεπληγμενοιουδεκεκακ[	πεπληγμένοι οὐδὲ κεκακ[ωμένοι
<b>ωσμετανοησαιεπιφερειγου[</b>	ώς μετανοήσαι. ἐπιφέρει γοῦ[ν ὅτι ἡ
νεοτησουκακουσιωσυ $\pi[\ldots\ldots\ldots$	νεότης ούκ άκουσίως ύπ[δ άπειρίας
ηπτετοτουπολεμουγλυκ[	ήπτετο του πολέμου γλυκ[ύς δε πό-
35 λεμοσαπειροισινωσφη[	λεμος απείροισιν ως φη[σι Πίνδαρος.
$\pi$ ο $\overline{\lambda\lambda}$ αδεχρησμολογοι $\hat{\eta}$ ιδο[ $\dots\dots$	8. 2. πολλά δὲ χρησμολόγοι ήδο[ν·
One or r	nore columns lost.
Col. vii	(=C col. i).
[]σαιτιασπολλακισκαιδι >	(11. 4.) [ ἐκ μικρᾶ]ς αἰτίας πολλάκις καὶ δι'
$[\dots\dots]$ εξηλθονκαισυνε $oldsymbol{eta}$ α $>$	$[\delta ho\gamma\hat{\eta}s$ ] έ $f\hat{\eta}\lambda heta$ ον καὶ συνέ $oldsymbol{eta}$ α-
[• • • • • • • •]ναντιοισ	[λον τοῖς έ]ναντίοις.
[ ]μωιελαχισταχρωμενοι >	11. 7. [καὶ οἱ λογισ]μῷ ἐλάχιστα χρώμενοι
5 []εισταεσεργο[]θισταν[	[θυμῷ πλ]εῖστα ἐς ἔργο[ν κα]θίσταν-
$[\cdots\cdots]$ ογι $[\cdots]$ υντεσ $[\cdots\cdots$	[ται· οἱ ἀλ]ογι[στο]ῦντες [τολμηρό-
[]στησιγαρταπ[	[τατοι, έξί]στησι γὰρ τὰ π[άθη
[•••••]νειστου ••[•]•[•••	· []ν είς του[.].[
[.]π . []ονδετονπολεμον	[.]π . [, ἔργ]ον δὲ τὸν πόλεμον
10 [.]μ[]ενθακενουκετί[.]ρ[]ν	['Ο]μ[ηρικῶς,] ἔνθα κεν οὐκέτι [έ]ρ[γο]ν
[.]ν[]σαιτομετελθωνουκε	[ά]ν[ὴρ ὀνδ]σαιτο μετελθών. οὐκέ-
τιπρον[]σιτοιουτοικαταπολε	τι προν[οοῦ]σι τοιοῦτοι, κατὰ πόλε-
[.]ονθυμ[]εξορμωσιν	[μ]ον θυμ[φ] έξορμῶσιν.
[.]αιμεγιστηνδοξανοισομενοι >	11. 9. [κ]αλ μεγίστην δόξαν οισόμενοι
15 []ιστεπρογονοισκαιυμιναυτοισ >	[το] ες τε προγόνοις και ύμεν αύτοες
[.]παμφοτεραεκτωναποβαινον >	[έ]π' ἀμφότερα ἐκ τῶν ἀποβαινόν-
,	

[.]υσησεπιμελειασ

10 [. .]ωμηικαιχρηματωνπ[. . . .]υσι[. .

[.]ων ειμηπροσεκειτοτοεπαμφο >	[τ]ων· εί μὴ προσέκειτο τὸ ἐπ' ἀμφό-
τεραην[] . []τομεγιστηνδο	τερα ήν [ἀκοῦ]σ[αι] τὸ μεγίστην δό-
$\xi$ ave $\pi$ [] $\xi$ ιασνυνδεδε	ξαν έπ[ὶ τῆς εὐδο]ξίας, νῦν δὲ δε-
20 [.]τεον[]οληψινωστοι	[κ]τέον [άντὶ τοῦ ὑπ]όληψιν ὡς τοι-
$[\cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot]$ π $[\cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot]$ εξοντεσκαι	[αύτην ύ]π[όληψιν] εξοντες καὶ
[]καιοιπρογονοιηχρηστην	[ὑμεῖς] καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι ἡ χρηστὴν
[]αντιανεκτωναποβαινον	[ή έν]αντίαν έκ τῶν ἀποβαινόν-
[.]ωνοποιοιεναποτωνεργων >	[τ]ων όποῖοι ⟨ά⟩ν άπὸ τῶν ἔργων
25 [.]φεκατερονοφθητε	[έ]φ' έκάτερον δφθητε.
[]λλουσοντα[.]ενικοσμωι κοσμοσ	[πο]λλούς ὄντα[ς] ένὶ κόσμφ· κόσμος
[.]ιαταξισωστ[]αρεπεικοσμη	[δ]ιάταξις, ώς τ[ο αὐτ]ὰρ ἐπεὶ κόσμη-
[.]εναμηγεμ[]	$[\theta] \in \nu  \tilde{a}\mu'  \dot{\eta}\gamma \in \mu[\delta(\nu \in \sigma \sigma \iota).]$
[]αιμονιω[.]εκστρατευομενων	12. 2. [Λακεδ]αιμονίω[ν] ἐκστρατευομένων·
30 []ετα[.]καισ[]ατευ[.]ντ[.]νοι	
[] $\epsilon \delta \epsilon \chi o \nu [] \rho \epsilon \sigma \beta \epsilon \iota \alpha [.] \pi o \lambda \epsilon$	[γὰρ] ἐδέχον[το π]ρεσβεία[ν] πολε-
[]ντωνπ[]διαλυσαιτοστρα	[μού]ντων π[ρίν] διαλῦσαι τὸ στρά-
[]επ[.]ικ[.]υαναχωρησαι	[τευμα ή] έπ' [ο]ἴκ[ο]υ ἀναχωρῆσαι
[]τει	[ἀμαχη]τεί.
35 []νγενηται μηδενισυν	[μηδενὶ ξυ]γγένηται· μηδενὶ συμ-
[]ηδεισομειλιανελθηι	[μίσγη μ]ηδ' εἰς ὁμιλίαν ἔλθη.
[]διαλυεσθαι διακρινε	12. 3. [ἔμελλε] διαλύεσθαι· διακρίνε-
[]ωριζεσθαι	[σθαι, χ]ωρίζεσθαι.
for a debad const	(com) VI-bracom
Col.	viii (=C col. ii).
[.]περκαί[]ο̞[	13. 2. [ά]περ καὶ [πρ]ό[τερον·
[.]νενεκάεκ[	[.]ν ξνεκα εκ[
κενοτιν[.]μιζ[	. κεν δτι ν $[o]$ μιζ $[\dots \Pi$ ερι-
κλεακαιαμ[	
5 τωιαγειε[.]ελ[] . αν[]μτ[	$ au \widehat{arphi}$ ἄγει έ $[oldsymbol{\xi}]$ ελ $[lpha \ldots]$ . $lpha oldsymbol{u}[\ldots]$
$\hat{\eta}[.]\pi\epsilon ho\ddot{\sigma}\chi u o[.]\sigma u$ [.] $a heta\ddot{\sigma}\chi u o u\sigma[]$	ήπερ ισχύο[υ]σι· [κ]αθ' δ ίσχύουσ[ι.
[]χειροσεχειν ενχερσιν[	[διά] χειρός έχειν· έν χερσίν [έχειν,
[.]εταχειριζεσθαιδιατη[	[μ]εταχειρίζεσθαι διὰ τῆ[ς ἀεὶ δε-
[.]υσησεπιμελειασ	[ο]ύσης έπιμελείας.

[ο]ύσης ἐπιμελείας.

[γν]ώμη και χρημάτων π[εριο]υσί[φ

14	[,	[κρατεῖ]σθ[α]ι· προνοία κ[αὶ χρ]ημάτ[ων [παρασκευῆ] πολ[λῶν] κατορθοῦ[σθαι. 13. 4. [ἔν τε ἀναθήμασιν ἰδίοι]ς καὶ δημ[ο- [σίοις ] . [.]νωτ[
		lines lost.
22	[· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ] · [· · [· · · ·	[·····] · [· [···] διοπ[······]·[·]· αι·[· ἀνέθεσαν [·····το]ῦ δήμου
25	[]σι[]μοσιον > []ν	[]σι[ δη]μδσιον []ν.
	a[]ε[.]εεχο[]γαλματεσ	13. 5. ἀ[πέφαιν]ε [δ]ὲ ἔχο[ν τὸ ἄ]γαλμα τεσ-
	$\sigma[\ldots]$ $\tau$	σ[αράκου]τα τάλαυ[τα στα]θμόν [χρ]υ-
	[]θουκαι[]ρετο[	[σίου ἀπέφ]θου και [περιαι]ρετό[ν εί-
30	$[\dots\dots]o\pi\epsilon[$	[ναι ἄπαν·] ό Πε[ρικλής
	[••••]•[	[· · · · · · .] <b>є</b> [
	[ ]	[
	[] [	[··] · · · · [
	ρονελθη[	ρον έλθη [
35	οτανκαθ[	δταν καθ[
	καιπεριαιρ[	13. 6. και περιαιρ[ετόν·
	Col. ix (	=D with Fr. 1).
	[.]αιτωνπαρεπαλξιν τωνφυλα	13. 6. [κ]αὶ τῶν παρ' ἔπαλξιν· τῶν φυλα-
	[]οντωντατειχη[]ωναιεπαλξεισ	[σσ]όντων τὰ τείχη [ἐφ'] ὧν αἰ ἐπάλξεις.
	[]ουτοιγαρεφυλασσονϋποτετων	13. 7. [τοσ]οθτοι γάρ ἐφύλασσον ὑπό τε τῶν
	[]σβυτατων αντιτουαποτων	[πρε]σβυτάτων· άντὶ τοῦ άπὸ τῶν
5	[.]ρεσβυτατωνωσδαϊδωνυπο > λαμπομε[.]αων	΄ [π]ρεσβυτάτων, ώς δαΐδων ὕπο λαμπομε[ν] <b>άω</b> ν.
	τουτε[.]αρφαληρικουτειχουσσταδι	του τε [γ]άρ Φαληρικου τείχους στάδι-
	οιησαν[.]εντ[.]καιτρι[.]κονταπροσ	οι ήσαν [π]έντ[ε] και τρι[ά]κοντα πρός
	$[.]ov[]v\tau[.]va\sigma\tau\epsilon[]v\tau\iota[.]ov$	[τ]ον $[κύκλο]$ ν $τ[ο]$ θ ἄστε $[ως· ά]$ ντὶ $[τ]$ οθ
10	[] $\sigma$ τουκυ[.] $\lambda$ ουην[] $\chi$ ητο	[εω]ς τοῦ κύ[κ]λου· ἢν [β΄ τεί]χη τὸ
	$\mu[.]\nu\phi$ αληρ $[]$ οδετο $[]\pi[]$ $\iota[$	$\mu[\grave{\epsilon}]$ ν Φαλή $ ho[ου$ τ $]$ δ δ $\grave{\epsilon}$ το $[\widehat{v}]$ $\Pi[\epsilon\iota  ho a]\iota$ -
	$\epsilon$ ω[.] $\alpha$ παρι $\theta$ [.] $\epsilon$ ιταιδ $\epsilon$ [] $\sigma$ ο $\psi$ [] $\nu$	έω[s·] ἀπαριθ[μ]είται δὲ [το]σού[το]ν

	τοδιαστημα[.]ποτουφαληρι[]υ	τδ διάστημα [ά]πδ τοῦ Φαλήρ{ι[κ}ο]υ
	αχριτουκυκ[]υτουαστεωσ[.]υκλον	άχρι τοῦ κύκ[λο]υ τοῦ ἄστεως, [κ]ύκλον
15	δελεγειτονπ[.]ριβολοντουα[]εω[.	δε λέγει τον $\pi[\epsilon]\rho(\beta \circ \lambda \circ \nu \tau \circ \widehat{\alpha}[\sigma \tau] \epsilon \omega[s,$
	[.] $\alpha \iota \pi \alpha \lambda \iota \nu \circ \pi \circ \sigma \circ \nu \eta \nu \epsilon [] \epsilon \iota []$	[κ]αὶ πάλιν ὁπόσον ἢν έ[κ Π]ει[ραιέ-
	[]χριτουκυκλου	[ως ἄ]χρι τοῦ κύκλου.
	[] $\nu\nu\nu\chi[.]$ $\alpha\iota$ $\lambda[.]\mu\eta\nu\alpha[$	[ξύν Μο]υνυχ[ί]φ. λ[ι]μήν Α[ττικής
	About 3	lines lost.
	Fr. 1.	
22	<u>η</u> τ[	ητ[
	$\epsilon v oldsymbol{eta}$ (	14. 1. Εὔβο[ιαν·
	αλλ[	άλλ[
25	καιγαρ[	καὶ γὰρ[
	<b>[[·]</b> X1010[	ξ[.]χις νο[
	[.]e̞ιτο̞[	[.]ειτο[
	öi{	o <i>t</i> [
		• • • • •
	Col	$\mathbf{x} = \mathbf{E} \operatorname{col} \mathbf{i}$ .
	[ ]	[ ]
	$[\dots\dots]$ $\mu\epsilon au\epsilon u\mu\dot{o}[\dots\dots$	15. 1. ['Ελευσίνιοι] μετ' Εύμό[λπου
	$[\dots\dots]$ χ $ heta$ ειευρι $\pi$ ι $[\dots\dots$	$[\dots$ έν ${}'oldsymbol{E} ho\epsilon]\chi heta$ εῖ ${oldsymbol{E}}$ ὐρι $\pi$ ί $[\delta\eta s\dots$
	[]	[]
5	ἡα[]ηδηξυντ[	15. 2. ἢ ἀ[πάντων] ἤδη ξυντ[ελούντων
	$\epsilon \sigma \dot{\alpha} \dot{\nu} [\ldots] \nu \tau \epsilon \lambda \sigma \nu \nu \tau \omega [\ldots \ldots]$	
	τοενλ[]ισ διονυσο[	15. 4. τὸ ἐν Λ[ίμνα]ις Διονύσο[υ· Καλλίμαχος
	μενφησ[]ευδεδιονυ[	μέν φησ[ιν] εὖ δὲ Διωνυ[σ
	[.]ητον[]τελευθηρει[	$[.]$ η τόν $[\pi o]$ τ' ' $oldsymbol{E}\lambda\epsilon v heta$ ηρ $\epsilon\iota [.  \Lambda\iota \mu oldsymbol{ u}lpha l \phi$
10	[]οροστά[.]ασηγονε[	[δὲ χ]οροστά[δ]ας ἦγον έ[ορτάς,
	[]οσδεουτ[.]σφησιν[	[]ος δὲ οὕτ[ω]ς φησὶν [καλεῖσθαι
	[]ατοεκλελ[.]μνασθαι[	[δι]ά τὸ ἐκλελ[ι]μνάσθαι [τὸν τόπον.
	[]τιδεκαιεν[.]ηιλακωνι[	[έσ]τι δὲ καὶ ἐν [τ]ῆ Λακωνί[α ἰερὸν
	[]ουλιμνατ[.]σεστιν <b>αρτ[.</b> ]	[ὅπ]ου Λιμνᾶτ[ί]ς ἐστιν Ἄρτ[εμις.]
15	$[\dots]$ ααρχαιοταταδιονυ $oldsymbol{\sigma}$ ιατηι $oldsymbol{\overline{eta}}$ ποι	[؈ τ]ὰ ἀρχαιότατα Διονύσια τἢ ιβ΄ ποι-
	[] επιτρεισμε[.]εσ[]νεορτηημε	[ $\epsilon$ î $ au$ aι·] $\epsilon$ $\pi$ ι τρ $\epsilon$ î $ au$ ρ $\epsilon$ ί $ au$ ρ $\epsilon$ ο $ au$ τη ήμ $\epsilon$ -

$[\ldots]$ ι $ar{lpha}$ ι $ar{eta}$ ε $ar{\pi}$ ισ $[\ldots\ldots]$ $ar{ au}$ ιδεηι $ar{eta}$	[ραs] $ια'$ $ιβ'$ $ιγ'$ , ἐπίσ $[ημός ἐσ]τι δὲ ἡ ιβ',$
[]καιειπεναυ[]	[ώς] καὶ εἶπεν αὐ[τός.]
[]λ[.]ιστουαξ[]εχρωντ[.] ειστα	15. 5. $[\tau d \ \pi]\lambda[\epsilon]$ (stou de $[\iota a]$ exposur $[\iota a]$ $[\iota a]$
20 []τ[]αξια	$[\pi\lambda\epsilon l\sigma] au[o\upsilon]$ ă $\xi\iotalpha$ .
[]εγαμικωνκαιεσαλλα[.]ωνΐε	[πρό τ]ε γαμικών καὶ ἐς ἄλλα [τ]ών ἰε-
[]νομιζεταιτωιϋδατιχ[]σθαι	[ρων] νομίζεται τῷ ὕδατι χ[ρή]σθαι·
[]μιζεταινομιμονεστι . [] . [.	[νο]μίζεται νόμιμόν έστι . [] . [.
	16. 1 [τή τ]ε οὖν ἐπὶ πολύ κατά τή[ν χώραν
25 [.]υτονομωιοικησειμετατο[	[α] ὐτονόμφ οἰκήσει· μετὰ το[ῦ μετείχον
]οιαθηναιοιδιατηνκατα $[\ldots\ldots$	οί Άθηναῖοι, διὰ τὴν κατὰ [τὴν χώ-
ραναυτονομονο[.]κησινα[	ραν αὐτόνομον ο[ί]κησιν ά[ντὶ (τοῦ) τῆς
κατατηνχωραν[.]υτονομ[	κατὰ τὴν χώραν [α]ὐτονόμ[ου οἰκή-
σεωσειρηταιδευπερβατώ[	σεως. είρηται δὲ ὑπερβατῶ[ς, τὸ γὰρ έ-
30 ξησεπιπολυμετειχονοια[	$\xi \hat{\eta}$ ς έπι πολύ μετείχον οι $A[ heta \eta$ ναίοι.
[]ν[]κησίαγενομενοι ολ[	[πα]ν[οι]κησία γενόμενοι· όλ[
μ[]πανοικιαιενταυτ[	$\mu[.\;.]$ πανοικί $lpha$ ἐν ταὐτ $[\hat{y}\;.\;.\;.\;.\;.$
το[]κουντεσ	το[. οί]κοῦντες.
καιτ[.]ηρωαπαντα τατων[	17. 1. καὶ τ[à] ἡρῷα πάντα· τὰ τῶν [ἡρώ-
35 ω[]μενηαφωνενιωνκ[	<b>ω[ν τ</b> ε]μένη ἀφ' ὧν ἐνίων κ[αλοθνται
$\phi[. \ .]$ αιλεγουσιδεηρωων $\mu$ ε $[. \ . \ . \ .$	φ[υλ]αί. λέγουσι δὲ ἡρώων μὲ[ν τοὺς
σηκουσθεωνδεναουσκαλλ[	σηκούς, θεών δε ναούς. Καλλ[ίμαχος
αειδέχονέντομασηκοι	άεὶ δ' έχον έντομα σηκοί.
Col. xi (= E co	l. ii. with Fr. 2).
καιειτιαλλοβε[	και εί τι άλλο βε[βαίως κληστόν ήν·
καιειτιαλλοα[	καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἀ[σφαλῶς
[]καιφυλα[	[] καὶ φυλα[σσόμενον
10	lines lost.
Fr. 2.	
$[\cdots\cdots]ar{\pi}\dot{a}[\cdots\cdots$	[ ] πά[σης μὲν
15 [.]ιη[]κονάρ[	[γα][η[ς το Πελασγι]κον "Αρ[γος αμεινον.
$\epsilon$ દ્રે $\omega$ [ $\ldots\ldots$ ] $\omega$ ικη $[\ldots\ldots$	ẻξ $oldsymbol{arphi}$ [κήθη $oldsymbol{\dot{\gamma}}$ ] $oldsymbol{arphi}$ κή $oldsymbol{artheta}$ η.
δυγαρ[]νομ[	17. 2. ού γάρ [διά τὴν παρά]νομ[ον ἐνοίκη-
[	[σιν· παρα]νόμω[

30	[]τον ένε στωτα αντιτο[	$[\cdots\cdots]$ s $ au\delta$ $ au ho[\cdots\cdots\cdots$		
	Col. xi	ii (=F col. ii).		
	καιεπαινεσ[.]σθαιαντιτουεπα[ σεινσυνηθεστοισαττικοισ	(20. 4.) καὶ ἐπαινέσ[ε]σθαι ἀντὶ τοθ ἐπα[ινέ- σειν σύνηθες τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς.		
5	θριῶζε τοπικωσαντιτουειστ[ σιονπειδιονσυνηθ[.]σηκολου[ γαρωσολυμπιαζεκαιοικαδεθρί[	21. 1. Θριώζε· τοπικώς άντὶ τοῦ εἰς τ[ὸ Θριά- σιον πε $\{\iota\}$ δίον, συνή $\theta$ [ω]ς· ἡκολού $[\theta$ ει γὰρ ὡς 'Ολυμπίαζε καὶ οἴκαδε Θρι $[$ ώζε.		
3	αλλαυτοισωσεικοστησ[.]ηστεμν[ μενησ υπερβατονεστιτογαρε[ αυτοισδεινονεφαινετοταδα[ διαμεσου	21. 2. άλλ' αὐτοῖς ὡς εἰκὸς τῆς [γ]ῆς τεμν[ο- μένης· ὑπέρβατόν ἐστι, τὸ γὰρ εἶξῆς αὐτοῖς δεινὸν ἐφαίνετο, τὰ δ΄ δἶλλα διὰ μέσου.		
10	καταξυνστασε[.]στ[.]γεινομενο[ συνισταμενοισυνστρεφομενο[ καταμερη	21. 3. κατά ξυστάσε[ι]ς τ[ε] γιγυόμενο[ι· . συνιστάμενοι, συστρεφόμενο[ι κατὰ μέρη.		
15	ωσεκαστοσωργητο ωσεκαστο[.]ω[ γετοεπ[.]θυμειενενιοισδεγραφ[ ταιώρμητο	ὼς ἔκαστος ὥργητο· ὡς ἔκαστο[ς] ώ[ρέ- γετο, ἐπ[ε]θύμει. ἐν ἐνίοις δὲ γράφ[ε- ται ὥρμητο.		
-0	ενφρυγιοισ τοποσδημουαθμονεώ[  τέλει ενιτωνιππεων ταγματιν[  μενδορπονελεσθεκαταστρα[.]ον[  εντελεεσσι	22. 2. ἐν Φρυγίοις· τόπος δήμου Ἀθμονέω[ν. τέλει ἐνὶ τῶν ἰππέων· τάγματι, ν[ῦν μὲν δόρπον ἔλεσθε κατὰ στρα[τ]ον ἐν τελέεσσι.		
20	φαρσαλιοιπειράσιοι απ[.]πηρειαστα[ ενπηρειηιθρεψαργ[ τανουσιδεοιγρα[ ο[.]εστινγαρτησαρκ[	22. 3. Φαρσάλιοι Πειράσιοι· άπ[δ] Πηρείας, τὰ[ς ἐν Πηρείη θρέψ' ἀργ[υρότοξος. ἀμαρ- τάνουσι δὲ οὶ γρά[φοντες Παράσι- ο[ι,] ἔστιν γὰρ τῆς ᾿Αρκ[αδίας.		
	άραντεσ απαραντεσ[]ταντεσ	23. 1. ἄραντες· ἀπάραντες, [ἀποσ]τάντες.		
25	παριοντε[.]δεωρωπο[]οριοσ $\gamma \eta \sigma \beta$ οιφ[]καιαθην[]στιν >	23. 3. παριόντε[s] δε 'Ωρωπό[ν· μεθ]όριος γης Βοιω[των] και 'Αθην[αίων ε]στίν,		

### THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

[]βητησαν[]ᾳκισ []ο̞υ	[δθεν ήμφισ]βήτησαν [πολλ]άκις [αὐτ]οῦ.
[]a[]o̞aν[]ο̞ιαθ̞η[.	24. 1. [άναχωρησ]ά[ντων] δ' αὐ[τῶν] οἱ 'Αθη-
Some	columns lost.
Col. x	iv (=G col. i).
[]υτηκοτωναρσε []σιτονμαραθωνα []φιοσ []δριπολλωναρετασ δ []ευτεκαιχειρονει []ηναι καιμηενενι [] σου[]απο []αποντικαικακωστοιου	34. 5. [ τετελε]υτηκότων. ἀρσε- [νικῶς δὲ λέγου]σι τὸν Μαραθῶνα. [ ἐπιτά]φιος. 35. 1. [καὶ μὴ ἐν ἐνὶ ἀν]δρὶ πολλῶν ἀρετὰς [κινδυνεύεσθαι] εὖ τε καὶ χεῖρον εἰ- [πόντι πιστευθ]ῆναι· καὶ μὴ ἐν ἐνὶ [ἀνδρὶ]. σου[] ἀπο- [θανόντω]ν τὰς ἀρετὰς κινδυνε[ύ- [ειν εὖ εἰ]πόντι καὶ κακῶς τοιου-
10 [ ]σπιστευεσθαιωσαν > [ ]ιπη	[τοτρόπου]ς πιστεύεσθαι ώς αν [οὖτος ε]ίπη.
[ ]μετριωσειπειν >	35. 2. [χαλεπόν γάρ τό] μετρίως είπεῖν· [] καὶ ἰκανῶς. [ἐν ῷ μόλις καὶ ἡ δ]όκησις τῆς ἀλη- [θείας βεβαιοῦται· δ]ύσκολόν ἐστιν
[· · · · · · · · · · · · ]πραγματιμ [· · · · · · · · · ]ασϋπολη > [· · · · · · · · · ]αιδυσκολον [· · · · · · · ]πιστειται	μο [] πράγματι μο- []ας ὑπολή- [ψ]αι δύσκολον [
20 []ουπραγμα []δοξακαι []του [.]. []	[
25 []τηναυ : []οουντεσ []μισει	•

έπιβάλλον ίσον αὐτῷ τῆς π[ολ]ιτεί-

ας πρός τό κοινόν τ[ι]μαται άλλά

επιβαλλονϊσοναυτωιτηση[..]ιτει

ασπροστοκοινοντ[.]ματαιαλλα >

25	[	διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴ[ν ἢ ἐκ τ]ῶν [ἀ]ρετῶν οι- [.] . κ[]ε . []νταξιν [] ἔκαστος [ τῶ]ν νόμων []ι ἀρετὴ []ς.
30		37. 2. [έλευθέρως δὲ τά τε πρός] τὸ κοινὸν
	$[\dots\dots] u\pi ho \sigma >$	[πολιτεύομεν και ές τη]ν πρός
	$[\dots, ]$ κα $ heta$ $[\dots]$ ρανε $\pi$ ιτη	[άλλήλους των] καθ' [ἡμέ]ραν ἐπιτη-
	[]ψιαν $[]$ ιοργησ > >	[δευμάτων ὑπο]ψίαν [οὐ δ]ι' ὀργῆς
	[ ]δονη[.]δρατιεχον	[τὸν πέλας εἰ καθ' ἡ]δονἡ[ν] δρῷ τι ἔχον-
35	[ ]σφησινπολ[.]τευομεθα	[τες· ἐλευθέρω]ς φησὶν πολ[ι]τευόμεθα
	$[\dots\dots]$ νοισκαιπ $[\dots]$ σαλλ $\eta>$	[ἔν τε τοῖς κοι]νοῖς καὶ π[ρὸ]ς ἀλλή-
	$[\dots,\dots]$ αθημερανεπιτη $>$	[λους ἐν τοῖς κ]αθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιτη-
	[]χυποπτευσοντεσ	[δεύμασιν οὐ]χ ὑποπτεύ{σ}οντες
	Col. xvi (= G co	ol. iii). Plate IV.
	το[]ασουδοργ[	τὸ[ν πέλ]ας οὐδ' δργ[ιζόμενοι εἰ
	$\pi  ho [\ldots] \circ  u \eta  u  au [\ldots]$	$\pi  ho$ [δς ἡδ]ονήν τ $[ι$ δρ $\hat{q}$ .
	ουδε[.]ζημιου[]ηι	ούδε [ά]ζημίου[ς μεν λυπηράς δε τ]ή
	$o\psi[]$ αχθηδονα[]	ὄψ[ει] ἀχθηδόνα[ς προστιθέμενοι·]
5	ουλυπουμεν . []υ []σ	οὐ λυποῦμεν . []υ []s
	τοισηδεωσδια[]σινο[]ριμεν	τοις ήδέως δια[ιτῶ]σιν, ο[ὐδὲ ἄχ]ρι μὲν
	ζημιαστησκατα[.]κειν[]ονκα	ζημίας τῆς κατὰ [έ]κείν[ων, οί]ον κα-
	τηγορ[] . [.]ιπροστιμου[]ευθερως	τηγορ[ίαs] κ[α]ὶ προστίμου, [ἐλ]ευθέρως
	ζηνε[]ρεπομεναλλωσδεεκ	ζην έ[πιτ]ρέπομεν, ἄλλως δε έκ
01	του []αχθομενοικαιβασκαινον	τοῦ[] ἀχθόμενοι καὶ βασκαίνον-
	τεσεπ $[\ldots]$ αλλωνηδοναισδιατελου $^{\mu}$	τες έπ[ὶ ταῖς] ἄλλων ἡδοναῖς διατε- λοῦμ(εν).
	ανεπα[]σδεταϊδιαπροσομιλουν	37. 3. άνεπα[χθω]ς δέ τὰ ίδια προσομιλοθν-
	τεσταδ[]οσιαδιαδεοσμαλισταου	τες τὰ δ[ημ]όσια διὰ δέος μάλιστα οὐ
	παρανομ[]μεν έντοισϊδιοισαπλ[.	παρανομ[οθ]μεν· έν τοις ίδιοις άπλ[ού-
15	στερον[]ηλοισσυνοντεσεντοισ	στερον [άλλ]ήλοις συνόντες έν τοις
U	κοινοισ[]αβωσκαινομιμωσπο	κοινοίς [εὐλ]αβῶς καὶ νομίμως πο-

λιτευο[..]θα τωντεα[.]ειεναρχηιοντωνακροασει  $\tau \omega \iota \kappa \alpha \tau [.] \kappa o \upsilon \epsilon \iota \nu \kappa \alpha [.] \pi \epsilon \iota \theta \epsilon \sigma \theta \alpha \iota \tau o \iota \sigma$  $\alpha \rho \chi o v[..] v$ 20 καιθυσιαισ[. . .]τησιοισ οιονδιολουτουετουσ τολυπηρον[..]πλησσει εξαιρειταιεξαγει τηντεγαρ[..] λινκοινηνπαρεχο >μεν ακ[...]λιζειλακεδαιμονιουσ 25 ανειμεν[..]διαιτωμεθα ουκαντι τουαργ[..]αλλααδεωσ καιτοιεί...]υμιαιμαλλονηπονων μελετηι[...]μημετανομωντοπλε ονητροπ[..]ανδρειασεθελομεν > 30 κινδυνε[...]περιγιγνεταιημιν τοιστεμ[...]υσιναλγεινοισμη >προκαμν[...]καιεσαυταελθουσιν μηατολμ[...]ουστωναιειμοχθουν τωνφαιν[...]ι καιτοιε[.]ενανεσει  $\mu \alpha \lambda \lambda o \nu [...] \alpha \iota \sigma \tau \omega \nu \eta [.] \zeta \omega \mu \epsilon \nu$ μηκακ[...]θουντεστηιασκησει μηδυπονομωναναγκαζομε

λιτευό[με]θα.

τῶν τε α[l]εὶ ἐν ἀρχἢ ὄντων ἀκροάσει·
τῷ κατ[α]κούειν κα[l] πείθεσθαι τοῖς
ἄρχου[σι]ν.

- 38. 1. και θυσίαις [διε]τησίοις· οίον δι' δλου τοῦ ἔτους.
  - τὸ λυπηρὸν [ἐκ]πλήσσει· ἐξαιρεῖται, ἐξάγει.
- 39. 1. τήν τε γὰρ [πό]λιν κοινὴν παρέχομεν· ἀκ[ροβο]λίζει Λακεδαιμονίους.
  ἀνειμέν[ως] διαιτώμεθα· οὐκ ἀντὶ
  τοῦ ἀργ[ῶς] ἀλλὰ ἀδεῶς.
- 39. 4. καίτοι εἰ [ῥᾳθ]υμίᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ πόνων μελέτῃ [καὶ] μὴ μετὰ νόμων τὸ πλέον ἢ τρόπ[ων] ἀνδρείας ἐθέλομεν κινδυνε[ύειν] περιγίγνεται ἡμῖν τοῖς τε μ[έλλο]υσιν ἀλγεινοῖς μὴ προκάμν[ειν] καὶ ἐς αὐτὰ ἐλθοῦσιν μὴ ἀτολμ[οτέρ]ους τῶν αἰεὶ μοχθούντων φαίν[εσθα]ι· καίτοι ε[ί] ἐν ἀνέσει μᾶλλον [καὶ ρ]ᾳστώνη ζῶμεν μὴ κακ[οπα]θοῦντες τῷ ἀσκήσει μηδ' ὑπὸ νόμων ἀναγκαζόμενοι ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἔμφυτο[ν] ἀνδρεί-

#### Col. xvii (=G col. iv). Plate IV.

ανυπο[....]τουσκινδυνουσ
[...]ιεστ[.....]οτωνδεινων >
[......]αικαιεστουσκιν
[.....]αντασμηανανδ[.]ο
τ[.]ρουστωναιεικακοπαθουντων
φαινεσθαιοιμενγαρλακωνεσαιει
πονεινυποτωννομωνηναγκα
ζοντοοιδαθηναιοιπαρατουσκιν

νοιαλλαδιατηνεμφυτο[.]ανδρει

αν ὑπο[φέροντες] τοὺς κινδύνους,
[περ]ίεστ[ιν ἡμᾶς πρ]ὸ τῶν δεινῶν
[μὴ ταλαιπωρεῖσθ]αι καὶ ἐς τοὺς κιν[δύνους ἀπαντήσ]αντας μὴ ἀνανδ[ρ]οτ[έ]ρους τῶν αἰεὶ κακοπαθούντων
φαίνεσθαι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Λάκωνες αἰεὶ
πονεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων ἡναγκάζοντο, οἱ δ' Άθηναῖοι παρὰ τοὺς κιν-

#### δυνουσεπονουντο

10 πλουτωιτ $\epsilon\epsilon$ ργο[[ν]]μαλλονκαιρωιηλο γουκομπωιχρωμεθα οπλουτοσημων επιτωνεί. .]ωνενκαιρωιφαινεται > ουλογων[...]ζονειαιλεγομενπλουτειν καιτοπεν[...]ιουχομολογειντινιαι 15 σχροναλλα[...]διαφευγεινεργωιαισχειον ουχωσκαιτί. .]πενεσθαιαισχρουαυτωι λεγομενουαλ[...]νκριτικοναντι >απλουτεθεικ[...]σομηροσαιειδε  $\nu \in \omega \tau \in \rho \circ (\alpha \phi \rho) \cdot \ldots ] \upsilon \sigma \iota \nu$ 20  $\epsilon \nu \tau \epsilon[.] o[...] αυτοι[...] ιωναμακαιπολι$ τικωνεπιμελια[...]τεροισπροσεργα τετραμμενοισ[. . . .]τικαμηενδε ωσγνωναι  $\epsilon \lambda [...]$ τουπαρχειοιον  $\epsilon$ ντοισαυτοισ[...] σιν $\epsilon$ στιντων τειδιωνκαιτ[....]ινωνκατα > 25  $\tau \eta \nu \pi \circ \lambda \iota \nu \eta \in [\dots] \in \lambda \in \iota \alpha \kappa \alpha \iota \in \tau \in I$ ροισεστιπροσε[...]ρμηκοσιτατησ  $\gamma \in \omega \rho \gamma$ ιασκαιταπ[. . . .]ικαμηδέν > ηττονδιαγιή...] ειν 30 καιαυτοιητοικρί[...]νγεηενθυ μουμεθαορθω[....]αγματακρινο  $\mu \in V$   $o(ov \in \pi(\kappa \rho)[...]v \omega \sigma \in \tau \in \rho \omega v$ *ευροντων* διαφεροντωσγαρ[...]δεεχομεν 35 ωστετολμαντεα[...] $\mu$ α[...]ακαι  $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\omega\nu\epsilon\pi\iota\chi\epsilon\iota[\ldots\ldots]\iota\zeta\epsilon$ 

δύνους έπονοῦντο.

- 40. 1. πλούτφ τε ἔργου μάλλου καιρῷ ἢ λόγου κόμπφ χρώμεθα· ὁ πλοῦτος ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τῶν ἔ[ργ]ων ἐν καιρῷ φαίνεται, οὐ λόγων [ἀλα]ζονείᾳ λέγομεν πλουτείν. καὶ τὸ πέν[εσθα]ι οὐχ ὁμολογεῖν τινι αἰσχρὸν ἀλλὰ [μὴ] διαφεύγειν ἔργῳ αἴσχιον οὐχ ὡς καὶ τ[οῦ] πένεσθαι αἰσχροῦ αὐτῷ λεγομένου, ἀλ[λὰ συ]γκριτικὸν ἀντὶ ἀπλοῦ τέθεικ[εν, ὡ]ς "Ομηρος αἰεὶ δὲ νεώτεροι ἀφρ[αδέο]υσιν.
- 40. 2. ἔν τε [τ]ο[îs] αὐτοῖ[s οἰκε]ίων ἄμα καὶ πολιτικῶν ἐπιμέλεια [καὶ ἐ]τέροις πρὸς ἔργα τετραμμένοις [τὰ πολι]τικὰ μὴ ἐνδε-ῶς γνῶναι· ἐλ[λιπὲς] τὸ ὑπάρχει, οἶον ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς [ἀνδρά]σιν ἐστὶν τῶν τε ἰδίων καὶ τ[ῶν κο]ινῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἡ ἐ[πιμ]έλεια, καὶ ἐτέ-ροις ἐστὶ πρὸς ἔ[ργα ὡ]ρμηκόσι τὰ τῆς γεωργίας καὶ τὰ π[ολιτ]ικὰ μηδὲν ἤττον διαγιν[ώσκ]ειν.
  - καὶ αὐτοὶ ἤτοι κρί[νομέ]ν γε ἢ ἐνθυμούμεθα ὀρθώ[ς τὰ πρ]άγματα· κρίνομεν οἶον ἐπικρί[νομε]ν ὡς ἐτέρων εὐρόντων.
- 40. 3. διαφερόντως γὰρ [δὴ τό]δε ἔχομεν ὥστε τολμῶν τε α[ὑτοὶ] μά[λιστ]α καὶ περὶ ὧν ἐπιχει[ρήσομεν ἐκλογ]ίζεσθαι· δ τοῖς ἄλλ[οις ἀμαθία μὲν θράσος,

Col. xviii (=G col. v).

λο[

ار م

% र्ग λο[γισμός δὲ ὄκνον φέρει·

0[

au[

	μετ[	$\mu\epsilon au[$
5	$\mu\omega\mu$ [	μωμ[
	aνθ <b>ρ</b> [	$ec{a} u heta ho[\omega\pi$
	αμαλ[	αμαλ[
	μενο[	μενο[
	σιναφ[	σιν άφ[
10	οντεσ[	δντες [
	απ€ιρι[	ἀπειρι[
	αδεωστι[	40. 5. ἀδεῶς τι[να ἀφελοῦμεν·
	καικαθεκ[	41. 1. καὶ καθ' ἔκ[αστον δοκεῖν ἄν μοι τὸν
	αυτοναν[	αὐτὸν ἄν[δρα παρ' ἡμῶν ἐπὶ πλεῖ-
15	στανείδ	στ' αν είδ[η και μετά χαρίτων μάλι-
	στανευτρ[	στ' αν εύτρ[απέλως το σωμα αυταρ-
	κεσπαρεχ[	κες παρέχ[εσθαι·
	αθηναιο[	'Αθηναῖο[ς ἐπὶ
	πλεισταε[	πλείστα ε[ίδη χαριέν-
20	τωσμαλι[	τως μάλι[στα
	εαυτονα[	έαυτον δ[ν αὐτάρκη τῷ σώματι
	παρασχοι[	παράσχοι. [εὐτραπέλως δὲ ἀντὶ
	σουευκολ[	του εὐκόλ[ως.
	μονηγαρτ[	41. 3. μόνη γάρ τ[ων νθν άκοης κρείσ-
25	σωνεσπειρ[	σων ές πειρίαν ξρχεται
	κρεισσων	κρείσσων [ μ6-
	νηγαρπε[	νη γὰρ πε[ τῶν λό-
	γωνεντοι[	γων έν τοίζε έργοις
	καιμονητ[	καὶ μόνη τ[ῶν πολεμίων
30	τωνουκα[	των ούκ ά[γανάκτησιν έχει ώς έν
	δεεστερω[	δεεστέρω[s οὐδὲ
	τωνυπη[	τῶν ὑπη[κόων
	αρχησου[	άρχης οὐ[κ άξία οὖσα.
	ουτ ετωιυπ[	ούτε τῷ ὑπ[ηκόφ κατάμεμψιν·
35	αποκοινο[	$dπ d$ κοινο $[\widehat{v} \dots \dots \lambda \eta π \tau ϵ ο ν$
	τοεχειουτ[	τὸ ἔχει. οῦτ[ε ἀγανάκτησιν οῦτε
	κατάμεμψ[	κατάμεμψ[ιν έχει.
		Some columns lost.

## Col. xix (= H).

•	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
[	]αχιστονα[.]ετ[	45. 2. [ἡ δόξα καὶ ης αν ἐπ' ἐλ]άχιστον ἀ[ρ]ετ[ης
[	[	[πέρι ἡ ψόγου ἐν τοῖς] ἄρρεσι κλέος ቪ.
	[]νσυνδεσμον . [	[ ]ν σύνδεσμον . [
. 5	[ ]αντιτου <del>και</del> τε[	[ τὸ ἥ] ἀντὶ τοῦ καί τέ[θει-
	[ ]μεγωλαονσοον[	[κεν "Ομηρος βούλο]μ' έγὰ λαὸν σόον
	[ ]λεσθαιαποκοιν[	[ἔμμεναι ἡ ἀπο]λέσθαι. ἀπὸ κοιν[οῦ
	[ ]ληπτεοντοφυ[	[δε ] ληπτέον το φύ-
	[• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	[σεως ] φύσεως έλάχιστο[ν
10	[ ]μηψογουπαρα >	[ ] μη ψόγου παρα
	[ ]κλ[]σῆκαιησαν	$[\ldots\ldots]$ κλ $[\epsilon o]$ ς $\vec{\eta}$ καὶ $\hat{\eta}$ ς $\hat{d}$ ν
	$[\dots\dots]$ λεοσ $\hat{\eta}\pi$ εριαρε $>$	[έπ' έλάχιστον κ]λέος η περὶ άρε-
	[ ]ογουεντοισαν[.]ρα[	[τῆς ψ]όγου ἐν τοῖς ἀν[δ]ρά-
	[ ]κασδηλονοτ[.]πο	[σι γυναί]κας δηλονότ[ι] πο-
15	[ ] ατουνοηματο[.] παρ[	[ ]α τοῦ νοήματο[s] παρ[α
	[ ]δοξαταισγυν[	[ ] δόξα ταῖς γυν[αιξί
	$[\dots \dots]$ φανηναιτη $[\dots$	[ ] φανηναι τη[
	[ ]καιπαρα[	[] καὶ παρα[
	•	

### Unplaced Fragments.

# (a) To Cols. i-vi.

Fr. 3.	Fr. 3.		
·			
]κρ[	]κρ[		
]εδυνα[	]εδυνα[		
]εξερχε[	] ἐ <b>ξ</b> <ρχϵ[		
]καιπο[	] καὶ πο[		
] • • [	]••[		

## (b) To Cols. viii-xiii.

			(0) 10 00.				
Fr. 4. Fr. 5.		Fr. 4.		Fr. 5.			
	]ατριδα[	•	• •	(?) π]ατρίδα	. [		
	]ασαρετ[ ]τηι		τηι	]as åp	ετ[àς	] <b>r</b> n	
	$]\delta\epsilon au\eta[$	]2	τ <b>ασ</b>	} δὲ τ:	_	]τας	
	]στινο[		]. σ	έ]στὶν ο		] . \$	
5	]σαττ[		].	]σαττ	ĺ	].	
		• ·	• •	• •	•		
	Fr. 6.	Fr. 7.	Fr. 8.	Fr. 6.	Fr. 7.	Fr. 8.	
					• . •		
	]ενο[	]α	] <i>\ru\e\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon</i>	]€ <b>νο</b> [	]@	]ıν <b>∈</b> [	
	]κατε[.	]>	] . ov[	] κατε[.	]	] . જા[	
	]νδια	]ạι	• •	]ν δια	]aı	• •	
	• •	• •		• •	• •		
			(c) To Cols	. viii–xix.			
	Fr. 9.	Fr.	10.	<b>Fr.</b> 9.	Fr. 10	٥.	
			• •			•	
	] • [	] .	••	].[	_		
	$]\pi\epsilon ho$ . [	]μα	• -	$]\pi\epsilon\rho$ . [	-		
	$]\epsilon\sigma\theta$		-	_	[ ]ητω	-	
	]noin[	-	οήδ[	]עדסע[	, -	•	
5	] . ai[	]ντ	εσ [	] . au[	פאדע[	[	
		•	• •	• • •	• •	•	
F	r. 11.	Fr. 12.	Fr. 13.	Fr. 11.	Fr. 12.	Fr. 13.	
	][	 [.] . [	 ].[	1[	 [.] . [	].[	
	]τομαντ[	μ[	] <b>φ</b> ο[	]το μαντ[		] <b>ø</b> o[	
		ŋ · [	1.[	]ρο[,] ἐπ[	η·[	].[	
	]:[	[.]n[	. ,	]r[	[•]η[		

## (d) To Cols. xiv-xix.

Fr. 14 (to col.	xv ?).	Fr. 15.	Fr. 14.		Fr. 15.	
 ][[][	•	 ]εω . [	 ]ω κ[		 ]€∞ . [	
]ντοισί[		]σαλη[	]ע דסוֹς ו		]ς άλη[	
]οωνε[		] <b>e</b> • [	]οων <i>ϵ</i> [	-	]€ . [	
]ετουδ[			]ε τουδ[			
5 ]ται.[			]rai .			
• •	•		•	•		
		(e) Unce	ertain.			
Fr. 16.		Fr. 17.	Fr. 16.		Fr. 17.	
 ] · ρ[		 ]καλλ[	· . ] · <b>ρ</b> [		 καλλ[	
]ματ[		] . υτοσ[	]ματ[	-	υτοσ[	
]p< <b>£</b> [	-	. ναστη[	]pe <b>£</b> [	_	ναστη[	
]λιστα[	•	]λυσα[	μά]λιστα [	-	]λυσα[	
5 ] . εικαι[	5	]αντι[	]ει καὶ [		] ἀντὶ [	
]υν <b>π</b> [		] • [	]υνπ[		].[	
]δο <u>τ</u> [	•		]δο <del>τ</del> [	•		
•	•		• •	•		
Fr. 18.	Fr. 19.	Fr. 20.	Fr. 18.	Fr. 19.		
• • •	 σια[	 ]α[	 ]αλο[	 σια[	 1-r	
]αλο[ ] · επ[	οια σα	]α[ ]ρ . [	]. επ[	σα[	]a[	
) . en[	• • •	אי פענ	J• e#[		]· •[	
	•			, ,	• •	
Fr. 21.	Fr. 22.	Fr. 23.	Fr 21	Fr. 22.	Fr. 23.	
	 ]r	· ·			• •	
] · [	]ao[ ]so[	]òr • {	].[	]ασ[ ](	]oı . [	
]. αφο[	] <b>€</b> ρ[	• •	]. αφο[	]€ <i>p</i> [	• •	
• • •	] <i>μη</i> [		• • •	$]\mu\eta[$		

Fr. 24.	Fr. 25.	Fr. 24.	Fr 25.
]€ρ[	] . επ[	]€ρ[-	] . επ[
]711/[	].[	]τιν[	1.[
]4[		]µ[	

i. 1-3. A note on ἐνθένδε. δ[μοίως κα]ὶ (so W(ilamowitz)-M(öllendorff) and Bury) τὸ ἔνθα means that ἔνθα is sometimes used in a temporal sense like ἐνθένδε. Cf. Hesych. s. v. ἔνθα and Bekker, Anecd. i, p. 250. 32 ἐνθένδε ἤτοι τοπικόν ἐστιν... ἢ χρονικὸν... Our author, interpreting ἐνθένδε in a temporal sense, thus avoided the wrong explanation of it given by Schol., ἀπὸ τῆρ δε τῆς αἰτίας.

6-7. [γέγραπ]ται δ': so most MSS. (δέ), Stuart Jones; καὶ γέγραπται C, Hude. For the alternative reading θέρη . . . χειμώνας there is no MS. authority, and it may be merely due

to θέρη καὶ χειμώνας in l. 15.

i. 7-iv. 1. Dionysius of Halicarnassus in his treatise on Thucydides blames Thucydides on a few grounds, and discusses three chief points, first that he has not fixed his dates by archons and Olympiads, like other historians, but according to a system of his own by summers and winters; secondly that he has disturbed and divided the narrative and breaks up the events, not completing his accounts of the several incidents, but turning from one subject to another before he has finished with it; and thirdly that although he declares, as the result of his own elaborate examination, the true cause of the war to be this, that it was precaution against the power of the Athenians which induced the Lacedaemonians to make war on them, not really the Corcyrean or Potidaean affairs or the causes generally alleged, nevertheless he does not begin at the point which he has chosen and start with the events which led to the growth of Athens after the Persian war, but reverts to the commonly accepted causes. Such is Dionysius' view; but in opposition to this rash criticism one might reasonably retort that . . . For the system of dating by archons and Olympiads had not yet come into common use . . . (it was impossible) to relate Plataean affairs from first to last, and then go back to describe all the invasions of the Peloponnesians one after the other, and Corcyrean affairs continuously, differing as they did in date; for he would have thrown everything into confusion, or turned back again to periods which he had treated, in a fashion both unsuitable and unreasonable. For he was not dealing with a single subject or events at one time or one place, but with many subjects in many places and at many periods. Moreover, even if he had dated by archons, he would still have been obliged to divide the events, for these occurred some under one archon, some under another; it is when a person is only writing about a single subject that his narrative is continuous throughout. Hence Dionysius contradicts himself; for even if Thucydides ought to have dated by the archons, as he asserts, he would have been equally obliged to divide events according to the archons. If, however, the events are connected and the chronology offers no obstacle, Thucydides' narrative is continuous, as for instance . . . in the seventh book . . . As for the charge that Thucydides has not made the beginning of his history start with the growth of the Athenians, which he asserts was the truer cause of the war, in the first place it must be remarked that it was not his intention, after setting out to write a history of the Peloponnesian war, to introduce by way of a supplement several other wars since the Persian war itself, which may almost be regarded as the origin of the growth of Athens; for that would have lain altogether outside his subject. Secondly it must be remembered that it is the duty of every historian to describe accurately first of all the obvious and commonly alleged causes of events, and if he suspects the existence of any more obscure reasons (to add these afterwards . . .).'

i. 8-9. ἐν τῷ περὶ Θουκυδίδο[ν] συντάγματι: of the two extant MSS. of this treatise one has no title, the other has ἔτι περὶ Θουκυδίδου πλατύτερον, this book following upon the Ep. ad Cn. Pomp.

11-34. The passage of Dionysius here summarized is *De Thucyd. Iud.* ed. Radermacher, pp. 335 sqq. (cc. 9-12). Of Dionysius' three objections, the first, relating to the division into summers and winters (ll. 12-15), corresponds to 335. 20-336. 12, the second, concerning the want of connexion (ll. 15-20), to 336. 12-338. 3, and the third, concerning the causes of the war (ll. 21-33), to 338. 4-343. 4. On the first two points similar criticisms are also made, but more briefly, in the same author's *Ep. ad Cn. Pomp.* c. 3, and by Theon, *Progymn.* pp. 184-5 δπερ έγκαλοῦσί τινες τῷ Θουκυδίδη. διελὼν γὰρ κ.τ.λ., and Doxopater, ad Aphthon. ii. p. 220 τοῦτο γοῦν καὶ τὸν Θουκυδίδην τινὲς αἰτιῶνται καὶ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν, ὅτι κατὰ θέρος καὶ τὸν χειμῶνα κ.τ.λ.

22. For the correction of επιων to ειπων, suggested by W-M, cf. Dionys. op. cit. c. 10 (p. 338) τὰs alτίας βούλεται πρώτον εἰπεῖν ἀφ' ὧν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔλαβε.

ii. 7-8. The restorations διάθεσις (or διαίρεσις) and οὅπω ἐγεγόνει are due to Bury, who in ll. 8-9 suggests οὐ κ[οινὸς λογισμὸς ἢ]ν (cf. l. 4).

10. ] ντου is very likely a] ντοῦ, referring to Herodotus. Bury suggests ἐν τῆι βύβλωι as the preceding words.

11. Perhaps κατὰ τόπο υς, as Bury suggests; cf. Dionys. op. cit. c. 9 τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ

γενομένων συγγραφέων ή κατά τόπους μεριζόντων τὰς ἀναγραφάς κ.τ.λ.

15. The construction of ll. 15-7 is not certain. W-M, who proposed [διεξελθόν]τα in l. 17, would supply something like οὐ γὰρ ἦν in l. 15; Bury, reading [εἴρειν πάν]τα in l. 17, would restore ll. 13-5 οἶον τῷ | τοῦ [πολέμου ἀρχῷ] ε[άσ]ας τοὺς | ᾿Α[θηναίους τὰ μὲν] Πλα[τ]αϊκὰ κ.τ.λ. The vestiges of writing before [. .]αστους, however, do not suit ε: if not ο or ω, they are probably parts of two letters, e. g. αι οr λη.

19. A conjunction, i.e. δέ or τε, seems to have been omitted through γράφεω being

wrongly connected with what follows.

31. ταῦτα: Or ταῦτά, i.e. affairs belonging to the same series, which is preferred by Bury.

iii. 3-5. ἐφεξ|ης and συν[εχῶς were suggested by W-M and Bury. τη ζ presumably refers to the seventh, not the sixth, book of Thucydides. That in reckoning the eight books our author's notation followed the letters of the alphabet, as in the books of Homer, rather than the numerals is unlikely, though cf. iii. 10-5, note. The existing division of Thucydides' work into eight books was already known to Dionysius, who mentions the eighth in op. cit. c. 16, and though there were other ancient divisions of the work into nine or thirteen books, our author no doubt agreed with Dionysius in employing the system which Marcellinus (Vit. Thuc. 58), quoting Asclepius, calls ἡ πλείστη καὶ ἡ κοινή.

5-6. Bury suggests τὰ Σικελι κὰ διηγεί]ται.

8. The absence of a diaeresis above ] και makes it probable that the preceding letter was a consonant, e. g. Σικελ μκα rather than Πλατα μκά. It does not seem possible to find a suitable second adjective ending in ικίκα, for Θρ αικίκα cannot be read, although the supposed o is very uncertain. καίτ οικίζαν or some part of κατοικίζειν is more probable, especially as κατ[οικ] μα. [ could be read in l. γ. ] ροι there seems to be an optative, possibly συνεί ροι. In ll. 9–10 something like εἰε] πολλ[α]ς κεφα[λας με μερισμένα ἐξ] ετάζειν (Bury) is likely.

10-5. The restorations in ll. 12-3 are due to Bury. It is tempting to read to ropiar in l. 14, but the stroke above a must then be ignored, for it is not a rough breathing. Since Herodotus' history contained only nine books, i' in this context seems to mean the ninth book, the notation following the letters of the alphabet, while προκειμένην indicates that it had just been mentioned, possibly in l. 12. But the narrative in the ninth book is particularly free from μεταβάσεις, and we should expect the ninth book to be called θ (cf. iii. 3-5, note), so that the suggested explanation is not satisfactory. The passage in Dionysius which our author seems to have had in his mind is in op. cit. c. 9 (p. 336) οὖτε γάρ τοῖε τόποιε ἐν οἶε al πράξεις ἐπετελέσθησαν ἀκολουθῶν ἐμέρισε τὰς διηγήσεις, ὡς Ἡρόδοτός τε καὶ Ἑλλάνικος κ.τ.λ.; cf. also the praise of Herodotus in c. 5.

iv. 4-5. ἀ νὰ μέσ ον: there is probably a reference, as Dr. J. E. Sandys suggests, to what Quintilian (v. 12. 14) calls the Homerica dispositio (cf. l. 6 \*Oμηρισωs), i. e. placing the weakest part of one's rhetorical forces in the middle (Il. iv. 297-300); cf. Cic. Orator 50, Cornificius, Rhet. iii. 10, 18, Quintil. vii. 1. 10.

10-4. Perhaps κα λοῦνται in l. 12 and Θουκυδί | δης in l. 13.
15-7. The restorations in ll. 16-7 are by W-M. The Homeric quotation is from B 504.

18-31. This note is out of place and should have preceded that in ll. 15-7. In l. 27

Tive s is possible, but the doubtful letter is more like o.

33-5. The first part of this note on θέμενοι, as was perceived by W-M and Bury, refers to the use of the middle for the active, θρεψάμενος being adduced as a parallel.

V. I. ἀπο[θ]έμενοι: θέμενοι is wrongly explained by Schol. ἀντὶ τοῦ περιθέμενοι έαυτοῖς. "Ομηρος σάκε' Εμοισιν έθεντο. ἀνόητον γὰρ κ.τ.λ. The correct interpretation given by our author is supported by Schol. Aeschin. i. 29 τὰ ὅπλα μὴ τίθεσαι' τὸ τίθεσθαι λέγεται καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀποτίθεσθαι τὰ ὅπλα καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ περιτίθεσθαι καὶ ἐνδύεσθαι, ὡς ἔγνωμεν ἐν τοῖς Θουκυδιδείοις ἐν τῆ β΄. ἔνταυθα δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀποτίθεσθαι (corr. to περιτίθεσθαι by Reiske, but wrongly) λέγει.

5. χρήσθαι: χρήσασθαι MSS.

7-8. Cf. Schol. ἐπιτηδείοις πρὸς φιλίαν.

12. είs: έs MSS., which, however, have the form ήεσαν or ήιεσαν here as elsewhere in place of the more correct noan (i. e. noan) found in our author's text. Cf. the first century Thucydides papyrus from Oxyrhynchus (16), which in iii, 7 has annieraw with the variant απηισαν. The object of the note is to distinguish the Attic ηισαν with iota adscript from ηισαν as a trisyllable, the form found in Homer, &c.

17-9. This is the only place where Thucydides uses the masculine form of σκότος; the neuter occurs in Thuc. iii. 23 and viii. 42. The Clarendonianus and Aeneas Tact. 2 have σκότει in the present passage, but the papyrus supports the overwhelming majority of the MSS.

21-2. εκφυγειν: so Parisinus 1735; ἐκφεύγειν other MSS. The papyrus text agrees with most MSS. in reading οί πολλοί in place of πολλοί, the reading of A, which is preferred by many recent editors, but not by Stuart Jones. The construction of τοῦ μὴ ἐκφεύγεω is difficult, and has been explained in several ways. Classen connects the words with ἐμπείρους, which is the most satisfactory view, while Poppo constructs them with διώκοντας as an infinitive of purpose 'in order that they might not escape', and Krüger regarded the phrase as expressing the effect 'so that they could not escape', an explanation which produces a tautology with the following words ωστε διεφθείροντο οί πολλοί. Hude, following Herwerden, would omit τοῦ μὴ ἐκφεύγειν altogether. Our author's criticism is not very illuminating. He remarks that either ωστε is redundant (Il. 22-6) or else τοῦ should be omitted and ωστε put in its place. Since he renders τοῦ μὴ ἐκφυγεῖν by εἰς τὸ μὴ ἐκφυγεῖν in the one case, and ὧστε μὴ ἐκφυγέν in the other, both his interpretations approximate to that of Krüger rather than the rival explanations (unless els 76 means 'in respect of', in which case our author's first

explanation agrees with Classen's), but both seem to rest upon a misapprehension of the construction of the whole sentence. For the omission of δοτε or the transference of it to the place occupied by τοῦ would have the effect of leaving διεφθείροντο without any construction, unless indeed in our author's text a fresh sentence began where the MSS. have ἄπειροι μὲν ὅντες connected with what precedes. No variant, however, upon μέν in that passage is known, and it is more likely that our author simply misunderstood the sentence.

- 30. στύρακι: στυρακίφ MSS.; but there is possibly a reference to the reading of the papyrus in Cramer, Anecd. Par. iii. p. 84. 3 τον σαυρωτήρα στύρακα φησί Θουκυδίδης. With the note cf. Schol. στυράκιον έστιν δ καλούμενος σαυρωτήρ τῶν δοράτων, Hesychius στύραξ... δ σαυρωτήρ τοῦ δόρατος, and the similar explanations in other lexicographers.
  - 33. συνέθεντο: cf. Schol. ἀπὸ συνθήκης δηλονότι.
- vi. 1-2. The lacuna at the end of l. 1 may have contained another parallel for πανστρατιᾶ, e. g. πανοικία (cf. x. 31) οτ πανδημεί, οτ, as W-M suggests, ὡ[ε παρ' 'Ομήρω | πανουδίη. If πασ[ in l. 2 is right, πάσ[ηι τῆι στρατιᾶι is a natural restoration, but this is rather long, and the reading παν[ (e. g. παν[δημεί οτ παν[τὶ τῶι στρατιῶι) is not excluded. The meaning, if any, of the stroke in the margin against l. 2 is obscure. There is in the top margin another stroke /, which seems to be accidental.
- 3. It is of course doubtful whether κακοῦ (or τοῦ κακοῦ as conjectured by Bredow and Baumeister) occurred in the lemma, which may have ended with ἀπροσδοκήτου.
- 6-7. Perhaps καὶ κίοινῆι ὧς | τινες λέγουσι, as Bury suggests, meaning that this use of ὑποτοπέω was not confined to Attic. Το the doubtful κ the only alternative is ι.
- 9-10. A note on the dative in place of the genitive after  $\pi\epsilon\rho i$ . damas  $\theta\epsilon is$  must belong to a quotation, which would be expected to be from Homer; and though neither of the two instances of damas  $\theta\epsilon is$  in the Iliad (II 816  $\theta\epsilon o\hat{v}$   $\pi\lambda\eta\gamma\hat{\eta}$   $\epsilon a\hat{v}$  doup) dam., and X 55  $\hat{\eta}\nu$   $\mu\hat{\eta}$   $\epsilon a\hat{v}$   $\theta\hat{u}\nu\eta\hat{s}$  'Axi $\hat{\eta}i$ , dam.) is really at all apposite, W-M nevertheless may be right in restoring  $\theta\mu\sigma\hat{s}$  ov 'Axi $\hat{\eta}i$ , and supposing that the latter passage was referred to. Schol. A had noted that the dative there was used for  $\hat{v}\pi\hat{s}$  'Axi $\lambda\hat{k}\hat{v}s$ . A more relevant illustration would be one in which  $\hat{v}\pi\hat{s}$  with the dative was used in place of  $\hat{v}\pi\hat{s}$  with the genitive, but it is difficult to see whence this is to be obtained without altering damas  $\hat{s}$  defined (cf. vii. 30) points to a variant upon  $\pi\epsilon\rho\hat{i}$   $\tau\hat{o}\hat{s}$   $\hat{\epsilon}$   $\hat{\epsilon}$
- 11-2. Bury suggests τρόπωι | τῶι τοιούτωι λέγει δι[κάζωσι: but the letter following δ is much more likely to be a, ε, or o than ι.
  - 14-5. The Homeric quotation is from H 467.
- 16. There is not room for ωs after ἐπέταξαν unless the line was exceptionally long, but δ might be inserted. It is unfortunate that the text of this passage, in which a well-known difficulty occurs, is not quoted in extenso. The chief MSS, have καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις πρὸς ταῖς αὐτοῦ ὑπαρχούσαις ἐξ Ἰτ. καὶ Σικ. τοῖς τἀκείνων ἐλομένοις ναῦς ἐπετάχθησαν ποιεῖσθαι, which will not construe. Hude follows Herbst in emending ἐπετάχθησαν to ἐπετάχθησαν ποιεῖσθαι, which will not construe. Hude follows Herbst in emending ἐπετάχθησαν to ἐπετάχθησαν ποιεῖσθαι, which alteration of ναῦς to νῆες, while Cobet boldly met the difficulty by reading Λακεδαιμόνιοι . . . ἐπετετάχεσαν (ἐπέταξαν Βöhme). It is impossible to argue with certainty from our author's paraphrase in ll. 16–20 back to his text of Thucydides at this point; but seeing that he ignores any grammatical difficulty, it is improbable that such an anacoluthon as Λακεδαιμονίοις . . . ἐπετάχθησαν ναῦς existed in his text. With regard to the various emendations the paraphrase does not favour νῆες in place of ναῦς or ἐπετάχθη σ', and with ἐπετάχθη simply a note on the dative of the agent Λακεδαιμονίοις would be expected. On the other hand Cobet's Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπετετάχεσαν (or ἐπέταξαν) would suit the paraphrase very well, especially as the construction of the sentence would then be quite easy, and no grammatical note would be

necessary. But the great difficulty would still remain of accounting for the origin of the corruption.

21. πε[μφθηναι W-M. The expedition of Hermocrates to Ionia is described in

Thuc. viii. 26.

25-8. The rules for the accentuation of σφίσι and similar pronouns are given by Herodian, ed. Lentz, i. p. 555 sqq. ὅτε μὲν οὖν ἀπολελυμένως λέγονται καὶ οὐχὶ πρὸς ἔτερον πρόσωπον ἀντιδιαστέλλονται, ἐγείρουσι τὴν πρὸ αὐτῶν ὀξείαν ὅτε δὲ κατὰ τὴν πρός τι ἔτερον διαστολὴν ἐκφέρονται, δρθοτονοῦνται κ.τ.λ.; cf. the rules quoted in the notes ad loc. from the Homeric scholia. The general sense of the passage seems to be ' σφίσι here is enclitic, for although one ought to keep its accent (τὸν τόνον W-M) as far as possible, the rule concerning μεταβάσεις (i. e. the reference of a pronoun to another person than the subject of the sentence) often prevents this'. But the lacunae make the whole passage obscure. Modern editors accentuate σφίσι here.

34-5. Cf. Schol. ὑπὸ ἀπειρίας παροιμία, γλυκὺς ἀπείρφ πόλεμος, Stob. Flor. 50. 3 Πίνδαρος ύπορχημάτων' γλυκύ δὲ πόλεμος ἀπείροισιν, Schol. Π. Λ 227 ώς καὶ Πίνδαρος' γλυκύς ἀπείρο πόλεμος. Schroeder (Fr. 110, ed. 1908) writes γλυκύ δ' ἀπείρφ πόλεμος, but this now seems hardly satisfactory in view of the uncertainty of the metre and the agreement of our author with Stobaeus. The precise restoration of the lacuna at the end of l. 34 is uncertain. γλυκ ν δέ ποis hardly long enough, but γλυκ υς γάρ ὁ πο- is possible, if our author was not aiming at an

exact quotation.

vii. 1. The extent of the gap between Cols. vi and vii cannot be determined by the writing on the recto; cf. introd. p. 108. Ll. 1-3 are the end of a note on καὶ ἐξ ὀλίγου τὰ πολλὰ καὶ δι' δργής αὶ ἐπιχειρήσεις γίγνονται in c. 11. 4.

6-9. The restorations are due to W-M.
10. For 'O μ[ηρικῶs] cf. iv. 6. The quotation is from Δ 539.

12-3. πρου σού σι is far from certain; the supposed σ is more like γ or τ, but with σ|τι it is difficult to find anything suitable for the previous word. W-M proposes observe προ[νοίαι] οὶ τοιοῦτοι κατὰ πόλε[μ]ον, θυμ[ῶι δ'] έξορμῶσιν. The article is certainly wanted before τοιοῦτοι and there is just room for [νοιαι] and [ωιδ] in the two lacunae, but ]οι, though not impossible, is less suitable than ]σι. ἀλλά might be read in place of κατά, but it is not satisfactory to make έξορμῶσω transitive.

15. ὑμῶν: the papyrus confirms the conjecture of Hude; ἡμῶν MSS., Stuart Jones.

18. ἢν [ἀκοῦ]σ[αι]: or possibly ἢκ[ούομ]ε[ν ἄν], as W-M suggests; but though κ can be read in place of ν, and the vestige which we regard as the tip of an σ might belong to ε or ν or several other letters [akov]o[ai] suits the space better, and the author of the commentary does not elsewhere employ the first person plural. With this lengthy note on ἐπ' ἀμφότερα cf. the brief remark of Schol. δόξα ἐπ' ἀμφότερα καὶ εὐκλείας καὶ δυσκλείας. 20–1. [ἀντὶ τοῦ and ὑ]π[όληψιν W–M. 27–8. The Homeric quotation (identified by W–M) is from  $\Gamma$  1.

29. ἐκστρατευομένων: neither this reading nor στρατευόντων, a variant mentioned in l. 30, was known previously, the MSS. all having έξεστρατευμένων. The perfect middle of this verb is not found elsewhere in Thucydides, and the present is quite defensible.

34. [ἀμαχη]τεί was suggested by Bury.

37. διαλύεσθαι: διαλύε εσθαι (sic) C, διαλύσεσθαι other MSS., but cf. Schol. διαλύεσθαι ἀφίστασθαι τῶν ἀγωγῶν. Thucydides employs the future infinitive after μέλλειν somewhat more often than the present, and where the MSS, are divided on the point, e.g. here and in i. 107. 3 and viii. 6. 5, editors prefer the future.

viii. 4. Hude proposes to restore the line ἄμ α αὐτῶι τοὺς ἐνόχους.

5. The word following αyer is probably some part of έξελαύνω; cf. Thuc. i. 127. 1 τδ äyos . . . έλαύνειν, to which II. 4-5 refer.

- 7–9. Cf. Schol. διὰ χειρός· δι' ἐπιμελείας ΐνα μὴ ἀποστῶσι. ἀεί in l. 8 was suggested by Bury.
- 11. Probably the scribe wrote [κρατι]σθαι, for the lacuna is hardly sufficient for six letters.
- 12. [προσόδω] and [πορισμῶι] are both too short for the lacuna, which requires 9 or 10 letters. Perhaps κατορθοῦ[ν should be restored in place of κατορθοῦ[σθαι, which makes this line rather long.
  - 33-4. Perhaps καθα ρον τλθη with καθ αρόν in l. 35, as Hude suggests.
  - 36. καὶ περιαιρετόν has already been quoted in the lemma in l. 29.
- ix. 3-6. The MSS. have τοσοῦτοι γὰρ ἐφύλασσον τὸ πρῶτον ὁπότε οἱ πολέμιοι ἐσβάλοιεν ἀπό τε τῶν πρεσβυτάτων καὶ τῶν νεωτέρων καὶ μετοίκων ὅσοι ὁπλῖται ἣσαν. The omission of τὸ πρῶτον . . . ἐσβάλοιεν in the lemma is probably a mere accident, and does not imply that the words were wanting in our author's text, though this seems to have gone astray at this point. The reading ὑπό, which stood there in place of ἀπό, is indefensible if ὑπό τε τῶν πρεσβ. κ.τ.λ. is to be connected with τοσοῦτοι ἐφύλασσον, as our author clearly intended; for ὑπό cannot be used as equivalent to ἀπό in this sense, and the Homeric parallel which he cites, δαΐδων ὑπο λαμπομενάων (Σ 492), is irrelevant, since ὑπο there has its not uncommon sense 'to the accompaniment of'.

10. [ἔω]s: cf. Schol. ἔως τοῦ κύκλου. The reading ἀπ]ό, though possible, is less suitable.

The insertion of  $\beta'$  was suggested by Bury.

14-6. [κ]ὑκλον δὲ . . . ἄστ]εω[s is a parenthesis, and [κ]αι πάλιν ὁπόσον κ.τ.λ. depends on ἀπαριθμεῖται, referring to Thucydides' words a few lines later than the lemma, τὰ δὲ μακρὰ τείχη πρὸς τὸν Πειραιᾶ τεσσαράκοντα σταδίων. Π]ει[ραιέ]ως was suggested by W-M and Bury; ἔ[κ το]ῦ [Π. or ἐκ τ]ο[ῦ Π. cannot be read. The second s of αστεως in l. 14 has been rewritten.

18. Mo]υνυχ[ί]a: so MSS.; Moυνιχία Hude, Stuart Jones.

22-8. The position assigned by us to Fr. 1 is not certain. On the one hand the colour and general appearance of the fragment suggest that it belongs to this column, and when placed where it is  $\lambda \iota \beta \delta s$  at the beginning of a line giving a new entry of the land-survey on the recto of Fr. 1 will come just underneath  $\lambda \iota \beta \delta s$  at the beginning of another entry which is on the recto of the upper part of Col. ix, while the lines on the recto of the fragment containing the ends of viii. 22-9 (the position of which is fixed) may be the continuation of the lines on the recto of Fr. 1, though there is no certain connexion. The chief objection to the position assigned to Fr. 1 is that on the recto of the upper part of Col. ix there seems to be a junction between two selides, which would be expected to appear also on Fr. 1, but does not. We have, however, been unable to find any suitable place for the lemma in 1. 23 commencing  $\epsilon \iota \beta \delta$  except  $\epsilon \iota \beta \delta \delta$  are in 14. 1, and if that restoration is accepted, the position given to Fr. 1 must be approximately correct. A difficulty arises in 1. 26 where  $\delta \delta \delta$  where  $\delta \delta \delta \delta$  are very unsatisfactory combination of letters, and probably there is some corruption. The  $\delta \delta \delta$  projects somewhat to the left, but not enough to justify the inference that it belongs to a lemma.

x. 2-4. Bury suggests παρά γει έν Έρε χθεί Εὐριπί δης τον | Ευμολπον].

6. The word following ξυ ντελούντω ν may, as Bury remarks, have been χρήματα or εἰσφοράs.

7. τὸ ἐν Δ[ίμνα]ες Διονύσο[υ' so MSS.; τὸ ⟨τοῦ⟩ ἐν Δ. Δ. Hude, following Cobet. The scribe has left a blank space after Δ[ίμνα]ες as if the lemma ended there, but probably this is a mistake; cf. x. 25. The remains of l. 10, as was perceived by W-M and Bury, belong to a quotation from the Hecale of Callimachus (Fr. 66 a ed. Schneider); see Schol. Ar. Frogs 216 Δίμναι χωρίον τῆς ᾿Αττικῆς, ἐν ῷ Διονύσου ἰερόν. Καλλίμαχος ἐν Ἑκάλη ᾿ Λιμναίφ δὲ χοροστάδας

ήγον έορτάς, and Steph. Byz. Λίμναι ένθα ὁ Διόνυσος έτιματο. Καλλίμαχος Λιμναίφ δέ κ.τ.λ. (καὶ ol λιμναίοι codd.). W-M, restoring Καλλίμαχος in l. 7, regards the quotation as beginning with \$\epsilon \delta \epsilon \in 1. 8 and containing two complete hexameters, but this view is open to some objections. The restoration Καλλίμαχος at the end of l. 7 implies that 11 letters are lost after διονυσο, whereas elsewhere in this column the corresponding space contains only 5-8 letters. This difficulty can be got over by supposing that Καλλίμαχος was abbreviated, but in l. 9 a similar and more serious obstacle arises; for Λιμναίωι (which is certain) is sufficient by itself to fill the lacuna at the end of the line, and since 'Ελευθήρ will be the conclusion of the first hexameter, the first foot of the second hexameter seems to be reduced to et. W-M proposes el oaro, which makes excellent sense, but involves a supplement of 12 letters in the lacuna. The e of el has been corrected from a straight stroke (probably e) but the reading is practically certain, y being the only alternative for et and less satisfactory. Bury on the other hand would restore a shorter name than Καλλίμαχος in 1. 7 (Δίδυμος?), and regard the Callimachus quotation as beginning with [Aupralia in l. 9, reading the preceding word as Έλευθηρεί, i. e. Ἐλευθερεί. But that Callimachus' name was mentioned in l. 7 (cf. x. 37), and that II. 8-9 belong to the quotation, seem to us more probable. On Eleuther, the eponymous hero of Eleutherae, who is said to have made the first image of Dionysus subsequently brought by Pegasus to the temple ἐν Λίμναις at Athens, cf. Pauly-Wissowa, Real-encycl. s. vv. Dionysos, Eleuther, Eleuthereus.

11-2. Apparently the point of the contrast between this statement and the Callimachus quotation is that according to the latter the temple at Limnae was called after Dionysus as god of marshes in general, while according to the other explanation Limnae was merely a local name. With  $o\tilde{v}\tau[\omega]s$  in l. II ] os is the termination of a proper name, e. g.  $\Delta i[\delta v\mu]os$ ; but it is possible to read  $[\omega s \ \delta \dot{c} \ o\tilde{v}\tau[o]s$ ,  $[\omega s]$  being the termination of an adverb or a substantive in the genitive with e. g.  $\delta i\dot{a}$ .  $o\tilde{v}\tau[o]s$  would however then have to mean Thucydides, which is

not satisfactory.

15. ἀρχαιότατα: ἀρχαιότερα MSS. The reading of the lemma may be a mere error, but is in itself defensible; for accepting Boeckh's view that there were four distinct Dionysiac festivals at Athens, the Greater and Lesser Dionysia, the Anthesteria, and Lenaea, the Anthesteria might be called the 'most ancient' instead of the 'more ancient', i. e. than the Greater Dionysia, Thucydides' statement that the Anthesteria was a general Ionic festival is intended to prove its high antiquity, and cf. Schol. ἀρχαιότερα εἶπε διότι ἔστι καὶ νεώτερα ἄλλα.

τη β: so MSS; most modern editors follow Torstrik in regarding the words as a gloss. With a mention of the day μηνός, not ἐν μηνί, would be expected. The papyrus shows, however, that the interpolation, if it be such, is very early. Our author's note concerning the date of the festival is in accord with the extant evidence on the subject; cf. Pauly-Wissowa, Real-encycl. i. p. 2372.
19-20. π [λ[ε]ίστου: so most MSS., Hude, Stuart Jones; πλείστα AB (corr. A 2nd hand),

which Torstrik wished to read, omitting agia. With els τὰ κ.τ.λ. cf. Schol. λείπει ή els,

ίν ή είς τὰ πλείστου ἄξια.

25. There can hardly be any doubt that the lemma ends at ολεήσει, although the scribe fails to leave a blank space; cf. x. 7, note. The following words in Thuc. are μετείχου οι Αθηναίοι, and the construction of the dative οἰκήσει with μετείχου being extremely difficult, some recent editors, including Hude, would omit the latter word. That our author's text had μετείχου is clear from l. 30, and the difficulty of connecting it with ολκήσει is discussed by him in Il. 25-9, but the nature of his explanation is somewhat obscure. Apparently he regarded τη αὐτ. οἰκήσει in place of τῆς αὐτ. οἰκήσεως as equivalent to διὰ τὴν αὐτ. οἴκησιν, thus approximating to the view of Herbst, who explained the dative as instrumental and supplied αὐτῆς (i. e. τῆς αὐτονόμου οἰκήσεως); this, however, produces a very redundant construction. If μετὰ το ν μετείχον is rightly restored in l. 25, the beginning of the note seems to mean 'τŷ αὐτ. οἰκήσει goes with μετείχον οἱ ᾿Αθηναῖοι ᾽, and διὰ τὴν κατὰ κ.τ.λ. is a distinct remark; if of 'Αθηναίοι with either μετείχον or a different verb in l. 25 be connected with διὰ τὴν κατὰ κ.τ.λ., μετὰ το î must be abandoned: « or » might be read in place of the doubtful o. Schol. merely remark that αὐτονόμφ οἰκήσει is for αὐτονόμου οἰκήσεως.

29-30. εἴρηται δὲ ὑπερβατῶς κ.τ.λ. refers to the position of ἐπὶ πολύ which is to be connected with μετείχου. το έξης (restored by W-M) means 'the grammatical sequence is';

cf. xiii. 7, note.

31. [πα]ν[οι]κησία γενόμενοι: so MSS. (v. l. πανοικεσία); Hude and Stuart Jones follow

Lipsius in placing πανοικησία after οὐ ράδίως.

33. The o following r is almost certain, v being the only alternative. [o4] does not fill up the lacuna, so that το is not the termination of e. g. διεγένοντο. διά παν τό[s] is possible. Schol, remark πανοικησία καὶ οὐ πανοικία λέγεται.

35-6. κ[αλουνται | φ[υλ]αί was suggested by Bury and Hude.

- 36-7. This distinction between σηκός and ναός is also stated by Ammonius: ναὸς καὶ σηκὸς διαφέρει. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ναός ἐστι θεῶν, ὁ δὲ σηκὸς ἡρώων. The distinction is not always observed; cf. Liddell and Scott, s.v. σηκός. The quotation from Callimachus (from the Hecale?; cf. x. 7,
- xi. 14-5. The accent of  $d\rho$ [yor points, as W-M perceived, to the restoration of these lines as a quotation of the well-known oracle, which occurs e.g. in Schol. Theocr. xiv. 48. The beginning of the line is commonly cited as γαίης μὲν πάσης, but here γαίης and πάσης have changed places. A difficulty arises in connexion with the reading [ya][n]s, that, since it belongs to the note, not the lemma, there ought to be only one letter lost, but the scribe sometimes begins his lines unevenly (e.g. in ix. 26) and occasionally treats words belonging to the note as if they were part of the lemma (e.g. in xvii. 31). Possibly, however, he wrote

16. Perhaps όλως] ψκήθη.

17. du is given the barytone accent in order to distinguish it from of. The note probably began with something like οὐ διὰ τὸ παρα]νόμω[s οἰκεῖν [ τοσαύταις συμφοραῖ]s έχρή[σαντο, as Stuart Jones suggests.

xii. 2-3. The restorations are due to W-M.

5. είναι may have been added in the lemma after μαλακός. The occurrence of αθροίσει in the paraphrase indicates that our author explained ξυναγωγή as referring to the assemblage of the allies at Sparta not to the conduct of the war, thus agreeing with Herbst against the ordinary view; cf. Classen, ad loc.

6. ] . ε: the vestige of the first letter would suit δ or λ best.
7. Stuart Jones suggests ["Ομηρος μαλθακὸς αἰχμη]τής (P 588).

10. ἀργῶς: cf. Schol. ἐν τῆ καθέδρα· τῆ ἀργία τῆς πολιορκίας δηλονότι. 12. The word before με ταφορικῶς was probably an equivalent of ἀνείχεν, perhaps ἔμενεν (Bury) or ἐκώλυεν (W-M, who compares Bekker, Anecd. i. p. 400. 7 λέγεται ἀνέχειν καὶ τὸ κωλύειν. Θουκυδίδης εν εκτφ κ.τ.λ.). In place of τὰ ὅπλα (W-M) Bury suggests χείρας. Line 14 clearly contains a comparison between ἀνοχή and ἐκεχειρία, but the reconstruction is uncertain. There is certainly a letter after exe xeipia, and the vestige suits i better than s. If ene respect is nominative plural this may be accounted for by the plural use of avoxai; if it is dative singular something like [ἀνοχή ἴση τῆ ἐκε]χειρία is required. [ἀνοχαὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκε]χειρίας (W-M) would have been more satisfactory.

17. It is tempting to restore of 'Peîro]  $\tau \delta \pi[o]s \mid \tau \hat{\eta}s$  'Aττικ $\hat{\eta}s$ , but o does not fill the lacuna before s. Possibly Pe from  $\tau[..]$ s should be read, but the letter following  $\tau_0$  is more like  $\pi$  than

st and there is not room for  $\tau[\delta\pi\sigma]$ s.

19. Lines 19-32 are on a detached fragment. The writing on the recto confirms the

internal evidence of ll. 24-7 that these lines belong to the lower portion of Col. xii, but the extent of the gap, if any, between ll. 18 and 19 is uncertain.

23. The accent of άδε suggests, as W-M remarks, a form like Έλευσ ινάδε, but though

the letter before ade might be v, the letter before that is more like e, o, or v than i.

24. The letter before ναι may be ι instead of η, but [ταξάμενον με]ίναι does not suit the size of the initial lacuna, and [περιιδείν τμηθ] ηναι is also too long, so that [οὐ καταβ] ηναι is practically certain. Το the form ηδεισαν there is no objection, but the word does not seem very suitable in this context. The doubtful δ might be read as a, λ, or μ.

27-9. The restoration of the beginning of the note is due to W-M, who further suggests ] τότ(ε) (?) οί 'Ατ[τ]ικοί τιθ[έασιν' but Ατ[τ]ικοί does not suit the vestiges. For έπεξ-

ελεύσονται cf. Schol. εl ἐπεξίασιν εl ἐπεξελεύσονται οl Αθηναΐοι πρὸς πόλεμον.

**xiii.** 1. This line, restored by Hude, and the next clearly belong to a note on the use of the middle in place of the active in  $\chi \omega \rho \dot{\eta} \sigma \epsilon \sigma \theta a \iota$  (c. 20. 4),  $\dot{\epsilon} \pi a \iota \nu \dot{\epsilon} \sigma \epsilon \sigma \theta a \iota$  being adduced as an illustration; cf. iv. 32-5. The first two letters of  $\epsilon \pi a \iota \nu \epsilon \sigma [\epsilon] \sigma \theta a \iota$  have a stroke through them, but this is to be regarded as accidental, not as implying deletion.

7. A note on the construction of αὐτοῖς, which depends on δεινον ἐφαίνετο after a long interval. The reading ἐ[ξῆς is not very satisfactory, for the traces of ink suit o, σ, or τ better than ε, but τὸ ἑξῆς is the technical phrase required here; cf. the close parallel in x. 29-30.

13. ἄργητο: MSS. are divided between this reading and ἄρμητο (CEG), which according to our author (l. 14) was found 'in some copies', and must have been a very early

variant. Editors also differ; Hude and Stuart Jones prefer ωρμητο.

16. Apart from the present passage in Thuc. Phrygia in Attica is only mentioned twice, (1) Schol. Arist. Birds 493 Φρυγίων ἐρίων ἡ ἀπὸ Φρυγίας ἡ ἀπὸ δήμου. ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἀπαλὰ καὶ καλὰ ἔρια, (2) Steph. Byz. s. v. Φρύγια, . . . ἔστι καὶ τὰ Φρύγια οὐδετέρως τόπος μεταξύ Βοιωτίας καὶ 'Αττικῆς. Bursian (Geogr. i. p. 334) conjecturally placed it in the neighbourhood of Acharnae at the north-east foot of Mount Aegaleus. Since the site of Athmonon is fixed (ibid. p. 343) at the modern village of Marusi, which is γ kilometres west of Acharnae, the statement of our author that Phrygia belonged to the Athmonian deme does not accord with the position assigned to the village by Bursian, although Athmonon being an important deme may have stretched some way to the west. Our author is likely to be right on the point, in spite of Steph. Byz.'s assertion that Phrygia was 'between Boeotia and Attica', which suggests quite a different position.

17. τάγματι: so Schol. τάγματι ένί. The Homeric quotation is from Σ 298.

20. Φαρσάλιοι Πειράσιοι: Φαρσάλιοι Παράσιοι MSS. (cf. 878. 6; Περάσιοι B), which continue Κραννόνιοι Πειράσιοι. Παράσιοι, a term nowhere else applied to a Thessalian tribe, has generally been rejected by critics as an interpolation due to a misspelling of Πειράσιοι and a confusion with the Παρράσιοι in Arcadia, who are out of place here, while the form Πειράσιοι is generally altered to Πυράσιοι in accordance with Strabo ix. p. 435, and Steph. Byz. s. v. Πύρασος. The reading of the lemma proves that Παράσιοι did not stand after Φαρσάλιοι in our author's text of Thuc., while his note shows that he knew of Παράσιοι (or Παρράσιοι) as a variant on Πειράσιοι, but rightly rejected it. That Παράσιοι was originally a marginal variant which found its way into the text, causing the transposition of Πειράσιοι, is now clear, and the hypothesis of an interpolation is confirmed. As regards the form Πειράσιοι the lemma supports the traditional spelling of the MSS. against Πυράσιοι, and in view of the fact that Steph. Byz. mentions a certain Πειρασία πόλιε Μαγνησίας, the alteration to Πυράσιοι seems to us unnecessary. Our author's explanation of Πειράσιοι as connected with the Πηρεία mentioned in B 766 is however very doubtful, for the reading Πηρείη is there somewhat uncertain (there are variants Φηρίη and Πειρασία.

22-3. The restoration of these two lines was proposed by W-M, Stuart Jones, and

Hude; cf. Schol. Παράσιοι Παρράσιοι Αρκάδες, Παράσιοι Θετταλοί.

29. The restoration of this line is far from certain, especially as  $\lceil \tau \omega \nu \rceil$  does not fill the lacuna after  $a\nu$ , unless those letters were unusually spread out. Perhaps the lemma ended with  $a\nu \lceil \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \rceil$ , which would then be followed by a blank space, and of  $A\theta \eta | \nu a \hat{\omega} \omega$  belongs to the note.

xiv. 1-2. Part of a note on alei èν αὐτῷ θάπτουσι τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πολέμων πλήν γε τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι. The restoration in l. 2 is due to W-M, who is no doubt right in regarding ἐπιτά|φιος in l. 3 as a title.

4. That before évi the papyrus had év, which is omitted by CG, is certain not only from

the size of the lacuna but from  $i\nu$   $i\nu$  in the paraphrase, l. 6.

6-11. The proposed restoration of the paraphrase is very doubtful in several respects. For κινδυνε[ύ|ειν κινδυνε[ύ|ενα παλ be substituted, or possibly κίνδυνο[s | γάρ, as W-M suggests, with είναι τῶν] in l. 7; τοιου τοτρόπου]s is not very satisfactory, but there is not room for τοιού[τους αὐτού]s. In l. γ either πολλῶν or an equivalent is required. τ]οσού[των ἀνδρῶν] is possible, with another word in place of ἀνδρί. The doubtful σ may be π, but neither εί]πόν[τι nor ] πολ[λῶν can be read. Our author seems to have interpreted πιστευθήναι, like Poppo and Classen, as epexegetic of κινδυνεύεσθαι and not as the subject of it (τό being omitted), which latter view is supported by Schol. (ἀντὶ τοῦ καὶ μὴ ἐν κινδύνω γίνεσθαι τὸ πιστευθήναι) and now advocated by Steup; cf. Classen's Thucydides, ed. iv. p. 221.

13. Perhaps [συμμέτρως], as W-M suggests (cf. Schol. μετρίως συμμέτρως, άξίως), or

[ἐπιτηδείως] (Bury).

15–20. Bury restores these lines δ]ύσκολόν ἐστιν | τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐν τῷ] πράγματι μό|νον βεβαιοῦν κατὰ τὰς ἀν ἀν τῶν ἀκροατῶν, κ]αὶ δύσκολον | ἀληθεύειν δοκεῖν ἀ]πιστεῖται | γὰρ τὸ ὑπερβάλλον τροῦ πράγμα|τος.

22. The letter (beginning with a vertical stroke) following rou has a horizontal line

above it, indicating either a numeral or word cited like kai in xix. 5.

- 25. aὐ|τοῦ: so CG; ἐαυτοῦ ABEFM. It is of course possible, but less likely, that our author meant αὐτοῦ.
- 27-31. Bury suggests νο]μίσει αν αν ενια πλεονάζεσθαι] εί τινα | ύπερ αύτους ακούοιεν μόνο]ν γαρ το | . . . και δ ε καστος | αυτος Ικανός είναι δράσαι] ήγειται.
- 32-3. Bury is probably right in assigning these lines to a fresh lemma, not to the preceding note, although ll. 30-1 paraphrase words not included in ll. 24-6.
- **XV.** 2.  $\pi[\dot{\alpha}\lambda]\nu$ , which can hardly be evaded, may be explained, as W-M suggests, as a reference back to δίκαιον γὰρ ἡμᾶς κ.τ.λ. in c. 11. 2. Our author's note on that passage, if he had one, is lost in the gap between Cols. vi and vii. The word after εἴρηκ[ε]ν is probably an adverb.
- 4. καθεστηκνία[ε]: the papyrus follows the ordinary spelling of the MSS.; καθεστηκύα Hude. After  $\tau \hat{\eta}$  it is difficult to see what other word than παρακμ $\hat{\eta}$  can have been meant, but that was certainly not written; the letter following παρα is conceivably  $\kappa$ , but is much more like  $\gamma$  or  $\tau$ , and  $\mu$  is out of the question.
- 6. οἰκεῖν: so most MSS., Hude, Stuart Jones; ἤκειν C (second hand) and superscr. G. 7-11. In regarding οἰκεῖν as equivalent to διοικεῖσθαι our author is quite correct, but in paraphrasing ἐs as ' for the advantage of ' he conflicts with modern editors, who practically all adopt the view that ἐs πλείονας οἰκεῖν = διοικεῖσθαι &στε πλείονας εἶναι τοὺς διοικοῦντας. This is supported both by the variant ἦκειν for οἰκεῖν and by several parallels for this use of ἐs (especially Thuc. viii. 53), and suits the context much better. The interpretation which our author rejects in ll. 7-8 seems to be right in its interpretation of ἐs, but is wrong with regard

to the meaning of olseiv, which cannot mean in this context 'inhabit', as seems to be implied by the contrast between olkeiν in l. 7 and διοικείσθαι in l. 10.

14. τωι has the barytone accent to distinguish it from τωι.

15. τὸ πλέο[ν: so ABEFM (πλείον), Hude, Stuart Jones; τὰ πλέω CG.

16. διάφορά νυν τὰ διαφέροντα: cf. Schol. τὰ διαφέροντα ταις ίδιώταις.

21-2. This explanation of the obscure phrase οὐκ ἀπὸ μέρους is novel. Schol. remark τοῦτο λέγει διὰ τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας, βασιλείς τῶν Λακώνων, οἵτινες ἀπὸ μέρους ἡρχον διὰ μόνην τὴν εὐγένειαν κᾶν μὴ είχον ἀρετήν, and in accordance with this supposed reference to the Spartan kings the phrase has generally been interpreted 'not because he is sprung from a particular class', while Classen thinks that the meaning is 'not because he is supported by a political party', and Herwerden wished to read γένους for μέρους. Our author on the other hand interprets it 'not according to the equal share to which he is entitled as a member of a democratic state', i.e. honours are distributed not in equal shares but in accordance with merit. In l. 25 Bury suggests οἶ[δ]ε (which is possible) followed by a participle or infinitive meaning 'will be assigned' (κ[αταν]εμ[ηθήσεσθαι τὴ]ν τάξιν is too long, but κ[αταν]εμ[ηθησομένη]ν (τὴν) τάξιν could be read), and in l. 26 [αὐτῶι ἐν τῆι πολιτείαι] ἔκαστος.
33. ὑπο]ψίαν: or possibly ἀνυπο]ψίαν; cf. note on l. 38.

34. δρά τι: τι δρά MSS. δρά τι may be a mere slip of a copyist. τι δρά apparently

occurs in the paraphrase (xvi. 2).

38. οὐ |χ ὑποπτεύ (σ) οντες: if our author's text had the ordinary reading ὑποψίων in l. 33, his paraphrase is not very accurate at this point. Thucydides' phrase ἐς τὴν ... ὑποψίων does not harmonize well with the following words οὐ δι ὀργῆς κ.τ.λ., and Madvig conjectured ἔποψιν, Reifferscheid ἀνυποψίαν, to which οὐ]χ ὑποπτεύοντες would be appropriate enough. Το read ἀνυπο]ψίαν in l. 33 is possible, for though it would produce 13 mostly broad letters in the lacuna as against only 11 in l. 32, there are 14 letters in the corresponding lacuna in I. 34, and in the lower part of this column the beginnings of lines seems to have sloped away to the left. But it is more probable that our author read ὑποψίαν and in οὐ]χ ὑποπτεύοντες was merely giving the general sense, obtaining his negative from οὐ δί ὀργῆς; cf. Schol. ελευθέρως δέ ώσανεὶ ελεγεν οὐκ ἐσμὲν ἀλλήλοις ὕποπτοι.

xvi. 5. The vestige of a letter following λυπουμέν would suit e. g. τ, but hardly o, so that λυπούμενο[ι is improbable. ν may be read in place of the doubtful ν. ε[πισκ]υθρ[ωπάζοντε]ς (Bury) is unsuitable, but |s may well be the end of a participle.

9-10. ἐκ τοῦ . . [. . .] probably refers to τῆ ὄψει. ἐκ τοῦ δή[λου] (Bury) does not suit; the first letter seems to be  $a, \kappa$ , or  $\lambda$ , the second to be a round letter, e.g. o; or possibly  $\mu$ 

might be read.

18. a[i]ei: so Hude with E; aei other MSS.; cf. l. 33.

19-20. τοις ἄρχου σιν: cf. Schol. τῶν ἀρχόντων.

21. οίον δι' όλου τοῦ έτους: cf. Schol. δι' όλου τοῦ έτους θύουσιν οἱ 'Αθηναΐοι καθ' έκάστην πλήν μιᾶς ήμέρας.

24. ἀκ ροβο λίζει Λακεδαιμονίους: similar remarks (e. g. αἰνίττεται πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους) are

frequent in Schol, on cc. 37-9; cf. also xvii. 6-9.

25. διαιτώμεθα: διαιτώμενοι MSS., the verb being χωρούμεν. Whether διαιτώμεθα is an inadvertence, or implies a different arrangement of this sentence in our author's text (e.g. διαιτώμεθα . . . χωροῦντες) is uncertain.

29. ἐθέλομεν: so CG, Hude, Stuart Jones; ἐθέλοιμεν other MSS. and Dion. Hal.

31. τοῦς τε: so BCG, Hude, Stuart Jones; τε τοῦς other MSS.
33. ἀτολμ[οτέρ]ους: so most MSS., Hude, Stuart Jones; ἀτολμοτέρους suprascr. G<sub>1</sub>, ex corr. f, and Dion. Hal.

alei: so E, Hude, Stuart Jones; aei other MSS.; cf. l. 18.

**xvii.** 1-2. ανυπο[ and ]εστ[ are on a separate fragment, and the margin is broken away immediately to the left of ανυπο; but the position assigned to the fragment admits of practically no doubt, especially as it belongs to the top of a column.

3. ταλαιπωρείσθαι: so Bury and Hude; καταπονείσθαι W-M.

10. καιρφ: so the best MSS., Hude, Stuart Jones; ἐν καιρφ F<sub>1</sub> g. It is disputed whether καιρφ is a predicate of πλυύτφ, ώς being omitted (so Poppo and Steup), or is a kind of adverbial dative (so Classen, 3rd ed.): our author's paraphrase in spite of the use of ἐν καιρφ is compatible with either view.

16-8. This explanation of αἴσχιον as a comparative used in place of the simple adjective agrees with that of the ancient grammarian quoted by Poppo (who practically accepts this view) αἴσχιον ἀντὶ τοῦ αἰσχροῦ, Θουκυδίδης, while other explanations, e.g. Classen's, attach

greater significance to the comparative.

18-9. The quotation is from η 294. A slight error has crept in, for the MSS. have alei γάρ τε, not alei δέ, which will not scan.

20. ev: so ABEF; ev CGf3, Hude, Stuart Jones. With ev it is necessary to supply

the verb, as is remarked in 1. 23; and is no doubt preferable.

21. ἐγέροις: so MSS., Poppo and Stuart Jones; ἔτερα Classen; ἐτέροις ἔτερα Hude following Richards. The traditional reading is defended by Poppo on the view that ἔτεροι refers to the poorer classes of Athenians who were too busy to take part in the administration of public affairs, but able to form a judgement on them, and that the persons meant by τοῖς αὐτοῖς are the richer classes, an interpretation which is rather arbitrary. With ἔτερα or ἐτέροις ἔτερα both halves of the sentence refer to the Athenians in general, the second half emphasizing the same idea as that expressed by the first. Our author does not explain precisely who are meant by ἔτεροι, but since he took ἔργα in the sense of τὰ τῆς γεωργίας ἔργα he seems to agree with Poppo's view that ἔτεροι refers to the poorer classes.

30. αὐτοί: so ABEF, Poppo, Classen; οἱ αὐτοί CG, Hude, Stuart Jones. Cf. l. 35, note.

31. The scribe has by mistake included κρίνομεν in the lemma. The note explains κρίνομεν as meaning 'decide upon proposals invented by others', implying a contrast with 'originate new ones ourselves' (ἐνθυμούμεθα). Our author's interpretation thus supports Poppo's translation aut iudicamus certe (ab aliis proposita) aut excogitamus (nova) recte, against Classen's 'entweder bringen wir die Sachen zur Entscheidung, oder suchen über sie richtige Einsicht zu gewinnen'.

34. [δή τό]δε: δή (δεί AB) καὶ τόδε MSS., Stuart Jones; δή καὶ τώδε Hude. The papyrus

may have had [καὶ τό]δε.

35. a[vroi]: oi avroi MSS.; cf. avroi in l. 30, where the MSS. are divided. avroi may be right there, but here oi avroi is distinctly better.

**xviii.** 12. The note was doubtless on ἀδεῶς, upon which Schol. remark ἀντὶ τοῦ μεγάλως. μεγάλως may have occurred here, or, as W-M suggests, ἀφθόνως.

14. πλεί]στ': so most MSS., Hude, Stuart Jones; πλείστον AB.

18–23. χαριέν]τως in l. 19 and the restoration of l. 22 were suggested by Bury and Stuart Jones, the restoration of l. 21 by Bury, who proposes 'Αθηναῖο[ς ἀνήρ in l. 18 and μάλι[στα τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων in l. 20. ἐπιχαρί]τως (W–M) is an alternative in l. 19. Schol. explain εὐτραπέλως by εὐκινήτως, ἐνδεξίως.

24. κρείσ σων: so most MSS., Hude, Stuart Jones; κρείσσον C.

27. Perhaps πε[ριγίνεται, as W-M proposes. λό]γων . . . ἔργοις was suggested by both him and Bury.

29-33. These lines paraphrase the sentence of Thucydides following the lemma. The restorations are mainly due to Bury, who further proposes νικηθέν των in l. 29, ἔχουσα ἐκείνων

in 1. 31, and μομφὴν ἔχει in 1. 32. The paraphrase does not help in regard to the difficult reading τῷ πολεμίφ ἐπελθόντι, which many critics have wished to alter.

35-7. A note (restored in part by Bury) to the effect that ἔχει governs κατάμεμψιν as

well as αγανάκτησιν.

xix. 1-3. There is a blank space after  $\phi$ ίσεωs before the lacuna, and if  $\phi$ ίσεωs was the end of the line, l. I probably belongs to a note on της τε γὰρ ὑπαρχούσης φύσεως and ll. 2-3 are a lemma. It is possible, however, that a couple of letters are lost in the lacuna after  $\phi$ ύσεως, in which case that word belongs to the lemma and ll. 2-3 to the note. That all three lines belong to a note is less likely, for l. I would then be too short; and the same objection applies to regarding all three as a lemma, while in addition it would then be

necessary to suppose the omission of a whole line (μὴ χείροσι γενέσθαι ὑμῖν μεγάλη).

4-7. The Homeric quotation (from A 117) is cited in order to illustrate the use of η for καί, and if our author considered that Thucydides also employed η for καί his comment must apply to η ψόγου, though in reality there is no justification for interpreting η there as καί. It is possible, however, as W-M points out, that the quotation is intended to illustrate the converse of Thucydides' use; in that case our author's remark applies to καὶ ης, which in his opinion was for η ης; i. e. he thought that the construction was της ὑπαρχούσης φύσεως μεγάλη δόξα ἐστὶν μη χείροσι γενέσθαι η ἐκείνη η φύσις ης αν κ.τ.λ., which makes no sense. Whichever view we credit him with, our author seems to have completely misunderstood the meaning of the sentence, and the Homeric parallel makes matters worse; for η is not there used for καί, though on this point he is only following the singularly perverse interpretation of that passage by the Alexandrian critics; cf. Schol. A ὁ δὲ λόγος τοιοῦτος θέλω, φησίν, ἐγὼ τὸν ὅχλον μᾶλλον σώξεσθαι καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπολέσθαι. ὁ γὰρ ης σύνδεσμος ἀντὶ τοῦ καί παρείληπται τῷ ποιητῆ. Our author's lack of judgement in explaining Thucydides' meaning is made still clearer by ll. 7-8 ἀπὸ κοινοῦ ... ληπτέον τὸ φύζσεως, meaning that φύσεως is to be supplied with ης, for the real antecedent of ης is ἐκείνη τῆ γυναικί understood, and the words which are truly ἀπὸ κοινοῦ are μεγάλη ἡ δόξα. It is impossible to acquit him of having committed a series of errors in his attempt to elucidate this badly constructed, but not particularly difficult sentence.

#### 854. ARCHILOCHUS, 'Eleyeia.

3.7 × 3.3 cm. Late second century. Plate I.

The extreme smallness of this fragment is very unfortunate, since the coincidence of the last four lines with a quotation in Athenaeus proves the author to have been Archilochus; cf. Athen. 483 d μνημονεύει αὐτοῦ (sc. τοῦ κώθωνος) καὶ ᾿Αρχίλοχος ἐν Ἐλεγείοις ὡς ποτηρίον οὕτως ἀλλ᾽ ἄγε κ.τ.λ. (=Fr. 4 Bergk 4). An addition to the 22 lines which, including these four cited by Athenaeus, are all that survive of the Ἐλεγεῖα, would have been very welcome; but in its present mutilated state the fragment is practically worthless. It seems to have come from an extensive roll (cf. note on l. 2), the recto of which was occupied by a cursive document dating probably from about the middle of the second century; the seventh year of an emperor (Antoninus?) is mentioned. The literary text on the verso, written in rather small round uncials, need not be

referred to a much later period, and may well fall within the same century. Two accents occur, besides some marginal marks of uncertain significance.

2. The marginal  $\theta$  is most naturally explained as marking the 800th line of the manuscript; cf. e. g. 852. The papyrus is broken immediately above the  $\theta$ , but a slight vestige is left which we suppose to represent a stroke over the letter. Of the marks below  $\theta$  the second horizontal line and the vertical one beneath should perhaps be combined as a critical sign referring to 1. 3, to which they are really opposite; cf. the dash opposite 1. 5.

6. αλλ αγε: ἀλλά τε A, corrected by Musurus.

7. κοίλων : κοίλων A and editors, but κοίλων, an Aeolic form found in Anacreon 9. 2, may well be right here.

9. νηφε[ι]ν εν: ν. μέν Α, ἐν Mus. But the reading in the papyrus is not satisfactory; one letter between φ and ν would be better than two, and the traces after the second ε, if not absolutely inconsistent with ν, suggest a round letter like σ. Moreover the accent is wrong. But we can find no suitable alternative; the fourth letter can hardly be o, and therefore νήφονες does not suit; νηφέμεναι (conj. Bergk) is inadmissible.

#### 855. MENANDER?

13 × 16.3 cm.

Third century.

This fragment of an unidentified New Attic comedy, though inconsiderable in size, is of more than usual interest, bringing before us with much vividness a scene to which we think there is no exact parallel in the extant remains of either Greek or Roman comedy. A slave Daus has been detected and caught by an indulgent (l. 13) master, Laches, in some act of villainy connected with an inheritance (l. 18), and Laches proposes to have him burnt alive. Daus is perhaps bound to a stake; his fellow-slaves, to whom the victim appeals

vainly for mercy, bring out faggots and pile them round him; and Laches himself carries the lighted torch. Wilamowitz, to whom we are much indebted in the reconstruction of this text, supposes that the slave had taken refuge at an altar, where however the right of asylum would not protect him from being burnt. At any rate the language plainly implies that it was not his master's object merely to dislodge him from a place of sanctuary. Of course the grim scene was not acted out, and no doubt Daus eventually escaped; but that it should be carried so far is a significant indication of the Athenian attitude towards slavery at this period, and the passage may be placed in contrast to some others where a more humane tendency is displayed, e.g. Philemon's έλευθέρους επόησε πάντας τῆ φύσει δούλους δὲ μετεπόησεν ἡ πλεονεξία (Kock, Fr. 95). It is said that the position of slaves was peculiarly favourable at Athens, and though a master had the power of punishment he might not legally put them to death; cf. Antiphon, de caede Herodis, p. 728 οὐδὲ οἱ τοὺς δεσπότας ἀποκτείναντες . . . οὐδ' οὖτοι θυήσκουσιν ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν προσηκόντων . . . κατὰ νόμους ὑμετέρους πατρίους: but perhaps the law was stricter in theory on this point than in practice. For the burning of slaves Wilamowitz cites the fragment from Euripides' Syleus (Nauck Fr. 687) in which Heracles in a servile position says πίμπρη, κάταιθε σάρκας κ.τ.λ. Murray suggests that Laches only wished to frighten Daus, and was playing a big practical joke. That is a quite tenable hypothesis, but perhaps not much is gained by it so far as the rights of Athenian slaves are concerned. Daus certainly thought that he was to be burned, and seems rather to take it for granted; he makes no protest against the illegality or the unheard of barbarity of the act. There is a general similarity between the scene in the papyrus and that in Aristophanes' Thesmoph. 726 sqq., with the essential difference that Mnesilochus, for whose burning preparations are there made, is a free man.

The identity of the play to which the fragment belongs and of its author is quite uncertain. Wilamowitz would refer it to some other poet than Menander on the ground of the occurrence of the article at the end of a verse at l. 23, to which there is no parallel in the Cairo papyrus. But this is not a very conclusive argument, and it seems to us to be more than outweighed by a remarkable linguistic coincidence between ll. 13-4 and a citation from the Perinthia; cf. note ad loc.

There are remains of two columns, the second of which is in fair preservation. The text is written in medium-sized sloping uncials of the common third-century type. Double dots and paragraphi are employed to denote the alternations of the dialogue, and, as in 211, 852, and the Cairo Menander, the names of the speakers are sometimes inserted, in a more cursive but perhaps not different hand. Stops, mostly a high point (one in the middle

position occurs at the end of ii. 5), are freely used, though not always with discrimination, and marks of elision are also frequent; two accents occur (one misplaced) and a mark of long quantity ( $\kappa \bar{a}\nu = \kappa a l \ \bar{\epsilon}\nu$ ). All these lection signs seem to be due to the original scribe.

### Col. ii. [....]·συδακολουθεί[ [. . . . . . . . . ]ασεξεισινφερωντοπυρ[ καιπυρ·προδηλον·ωτιβειεκαιγετα επειτακατακαυσειμ' αφειητ' ανγετα 5 [...]δουλονοντα καιδιασωσαν[..]υπανυ. [...]ανμ'αφειητ'αλλαπεριοψεσθεμε [. . .] . προσαλληλουσεχομεν προσερχεται [...]ριασ·οσονγεφορτιονφερων [. . .]λωλα καιδαιδ αυτοσημμενηνεχων 10 [. . . . . .]ολουθει ; περιθετ'ε[.]κυκλωιταχυ Col. i. [. . . . . .]ιδειξαιδαετηνπανουργιαν τεχνηντινευρωνδιαφυγωντ' ενθενδεμε τεχνηνεγώ: ναιδαετομεναπραγμονα καικουφονεξάπατανγαρεστιδεσποτην ]χοι 15 φλυαροσ: ηην: ειδετιστηντωνφρενων στακτην: εκνισθήσ: ουχιπροσσουδεσποτα ομενπονηροσ οθρασυσενθαδαρτιωσ κατατωνσκελωντηνκληρονομιανφι[.]τατο[ [. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . ]οδων εξεινχαριν 20 [....]συφημων ; καετ[.] [. . . . . . . . . . . . ] . ωσαφικετο [.....]φερομενοσγαρκανκυκλω[ [....]ρτωντεστιτο Unplaced fragment . $]\tau\iota\beta[$

#### Col. ii.

•	• • • • • • • • • • • •
	$[\ldots\ldots]$ · σὺ δ' ἀκολούθει [μοι, Γέτα.
(Δοσς)	[κληματίδ]ας έξεισιν φέρων: τὸ πύρ[δανον
	καὶ πῦρ πρόδηλον ὁ Τίβιε καὶ Γέτα,
	έπειτα κατακαύσει μ' άφείητ' ἄν, Γέτα,
5	[σύν]δουλον ὄντα, καὶ διασώσαν[τ'; ο]ὐ πάνυ
	[νῦν] ἄν μ' ἀφείητ': ἀλλὰ περιόψεσθέ με;
	[τί δ]η προς άλληλους έχομεν; προσέρχεται
	[ό Πυρ]ρίας όσον γε φορτίον φέρων
	[ἀπό]λωλα· καὶ δῷδ' αὐτὸς ἡμμένην ἔχων
10	[Λάχης ἀκ]ολουθεῖ. Λάχ(Ης). $\pi$ ερίθετ' έ[ν] κύκλφ ταχὺ
	[τὰ ξύλ': ἐπ]ίδειξαι, Δᾶε, τὴν πανουργίαν
	τέχνην τιν' εύρων διαφυγών τ' ένθένδε με.
(Δα.)	τέχνην έγώ; (Λάχ.) ναί, Δᾶε, τὸ μὲν ἀπράγμονα
` ,	καὶ κοῦφον έξαπατᾶν γάρ έστι δεσπότην
15	φλύαρος. (Δα.) ήήν. (Λάχ.) εἰ δέ τις την τῶν φρενῶν
_	στακτήν— εκνίσθης; (Δα.) ούχὶ πρὸς σοῦ, δέσποτα.
(Λα.)	ό μεν πονηρός, ό θρασύς, ενθάδ άρτίως
	κατά τῶν σκελῶν τὴν κληρονομίαν φι[λ]τάτο[υ
	[
20	[ Λάχ( $(H_{\zeta})$ ), κάετ $[ε]$
	[ Μ]υ[ρ]ρίας ως ἀφίκετο
	[ γ φερόμενος γὰρ κάν κύκλφ
	[ τὸ ἐστὶ τὸ

'Tibius (?) . . ., and do you, Getes, follow me.

Daus. He is coming out with faggots; there is the fuel and the fire. O Tibius and Getes, would you then leave me to be burnt, Getes, me your fellow slave, and your preserver? Surely you will not desert me now! Will you disregard me? What have we against each other? Here comes Pyrrhias, with what a load on his back! I am undone! Laches himself is following with a lighted torch.

Laches. Put the logs quickly all round him. Give an exhibition, Daus, of your cunning by finding some device and escaping me here.

Da. I find a device?

La. Yes, Daus; for to deceive an easygoing and careless master is mere foolery.

Da. Oh!

La. But if one feels his brains turning to ashes—were you hurt?

Da. Not by you, master.

La. This rascal, this rogue, has lately in a cowardly manner (made away) here with the inheritance of my dearest . . .

Col. i. ] $\beta\omega\sigma($ ) is in the same hand as the interlinear dramatis personae in the next column. In the Cairo Menander papyrus the names of speakers are frequently added in the right-hand margin of the column to which they refer, and that might be the case here, though  $\beta\omega\sigma($ ) suggests no likely name. Perhaps  $\sigma\omega\sigma($ ), e. g.  $\Sigma\omega\sigma(i\alpha s)$ , a name frequent in comedy, may be read, though there would then remain an unexplained mark below the first  $\sigma$ ; cf. note on l. 21. But of course the word may not be a name at all.

Col. ii. 2. The supplements were suggested by Wilamowitz. For [κληματίδ]as cf.

Aristoph. Thesmoph. 728 and, for πύρδανον, 661. 19.

3. Τίβιος and Γέτης were common names of slaves. In the line cited from Menander's Thettale as εὐθυμία βίε τὸν δοῦλον τρέφει (Kock, Fr. 231) Bentley proposed to read εὐθυμία τοι Τίβιε κ.τ.λ., but as the second syllable of the name is now shown to be long, the τοι is superfluous.

4. κατακαυσει is quite clearly written, and there is no necessity to emend to κατακαυσαι,

though that might have been expected.

6. [νῦν], which makes an apposite contrast to the aorist διασώσαν[τ', is due to Wilamowitz. The only objection to it is the stop after πανν, but as the scribe's pointing is not always accurate (cf. e. g. l. 3) this is not a fatal obstacle. If the presence of the stop is to be pressed, we might read o]ψ πάνν, [οὐκ].

7. The letter before  $\pi \rho os$ , of which only a very slight vestige remains, may be  $\omega$ , but there does not seem to be room for  $[out]_{\omega}$ .

8. [δ Πυρ]ρίας Wilamowitz. Cf. Áristoph. Frogs 730 Πυρρίαις and Schol. ὅτομα γὰρ δύυλου ὁ Πυρρίας.

9. The cof daid was inserted after the second d had been written.

- 11. Restored by Wilamowitz. In l. 10 after  $\tau a \chi v$  an indistinct spot on the edge of the papyrus may represent a stop, but it is further away from the final letter than is the case e.g. in ll. 5 and 6 and, since an object for  $\pi \epsilon \rho i \theta \epsilon r$  is desirable, it is better disregarded. Even if the stop were certain, this would not necessarily preclude the suggested supplement; cf. note on l. 6.
- 13-4. Cf. for the language Menander, Perinthia (Kock, Fr. 393) "Οστις παραλαβών δεσπότην ἀπράγμονα καὶ κοῦφον ἐξαπατῷ θεράπων, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι οὕτος μεγαλείον ἐστι διαπεπραγμένος, ἐπαβελτερώσας τὸν (πρότερον) ἀβέλτερον. Such a striking similarity seems to us to point to Menander as the author of our fragment; cf. introd.

15. ἢήν appears to be an exclamation not otherwise attested. Wilamowitz compares

Euripides, Herc. Fur. 906 ἢή († ή).

16. The sentence el δε . . . στακτήν is not completed, a wince on the part of the slave at the idea of his brains' ashes leading Laches to break off with the question ἐκνίσθης. A single stop instead of double dots should have been placed between στακτην and εκνισθης: the latter word is also wrongly accented. This passage seems to be much the earliest instance of the use of στακτή in the sense of τέφρα, for which cf. e. g. Demetrius Constantinop. Hieracus, 2. 18 μετά στακτῆς ἀπὸ κληματίδων.

18. κατὰ τῶν σκελῶν: cf. Aristoph. Peace 241 ὁ κατὰ τοῦν σκελοῦν and Schol. Rav. συμβολικὸν ἐπὶ τῶν διὰ δειλίαν ἀποπατούντων (Wilamowitz). Whether this explanation would suit the present passage remains uncertain owing to the mutilation of the context. ἐκπ]οδών (?) in l. 19 would be consistent with it.

19. There may have been two dots, not one, after ]οδων, the papyrus being damaged in the place where the lower dot would be placed. Since καετ[ε] in l. 20 is attributed to Laches, a change of speaker must have intervened in ll. 19-20. ἐκπ]οδών is probably to be

restored rather than π οδών.

21. Perhaps  $\int \pi \hat{\omega} s \, d\phi i \kappa \epsilon \tau o$ , but the vestige before  $\omega s$  might also represent double dots, and  $\hat{\omega} s$  should then be read. With regard to the name of the speaker inserted above the line, we read  $\prod_{i=0}^{n} |\rho_i| o i a s$  on the strength of 1. 8, but the traces preceding the termination  $\omega s$  are extremely slight, and though not inconsistent with  $|\rho_i| \rho$  they do not suggest those letters.  $\Sigma[\omega] o i a s$ , a name possibly to be recognized in the first column (cf. note ad loc.), would in some ways be more suitable.

23. The article 76 at the end of a verse is noticeable; cf. introd. This line was

apparently the last of the column.

24. We have failed to fix the place of this small fragment. The letters suggest Tips tos.

#### 856. SCHOLIA ON ARISTOPHANES' Acharnians.

Fr. (a) 11.9 x 5.9, Fr. (b) 10.2 x 5.1 cm. Third century.

These scholia are contained in two fragments, preserving parts of two successive columns. The long interval between the subjects of the last line of Col. i and the first remaining line of Col. ii shows that the columns were tall, the probable height of the papyrus being over 30 cm. They were also proportionately broad, and the compact writing combined with extensive abbreviation enables the scribe to economize greatly in space. On the same scale another column would have brought him to the end of the play, and the commentary was thus completed in three columns. It may well have belonged to a series of similar commentaries, and is evidently not to be classed as a collection of school-notes. It is written in rather small sloping uncials, apparently of the third century; the several notes are divided off from each other by double dots, accompanied by paragraphi; a single high dot usually follows the lemmata, but is also occasionally used as an ordinary stop; accents and breathings are sparingly added. The system of abbreviation resembles that of the Berlin commentary of Didymus on Demosthenes and of the 'Αθηναίων Πολιτεία; besides words shortened by the ordinary method of omitting the termination and writing a letter above the line, the following more conventional abbreviations occur:  $\gamma' = \gamma \alpha \rho$ ,  $\delta' = \delta \epsilon$ ,  $\kappa' = \kappa \alpha i$ ,  $\mu' = \mu \epsilon \nu$ ,  $\pi' = \pi a \rho a, \ \pi = \pi o i \eta \tau \dot{\eta} s, \ \dot{\pi} = \pi \rho \dot{\sigma} s, \ \dot{\tau} = \tau \hat{\omega} v, \ \phi \dot{\varsigma} = \phi \eta \sigma \dot{\varsigma} \ or \ \phi a \sigma \dot{\varsigma}, \ \dot{\varsigma} = \epsilon \dot{\varsigma} \sigma \dot{\varsigma}.$ 

As will be seen from the excerpts quoted below, the scholia stand in no close relation to the extant scholia, of which the principal source for the

Acharnians is the Codex Ravennas. The papyrus notes are usually not only far shorter but also less frequent; vv. 392-444, for instance, are covered in five lines whereas in Dindorf's edition they occupy four pages. On the other hand words or phrases are sometimes here selected for comment which in the extant scholia are passed over (cf. ll. 9, 29, 35, 37, 38, 44, 68), and the notes are occasionally quite full, e. g. those on vv. 614-7; similarly a more precise explanation than that of the scholia is noticeable in l. 55. Verbal agreements occur here and there, but they are nowhere striking and scarcely amount to more than is natural in a treatment of the same subject. If, indeed, there be any historical connexion between the annotations of the papyrus and those represented in the mediaeval MSS., it is of a very slight and distant character.

In the commentary below Schol. means the extant scholia, which we cite from the edition of Dindorf, with some modification from Rutherford's transcript of the Ravennas.

```
Col. i.
Fr. (a)
                                                μιν
                                                | דניסטי
                                               Tais Ko
        μωιδιαις
                                                 μ περι
                                                 σιου
     5
                                                ]οι δ(ε) φα(σι)
                                                                             108 ?
                                                Is Kheiob(evys)
                                                                             118
                                                ]a\beta a\lambda\lambda\omega(\nu):
                                           \pi\omega\gamma\omega \alpha \in \chi o(\nu\tau)
                                                                             I 20
             . . . επι των πολλους ξενου]ς δεχομ(ενων):
    10
                                                                             127
                                             Θεωρος:
                                                                             134
                     Θεογνις· τραγωιδιας ψυχρος πο(ιητης):
                                                                             140
                                                 ν τῶν
                                                 κ]αταπελ
                                                                             160
                                                ματος []
    15 Tagovtal
                                              \phi \eta(\sigma \iota) \pi o \lambda \iota \nu:
                                                  ]ηι α
                                                ]τις εχων
                                                 EVOIS
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SCHOLIA ON ARISTOPHANES' 'ACHARNIANS' 157
                                         ]οι (εισι):
       20
                                         αν μυτ
                                                                174
                                         ]ς σκληροι·
                                                                180
          TOT
    Fr. (b)
   [.....] inon: \dot{o}nik \dot{\epsilon}hadin[\omega(\alpha ohar)] \dot{o}100\lambda
                                                        ψηφηδακειν· 368, 376
   [επει ψηφ]οις δικαζοντες χρωνται .[
                                                                την περυ 378
25 [σι κωμω]ίδιαν· εις τους Βαβυλωνιο[υς
   [....] τους τ(ων) Αθηναιων κ(αι) πεδι[
   [\ldots u]πο Kλεωνος δικην εφυ[\gamma \epsilon]
                                                    Ιερωνυμου· πο(ιητης)
   [τις ην κο]μητης : του Σισυφου οιον [
                                                                            391
   [... παρ]οιμιαν σκηψιν αγων ουτος . [
30 [.....δ]υσποτμος: εισαγεται \gamma(\alpha\rho) παρ[α τωι Ευριπιδηι ως εκπεπτωκως 419
   [εκ της βα]σιλείας κ(αι) πτωχος περιν[οστων]
   [\ldots]ται παρ αυτωι υπο δ(ε) χειρών [
   [. . τα ρα]κη κ(αι) τα σχισματα : σκιμα[λισω·
                                                                            444
   [.... \tau] ois \rho\eta\mu\alpha\sigma\iota: Theorem \delta ay [\omega \phi\rho\sigma\nu\omega
                                                               χρ€0$
                                                                       446, 455
35 [men oud]en \pi \rho(os) to cress level; where \eta muthr
                                                          ισχνα μοι
                                                                       457, 469
   [φυλλεια] δος τα σαπρα φυλλα ά εκ τ
                                                                            478
   [δικα: λ]αχανιον τι : εμπορευτε[α·
                                                                            480
   [\ldots] υπερ Λακεδ(αιμονιων) ανδρων λεγ(ειν) ο . [
                                                                       482, 483
   [....δρ]ομεων : παρακεκομμενα [
                                                                            517
40 [ark(non) rgo]ien on(t ) arknow trgonom fork() [ we prothypotenot
                                                                       520, 526
   [εκκεκαυ]μενοι: πορνα δυο. ως πορν[
                                                             σκολια.
                                                                       527, 532
   [μελη πα]ροινια: Σεριφιών των <math>Λθ[ηναι]
                                                         παλλαδιων.
                                                                       542, 547
   [\ldots, 	au a] π(ερι) τας τριηρεις οντα Παλλαδίος αγαλματα
   550, 551
45 [.... \delta[\epsilon] Thefor [
                                                                            555
   [....\iota.[...]\upsilonκαν \epsilonπ[
               20 letters
                                   ]. αυτων [
                                  α]γωνιζο(μενων) τω[ν
                                  ] ουτος δειχ[θ
50 [.... φυλετα·] απο της \alpha(v \tau \eta s) φυ[λης
                                                                            568
```

<b>C</b> .
· .
<b>ρον</b> αιτει 584
ω λε(γει) 589
<b>ттра</b> 595, 596
μισθον 597
€ 598
δas)· πα 603
605
614
•
616–7
•
619 ?
υ 635, 647
1
652
654
656–8
•
\$ 665, 668, 670
671

<sup>6.</sup> The remains of this line suggest Schol. 108 άχάνη μετρον έστὶ Περσικόν... ἄλλοι δέ φασιν ότι κίστη έστίν.
7. Cf. Schol. οὖτος ὁ Κλεισθένης ἀεὶ τὸ γένειον ἐξυρᾶτο ἐπὶ τὸ ἀεὶ φαίνεσθαι νέος διὸ εὐνούχφ αὐτὸν εἰκάζει.

9. There is nothing in the extant scholia corresponding to  $\pi \omega \gamma |_{\omega \nu a} \partial_{\nu} (\nu \tau)$ ; the  $\omega$  is very uncertain, but  $\pi \omega \gamma \omega \nu a$  is strongly suggested by  $\epsilon \chi o(\nu \tau)$ . The overwritten letter is plainly o not  $\omega$ .

10. Cf. Schol. on οὐδέποτέ γ' ἴσχει θύρα: παροιμία ἐπὶ τῶν πολλούς ξένους ἀποδεχομένων.

11. Cf. Schol. ὁ κῆρυξ καλεῖ ἄλλον πρεσβευτὴν ἐλθόντα παρὰ Σιτάλκους τοῦ Θρακῶν βασιλέως, πρὸς ὃν ἦσαν ἀποστείλαντες αὐτὸν ᾿Αθηναῖοι ὁντος δὲ ἐκάλειτο Θέωρος. The double dots after Θεωρος indicate that the name is the end of the note, not of the lemma.

12. The note in Schol, is similarly worded; οὖτος ὁ Θέογνις τραγφδίας ποιητής ψυχρός.

14. καταπελτάσονται is glossed in Schol. κατακοντίσουσι, καταπολεμήσουσι . . . καταδραμοῦνται.

16. The note perhaps relates to σωσίπολις in l. 163; but σωσ ιπολι cannot be read.

17-20. The remains of these lines give no clear clue to their subjects. In the extant scholia there are notes on 162 δ θρανίτης λεώς, 163 about Dicaeopolis and the σκόροδα, 166 οὐ μὴ πρόσει κ.τ.λ., 171 διοσημία, 172 ἔνην, but coincidences do not occur here with their language. διοσημία cannot be read in l. 17; the first letter is certainly η. ]ενοις in l. 19 might be ἔνοις referring to ἔνην, but is more likely to be the termination of a participle, or ἐν οἶς.

21. Cf. Schol. μυττωτόν: ἀντὶ τοῦ σκόροδα, ἐξ ὧν ὁ μυττωτὸς γίνεται. κατασκευάζεται ἀπὸ τυροῦ καὶ σκορόδου καὶ ῷοῦ.

22. σκληροι is probably a gloss on πρίνινοι in 180 or απεράμονες in 181. Cf. Schol.

πρίνινοι: στερεοί και σκληροί . . . ατεράμονες: λίαν σκληροί . .

23. The letter before ν can hardly be η, so ἐπιξ|ήνου (cf. ll. 355, 359, 365-6) is unsuitable. οὐκ ἐνασπιδώσομαι is glossed in Schol. ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐ καθοπλίσομαι, οὐκ ἀσπίδι περιβαλοῦμαι σεμνυνόμενος, ἡ σκευπσθήσομαι, ἐπειδὴ βραχύς εἰμι.

24. Schol. are quite different, ψήφω δακείν: οἶον καταδικάζειν. πανταχοῦ ὡς φιλοδίκους . . .

τοὺς 'Αθηναίους κωμωδεί.

25-7. Cf. Schol. τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους λέγει. τούτους γὰρ πρὸ τῶν 'Αχαρνέων 'Αριστοφάνης ἐδίδαξεν, ἐν οἶς πολλοὺς κακῶς εἶπεν. ἐκωμώδησεν γὰρ τάς τε κληρωτὰς καὶ χειροτονητὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ Κλέωνα παρόντων τῶν ξένων . . . καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὀργισθεὶς ὁ Κλέων ἐγράψατο αὐτὸν ἀδικίας . . . πεδι in l. 26 seems strange.

27-8. Cf. Schol. οὖτος ὁ Ἱ. μελῶν ἐστι ποιητής καὶ τραγφδοποιὸς ἀνώμαλος καὶ ἀνοικονόμητος, διὰ τὸ ἄγαν ἐμπαθεῖς γράφειν ὑποθέσεις . . . ἐκωμφδεῖτο δὲ ὡς πάνυ κομῶν. The word κομήτης is used in connexion with him by Aristophanes in Clouds 348. ἀνοικονο μήτης (τραγφδίας) would be

a much less likely restoration.

28. του Σισυφου: τὰς Σ. MSS., on which Schol. have δριμύν τινα καὶ πανοῦργον παραδεδώκασιν οἱ ποιηταὶ τὸν Σίσυφον . . .

29. There is no comment in Schol. on this verse beyond the Victorian gloss σκήψω:

ήγουν πρόφασιν.

30-3. Cf. Schol... ἀφηρέθη τὴν βασιλείαν Οἰνεὺς διὰ τὸ γῆρας ὑπὸ τῶν ᾿Αγρίου παίδων καὶ περιήει ταπεινός . . . l. 32 seems to be a continuation of the same note, and l. 33 τα ρα]κη . . . σχισματα may also belong to it; the latter words may, however, be a gloss on 423 λακίδας or 431 σπάργανα, or go back to τρύχη in 418. Cf. Schol. in the note on Οἰνεύς quoted above τρύχη τὰ ῥάκη τραγικῶς: similarly λακίδες in 423 are explained as διερρωγότα ἰμάτια, or according to Gl. Vict. λακίς ῥαχὰς . . . σχίσμα.

33-4. Cf. Schol. σκιμαλίσω: έξουθενίσω, χλευάσω κ.τ.λ. τ οις ρημασι in l. 34 belongs to

the same note.

34. Schol, have only a note to the effect that the verse is a parody of a line in Eurip. Τεlερhus καλῶς ἔχοιμι, Τηλέφω δ' ἀγὼ φρονῶ.

35. πρ(οs)... λεγει: there is nothing corresponding to this in Schol. On 457 Schol. has σκώπτει αἰτὸν ὡς λαχανόπωλιν ἔχοντα μητέρα τὴν Κλειτώ.

36. Cf. Schol. οίου μεμαραμμένα καὶ εὐτελη τῶν λαχάνων φύλλα . . . τὰ ἀπολεπίσματα τῶν

λαχάνων. There was apparently no stop after δος.

37. Cf. Schol. . . . ἔστι γὰρ (ἡ σκάνδιξ) λάχανον ἄγριον εὐτελές. No note occurs on έμπορευτέα, a reading in which the papyrus supports R and other MSS. εὐπορευτέα A, έκπορευτέα Bentley.

38. There is no corresponding comment in Schol.

39. For δρ ρμεων cf. Schol. γραμμή δ' αύτηί: ἀρχή, ἀφετηρία, ή λεγομένη βαλβίε έκ μεταφορûs οὖν τῶν δρομέων. Οπ παρακεκομμένα the note is μηθέν έντελès ἔχοντα' ἀπό μεταφοραs τῶν ἀδοκίμων

νομισμάτων .

- 40. This line is obscure; σικύωι indicates that the reference is to verse 520, and we therefore restore  $\sigma\iota\kappa(vo\nu)$  ido kev, though it is noticeable that there is no stop after ido kev; cf., however, l. 36. τιθωνωι seems to be corrupt; τιθών ὧι is as unsatisfactory here as Τιθωνῶι. Τιθωνόν occurs in Acharn. 688.
- 41. Cf. Schol. φυσιγξ λέγεται τὸ έκτὸς λέπισμα τῶν σκορόδων . . . πεπλησμένοι (πεφυσημένοι R) από μεταφοράς . . . ασκών ή φυσών. ή έκκεκουμένοι, οίδουντες.

The note here on πορνα δυο apparently had no relation to Schol. πόρνα is the accepted

reading; πόρνας R and Athenaeus.

- 42. πα]ρουνια: Schol. have no explanation of the term σκόλιον in the present passage, but cf. Wasps 1238 ενιοι δε φασιν ως εκ τοῦ εναντίου προσηγορεύθησαν σκόλια τὰ παροίνια μέλη, and 1239 λέξεις σκόλιον: . . . έν τοῖς Πραξίλλης φέρεται παροινίοις. For Σεριφίων cf. Schol. ή Σέριφος νησός εὐτελεστάτη πρός τὴν Θράκην.
  - 43. Cf. Schol. εν ταις πρώραις των τριήρων ην αγάλματά τινα ξύλινα της 'Αθηνάς καθιδρυμένα.

44. Schol. have no remark on δικτύοις. τριχίδες are explained as είδος λχθύων.

45. ]at is probably part of a note on νιγλάρων in 554, e.g. μέλος φ ... χρώντ]at or ... οί κελευστ]αί; cf. Schol. ὁ νίγλαρος κροῦμά έστι καὶ μέλος μουσικόν παρακελευστικόν. Οπ τον δέ

Τήλεφον the only remark is καὶ ταῦτα ἐκ Τηλέφου Εὐριπίδου.

48. This line appears to be part of a description of the quarrel between the two halves of the chorus; cf. Schol. 557 ένταθθα διαιρείται ό χορός είς δύο μέρη, καὶ τὸ μὲν ὀργίζεται έφ' οίς λέγει δ Δικ., τὸ δὲ καὶ ἀποδέχεται, and 563 τὸ ἡμιχόριον τὸ συναγωνιζόμενον αὐτῷ λέγει ὅτι μὴ άναχωρήσης ...

49-52. Perhaps l. 51 or l. 52 should be combined with l. 50, but we have failed to make out any connexion. If l. 50 is rightly explained as a gloss on 568 φυλέτα it is not possible to put l. 51 higher up than l. 49. There is no note on φυλέτα in Schol.

53. The first letter may be  $\lambda$  or  $\chi$  instead of  $\kappa$ ; the letter above the line seems

to be  $\lambda$  or  $\chi$ 

54-5. Cf. Schol. τὸ πτερὸν αἰτεῖ ἵνα εξεμέση. εἰώθασι γὰρ οἱ δυσεμεῖς πτερῷ χρῆσθαι.

55-6. Cf. Schol. κομπολακύθου: ματαιοκόμπου, κομπώδους εν τφ καυχασθαι. παρεποίησεν καὶ παρέπλασεν ὄνομα (τα ) ὄρνιθος διὰ τὸ κομπαστὴν είναι τὸν Λάμαχον. Ο οὐ σπουδαρχίδης the gloss is οὐ σπουδάζων περὶ ἀρχῆς.

57-8. Schol. are similar, the glosses being, on στρατώνεδης, αντί του στρατευόμενος,

στρατιώτης, and on μισθαρχ., μισθον λαμβάνων ή ότι τους των στρατιωτών μισθους ήσθιεν.

- 58-9. The note on κόκκυγες in Schol. is different: ἀντὶ τοῦ ἄτακτοι καὶ ἀπαίδευτοι. καὶ γὰρ ό κόκκυξ το ζφον ἄμουσόν τι φθέγγεται. A similar idea, however, to that apparently expressed in ερημιαν is to be found in Hesychius κόκκυγες επί υπονοηθέντων πλειόνων είναι, καὶ ολίγων öντων.
- 59-60. Schol. have ὁ Τισαμενὸς ὡς ξένος καὶ μαστιγίας κωμφδείται, ὁ δὲ Φαίνιππος ὡς συώδης καὶ ἡταιρηκώς.... Πανουργιππαρχίδας: τούτους κωμφδεί ὡς πανούργους... εἰς μαλακίαν διεβάλλετο Γέρης καὶ Θεόδωρος, καὶ ὅτι ἐκ δούλων.
- 61-4. In Schol. δ Κοισύρας is similarly interpreted as Megacles, but here the resemblance ceases. What follows apparently corresponds to the explanation of the allusion to δ Kοισύρας

καὶ Λάμαχος quoted in the next note, but it is quite differently worded. In 1. 62 the supposed  $\delta$  of  $\delta(\epsilon)$  may be meant for an a, but the abbreviation a' here would be more difficult to explain.

- 65-7. Cf. Schol. εἰωθεσαν εἴ ποτε ἐκχέοιτο ἀπόνιπτρον ἀπὸ τῶν θυρίδων ἵνα μή τις βραχἢ τῶν παριόντων ἐξίστω λέγειν . . . τοῦτο λέγει διασύρων Μ. καὶ Λ. ὡς πρότερον μὲν πένητας δντας εἶτα ἐξαίφνης πλουτήσαντας ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως. τοῖς δανείζουσι παρήνουν οἱ φίλοι ἐξίστασθαι τοῦ δανείζειν τοῖς τοιούτοις ὀφείλουσιν ἐράνους καὶ χρέα, οι according to another explanation, οἱ φίλοι χθὲς καὶ πρώην συνεβούλευον καταχρέοις οὖσιν ὑπό τε ἐράνων καὶ ὀφλημάτων ἐξίστασθαι τῆς οὐσίας, ὡς μὴ δυναμένοις ἀποδοῦναι. In 1. 66 τ of το is corrected.
- 68. The paragraphus above this line indicates a new lemma, and the stop after  $\Lambda a\mu a\chi os$  suggests (though it does not prove) that that name formed part of it; hence we refer the note to 619. There is nothing corresponding in Schol.

69. Cf. Schol. χαυνοπ.: κεχαυνωμένους περί την πολιτείαν η την πύλιν.

- 69-72. Schol. 648-9 have πότεροι ταις ναυσί: ποιοι αὐτῶν τῶν ᾿Αθηναίων (καὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐ) ἐν τῷ ναυμαχία κρατοῦσιν . . . ποτέρους είποι πολλά: ἀντὶ τοῦ περὶ τούτου τοῦ ποιητοῦ ἡρώτα τίνας διαβάλλει καὶ κωμωδεί. ἔφασκε γὰρ ὅτι οὖς ἀν οὖτος ὁ ποιητὴς σκώψη, τούτους σωφρονίζεσθαι καὶ γίνεσθαι βελτίους. In l. 72 the first υ of εαυτου is written as a curved stroke above a, as if the word was to be abbreviated, and there has been some correction of the τ; possibly εαυ(του) του [ should be read.
- 73. δια δ(ε) κ.τ.λ. seems to have been tacked on to the previous note without a new lemma. Schol. have διὰ τοῦθ': διὰ τὸ ἔχειν ὑμᾶς τὸν ᾿Αριστοφάνην ποιητὴν ἄριστον. The papyrus agrees with R in reading ταυθ: τοῦθ'  $A^2$ .
- 74. Cf. Schol. ἐντεῦθεν τινὲς νομίζουσιν ἐν Αἰγίνη τὰς κωμφδίας ποιεῖν τὸν 'Α.... ταῖς ἀληθείαις εἶς ἢν τῶν ἐν τῷ νήσφ κληρουχησάντων... ἄλλως οὐδεὶς ἱστόρηκεν ὡς ἐν Αἰγίνη κέκτηταί τι 'Α.... κ[ωμωιδίας might be read after εκει.
- 75-7. These lines seem to give a paraphrase of 656-8; cf. Schol. 657 οῦθ' ὑποτείνων: οὐδέ τισι μισθὸν διδοὺς ῖν' αὐτὸν ἐπαινέσωσιν, 658 κατάρδων . . . καταβρέχων ὑμᾶς τοῖς ἐπαίνοις ὡς φυτά.
- 78. Cf. Schol. 665 φλεγυρά: λαμπρά, φλέγουσα, λάμπουσα, θερμή διὰ τοὺς ἄνθρακας. 668 φέψαλος: σπινθήρ.
- 78-9. Cf. Schol. on ἐπανθρακίδες, λεπτοὶ ἰχθύες ὀπτοί. πάντα τὰ ἐπὶ ἀνθράκων ὀπτώμενα ἐπανθρακίδας ἐκάλουν. These two lines project below the last line of the preceding column.
- 79. Perhaps after  $\theta a \sigma i a \nu$  a high point was written which has coalesced with the cross-bar of the following  $\tau$ .

#### 857. EPITOME OF HERODOTUS.

10.7 × 7.1 cm.

Fourth century.

The lower portion of a leaf from a vellum codex, containing in all 28 lines, most of which are incomplete, from a historical work. The script is a medium-sized upright uncial of the biblical type, and probably of the fourth century, without lection-marks. The MS. is far from accurate, serious mistakes (probably due to omissions) occurring in 11. 3 and 17. The verso is concerned with the dispatch of Cadmus the Coan by Gelon to watch the struggle between Xerxes and the Greeks, and is nothing but an abstract of Herodotus vii. 163. The subject of the recto, the refusal of the Argives to join in the defence of Greece,

corresponds to that of cc. 148-52 of the same book, though the verbal resemblance to Herodotus is here less marked. In the absence of external evidence to show which side of the leaf came first, we suppose that the order of the narrative in our fragment agreed with Herodotus, and therefore the recto precedes the verso. A mention in l. 2 of the battle of Thermopylae, which is not described by Herodotus until cc. 201 sqq., causes some difficulty (cf. ll. 1-4, note), but it is clear that this is a forward reference and not part of our author's description of the engagement. The chapters intervening between 152 and 163 are occupied by, first, a digression on Gelon, and secondly his colloquy with the ambassadors who came to ask for help, and the lacuna between the end of the recto and the beginning of the verso no doubt contained a brief account of the unsuccessful embassy; cf. note on ll. 15 sqq. Probably our fragment belongs to an epitome of Herodotus as such, rather than to a historical work closely based upon him. This being granted, the first name that suggests itself for the authorship is Theopompus, who began his historical researches by writing an epitome of Herodotus of which only a few isolated words survive. The fragment is too short to enable us to obtain much idea of the writer's style, but the occurrence of at least two examples of hiatus (ll. 20 and 21-2), which is very rare in the extant quotations from Theopompus, does not favour the view that he was the author, though his earliest literary efforts may have shown less care in this respect.

The fragment is in two pieces which do not actually join, but the position of the smaller one, which contains the last line of each page and parts of the two preceding ones, is made practically certain by the combination  $\chi \rho \eta [\mu] a \tau a$  in l. 27, that word being required by the context; cf. note on ll. 15 sqq.

# Recto.

[..]δ[.προ]σεβα[λ..
[Θε]ρμοπυλαις ηγω[νι
[ζ]οντο οι ανα τριακο
[σι]ους πλην Αργειω<sup>—</sup>
5 [ο]υτοι γαρ εφ εαυτω<sup>—</sup>
μενοντες ουτε αν
δρας ουτε ναυς εδω
καν [και ο]υδενι συνε
μαχ[ουν δι]α την δο
10 κο[υσαν αυτων] προς

#### Verso

15 [...] απηλ[θον] ο δ[ε Γε
[λ]ων ευλαβουμε[νος
περι του μη νικη[θεν
των των Ελληνω[ν
καυτος ατυχηση [υπο
20 του βαρβαρου επεμ[ψε
Καδμον τον Σκυθου [
ανδρα Κω[ον επ]ι πε[ν
τηκον[τορων τρ]ιων [
εις Δ[ελφους...] πολ[.

$\Pi$ [ερσας συγγενει?	25 το[].ω[.
$\alpha[\nu\ldots]$ . [	$[\ldots\ldots]$ . $\beta[\alpha\rho]\beta\alpha\rho[$ .
$ov[.]o\pi ho[.\ .\ .\ .$	[]. α χρη[μ]ατα [.
ημερας υπερειό[	[] και γην και υδωρ

- '... attacked Thermopylae, the (Lacedaemonians) fought to the number of three hundred, except the Argives. These remaining at home provided neither men nor ships, and allied themselves with neither side on account of their pretended relationship to the Persians (?)... (The ambassadors)... departed. Gelon, taking precautions that if the Greeks were defeated he should himself suffer no harm at the hands of the barbarians, sent Cadmus, son of Scythes, a man of Cos, in command of three fifty-oared vessels to Delphi (with instructions to offer to the barbarians, if victorious), money, earth, and water...'
- 1-4. προ]σεβα[λ may be imperfect or aorist. The subject is in any case the Persians or Xerxes, but the construction of ll. 1-4 is obscure. After οι in l. 3 a word has dropped out: (Λακεδαιμονιοι) would suit ανα τριακοσιους and might easily have been omitted through homoioteleuton, but then πλην Αργειων must be connected, not with the words immediately preceding, but with something lost before l. 1. (Ελληνες) or (Πελοπονησιοι) would suit πλην Αργειων very well, but involve a difficulty with regard to the figure, since 300 applies to the Lacedaemonian contingent. The reference to the battle of Thermopylae is in any case somewhat remarkable, since Herodotus first mentions that place in c. 175 and describes the battle in cc. 201 sqq., whereas our fragment corresponds to cc. 148-63; cf. introd.

  5. The neutrality of Argos is discussed in detail by Herodotus, who opposes the Argive
- 5. The neutrality of Argos is discussed in detail by Herodotus, who opposes the Argive version of their action (cc. 148-9) to that current elsewhere (cc. 150-1) and then gives his own intentionally confused view (c. 152). If our restoration of ll. 9-12 is on the right lines, the epitomizer explained the action of the Argives in the light of c. 150 (the letter of Xerxes claiming relationship between the Persians and Argives), thus interpreting correctly the real opinion of Herodotus, who no doubt believed in the medism of the Argives, though unwilling to accuse them openly.
- 14. ημερας υπερειδ((-ε or -ov?): the subject here seems to have changed, and we have been unable to recover the connexion with Herodotus.
- 15 sqq. Cf. Hdt. vii. 163 οἱ μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἄγγελοι τοιαῦτα τῷ Γελωνι χρηματισάμενοι ἀπέπλεον' Γέλων δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα δείσας μὲν περὶ τοῖσι Ἔλλησι μὴ οὐ δύνωνται τὸν βάρβαρον ὑπερβαλέσθαι, δεινὸν δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν ποιησάμενος έλθὼν ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἄρχεσθαι ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων εὼν Σικελίης τύραννος, ταύτην μὲν τὴν όδὸν ἡμέλησε, δ δὲ ἄλλης εἴχετο. ἐπείτε γὰρ τύχιστα ἐπύθετο τὸν Πέρσην διαβεβηκότα τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, πέμπει πεντηκοντέροισι τρισὶ Κάδμον τὸν Σκύθεω ἄνδρα Κῷον ἐς Δελφούς, ἔχοντα χρήματα πολλὰ καὶ φιλίους λόγους, καραδοκήσοντα τὴν μάχην τῷ πεσέεται, καὶ ἢν μὲν ὁ βάρβαρος νικᾶ, τά τε χρήματα αὐτῷ διδόναι καὶ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ τῶν ἄρχει ὁ Γέλων, ἢν δὲ οἱ Ἕλληνες, ὀπίσω ἀπάγειν.
- 17-9. The construction in περι του μη . . . ατυχηση has become confused. Either περι του must be omitted or ατυχηση altered to ατυχησαι or, what is perhaps more likely, a word like μελλοντος is to be supplied after περι του.
- 22. επ]ι: the vestige of the letter after the lacuna is extremely slight, but there is not room for μετ]α. For ἐπί with the dative in connexion with πέμπειν cf. Thuc. vi. 29 πέμπειν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοσούτφ στρατεύματι.
- 24. πολ[ may be some part of πολύς (cf. Hdt. l. c. ξχοντα χρήματα πολλά), but it is not certain that any letter is lost at the end of l. 24; πολ|λο[ν is unsatisfactory.
  - 28. Perhaps  $[\tau \epsilon]$  kai.  $\chi \rho \eta [\mu]$  at a [may end l. 27; cf. Hdt. l. c.

## 858. ORATION AGAINST DEMOSTHENES.

Fr. (b)  $18 \times 7.7$  cm. Late second or early third century.

Two fragments of an oration attacking Demosthenes, written on the verso of a second-century cursive document of which only a few letters from the ends and beginnings of lines are preserved. The exact position of Fr. (a), containing parts of six lines from the top of a column, in relation to Fr. (b) is not certain, but that the two fragments belong to the same column is most likely. If so Fr. (a) must on account of the recto be placed above the right side of Fr. (b) and comes from near the ends of the lines, but there is nothing to indicate how near 1. 1 of Fr. (b) is to the top of the column. The script of the oration is a sloping uncial bearing a strong resemblance to the hand of 853, with which it may be regarded as contemporary. The ends of lines are lost throughout, and the margin is also broken at the beginnings, being only visible at 1. 29, where rai seems to be the beginning of a line, though even that is not quite certain; in 11. 26-36 however, where the restorations hardly admit of doubt, it is clear that the interval between the end of one line and the beginning of the next does not exceed four or five letters. No lection-marks occur except a doubtful accent in 1. 4, but there are several corrections (some due to the original scribe, others in a second hand), the text being very faulty.

Where the fragment first becomes intelligible at 1. 13, an unfavourable comparison is being instituted between Demosthenes and another orator, whose identity is uncertain, the point of the contrast being that Demosthenes had never himself taken part in active service. In l. 25 the subject changes, and the speaker criticizes Demosthenes for his behaviour when the news of the capture of Elatea reached Athens; this passage is clearly borrowed from the famous description of that crisis in De Cor. 169 sqq., several of the phrases which Demosthenes there used being here actually placed in his mouth (ll. 25-9). The oration to which the fragment belonged therefore presupposes the existence of the De Corona which was composed after B. C. 330; but on the other hand the general situation implied by our author seems to be the period between the capture of Elatea in 339 and the battle of Chaeronea in September 338, for since Demosthenes took part in that engagement the reproaches addressed to him in ll. 24-5 and 29-30 would be inapplicable at a later date. This inconsistency at once gives rise to the suspicion that our fragment belongs to a rhetorical exercise, not to a genuine oration whether of Demades or another philo-Macedonian orator, and several other considerations combine to leave no room for doubt as to the real character of the composition. The florid, jerky

style, the use of  $\delta\eta\mu\eta\gamma\delta\rho\sigma$ , a term foreign to Attic oratory, the exaggerated description of Demosthenes in l. 19 as holding a shield in one hand and a psephisma in the other, and still more the serious blunder with regard to Attic law which has crept into a passage (ll. 34-5) borrowed from the *De Corona*, are all quite incompatible with a contemporary of Demosthenes, and indicate that the oration is, like 216, a work of the Alexandrian school of rhetoric, and probably not earlier than the Christian era.

We are indebted to Prof. U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff for several suggestions in the restoration and interpretation of this fragment.

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Fr. (b).
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      Fr. (a)
                                         [. . . . . . . . . ] . [
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      ]\alpha\nu \phi\omega\nu.
                                         [\ldots ]\tau .
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             οσου συμ
                                       [\ldots\ldots]\epsilon
u\tau[
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 JUS TEX
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  ] TOUTOV [
                                        [\ldots]\lambda\epsilon\nu\epsilon
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              ]ον καθα[
                            5 \left[\ldots \right] \delta \left[\ldots \right] \nu
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               5 ]τοισ. η[
                                        [\ldots].[\ldots]
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           ]ρι[
                                         [\ldots,\ldots]
                                          [...] \eta \sigma[v] \chi_i[\alpha v] \alpha \gamma \epsilon_i v \epsilon \pi ... \kappa[
                                       [. . . .] . . \pi \circ \lambda[. .] . \circ v \tau \eta \sigma \alpha \tau[.] . [
                      10 [· · · ·]είαιολ[· ·]λ[·]κ· · · · [
γ [
                                          [\ldots]\omega \nu \tau o \mu [\ldots] \ldots [
                                         [...] κακω αλλ.[...] εις Μαραθωνα ε[......
                                          [. . \pi \alpha] \rho \in \chi \in \mathcal{V} \alpha \notin \mathcal{V} \alpha \in 
                                          [\tauou]\tauous \epsilonls \Theta\eta\beta[as] \epsilon\lambda\theta\epsilonlu ou \tauous \mu\epsilonu a[\lambda\lambdaous
                      15 [εξεπ]εμπεν αυτ[ος δ]ε οικοι καθηστο \betaι\beta.[...
                                          [...] \alpha \nu \alpha \theta \epsilon \iota s \quad \tau \circ \upsilon \tau [..] \ldots \pi \circ \lambda \iota \tau \omega \nu \quad \tau \alpha \quad \circ \pi \lambda [\alpha \ldots ]
                                          [...]\tau...\epsilon\iota... \pi \rho \omega \tau \circ s... [.]\epsilon... [\epsilon]\iota s \tau \eta \nu \mu \alpha [\chi \eta \nu
                                          [εστ]ω δημηγορος και στρατηγος [ο] αυτος [και
                                          [Δημ]οσθένης ασπιδα και ψηφισμα έχων α[γορέυ
                      20 [ετω] Θεμ[ι]στοκλέους δημηγορούντος εμ[βη]
                                          [σομ]αι εξαγετω Περικλης εις Σαμον πλ[ευσο
                                          [μαι] ακολουθησω Τολμιδη δια Πελοπον[νησου ει
                                           [δι]εξεισιν ουτος Δημοσθενει δε πως π[εισομαι
                                            \omega ye ou \theta\omega\rho\alpha\xi ou \delta\rho\rho ou \xi\iota\phi os ou\delta\epsilon to \pi[\alpha\rho\alpha tou
```

```
25 πατρος Ελατεια γαρ κατειλημπτα[ι φη
   [σι] και πεπαυνται δειπν[.]ουντες οι πρυτ[ανεις
    [a] v \in \sigma \tau \eta \sigma a v \delta \epsilon \in \kappa \tau \eta s ayopas of \tau a s \sigma \kappa [\eta v a s]
    [ε]χοντές τον δε σαλπικτην μεταπε[μπε
    ται τις ταυτα γαρ ην ακουειν Δημοσθεν[ης
30 δ ουπωποτε σαλπιγγος ακουσας αυτος υ
    μας εξεφοβει ταυτα λεγων και διεξιωίν ο
    δε δημος ανω καθητο η βουλη δε [ουπω
    \pi[\rho]o\langle v\rangle βεβουλευκει περι των παροντω[ν και
    [τη]ς μέν βουλης μη προβεβουλ[ευ]κυϊα[ς
35 λεγειν Δημοσθενη κηρυττοντίο]ς τίου κη
    [ρ]υκ[ο]ς και απαντων ελέγεν νομούς . αρ[....
    υ .[
[.] τους ἀυτους οικ οιεσθε και ευνο[υν . . . . . .
    [\tau\iota]να και παρηκολουθηκοτα το[\iota s] πραγμασι
    [...]ν γαρ οι πλουσιωτατοι τ[[οι]] πολ[ιτων.....
40 [....]. [..] . Las of \tau[\alpha]s \mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\alpha[s\ \epsilon\pi\iota\delta o\sigma\epsilon\iota s]
    [...]ωτ[.] και παντες εβουλε[\sigma\thetaε......
    [. . . . ]ξαι την πολιν αλ[
    [....] \thetaορυ\beta[ο]υντος ο[
    [. . . . . . . . ]ν ωστε a[
45 [....]\epsilon o[.]\delta \epsilon . [
    [\ldots\ldots]\epsilon\pi[
```

13-38. 'Yet when he exhorted them to come to Thebes, he did not dispatch the rest and himself remain at home, but . . . he was the first to go out to fight. Let the same man be both orator and general, and let Demosthenes harangue with a shield in his hands as well as a decree. If Themistocles is the orator I will embark; let Pericles lead an expedition to Samos and I will sail; I will follow Tolmides across the Peloponnese, if he marches through it; but how can I listen to Demosthenes, who has no breastplate, no spear, no sword, not even one inherited from his father? "Elatea has been captured," he said, "the prytaneis have broken off their meal; the owner of tents have left the marketplace; some one is fetching the trumpeter." That was what we heard him say. Although Demosthenes had never yet heard the sound of a trumpet he was nevertheless terrifying you by these words and this description. The demos was seated on the hill, the boule had not yet deliberated about the crisis, and although the boule had not yet decided that Demosthenes

should speak, when the herald made the proclamation and no one came forward he nevertheless (in violation of?) the laws said: "Do you not think that a loyal and a careful follower of events (is needed)?"

13-4. The identity of this commander who marched to Thebes is obscure; there is no need for him to have been a contemporary of Demosthenes, for ll. 20-3 are quite general. Timotheus, as Wilamowitz remarks, would be a most suitable person to mention in this context, but he did not command at Thebes in B. c. 378, though as he was strategus at the time he may have been credited with having done so by the author of this oration.  $\theta$  of  $\theta\eta\beta[as]$  has been corrected from  $\beta$ .

14. [του] τους: or perhaps [αυ] τους, in which case [επ] εμπεν must be read in l. 15. The initial lacuna throughout ll. 14-22 would be expected to extend to three letters.

18-21. The restorations are chiefly due to Wilamowitz, who also suggested π[εισομαι

in l. 23 and φησι in l. 25.

22-3. For the reference to Tolmides cf. Aeschin. ii. 75 Τολμίδου . . . δε χιλίους ἐπιλέκτους ἔχων ᾿Αθηναίων διὰ μέσης Πελοποννήσου πολεμίας οῦσης ἀδεῶς διεξήει, which may, as Wilamowitz points out, well be the source of the present passage. The statement is of course a rhetorical exaggeration.

24-5.  $\tau_0$   $\pi[a\rho a \ \tau o v]$   $\pi a \tau \rho o s$ : Demosthenes' father was a sword-manufacturer; cf. Dem. xxvii. 9.

25-9. Ćf. De Cor. 169 έσπέρα μὲν γὰρ ἦν, ἦκε δ' ἀγγελλων τις ὡς τοὺς πρυτάνεις ὡς Ἐλάτεια κατείληπται. καὶ μετὰ ταῦθ οἱ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐξαναστάντες μεταξὺ δειπνοῦντες τούς τ' ἐκ τῶν σκηνῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐξεῖργον καὶ τὰ γέρρ' ἐνεπίμπρασαν, οἱ δὲ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς μετεπέμποντο καὶ τὸν σαλπικτὴν ἐκάλουν.

31-6. Cf. De Cor. ibid. τη δ΄ ύστεραία ἄμα τη ἡμέρα οι μεν πρυτάνεις την βουλην εκάλουν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον, ὑμεῖς δ΄ εἰς την ἐκκλησίαν ἐπορεύεσθε, καὶ πριν ἐκείνην χρηματίσαι καὶ προβουλεῦσαι πῶς ὁ δημος ἄνω καθητο. καὶ μετὰ ταῦθ ὡς ηλθεν ἡ βουλη καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν οι πρυτάνεις τὰ προσηγγελμέν ἐαυτοῖς καὶ τὸν ἤκοντα παρήγαγον κἀκεῖνος εἶπεν, ἡρώτα μεν ὁ κῆρυξ τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται; παρήει δ΄ οἰδείο.

33. περι is corrected from παρα.

34. The dots above μεν indicate that the word was to be omitted; cf. l. 37. The implication that the speakers at the ἐκκλησία were fixed by the βουλή betrays ignorance of Attic law on the subject; cf. introd.

36.  $\nu o \mu o \nu s$   $\pi a \rho [a \beta a \nu \nu \nu]$ , as Wilamowitz suggests, is the natural restoration, but there is hardly room for so broad a letter as  $\pi$ , and it is not even certain that any letter stood between  $\nu o \mu o \nu s$  and  $a \rho s$ .

37-42. Cf. De Cor. 171 καίτοι εἰ μὲν τοὺς σωθηναι τὴν πόλιν βουλομένους παρελθεῖν ἔδει, πάντες ἀν ὑμεῖς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ᾿Αθηναῖοι ἀναστάντες ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμ᾽ ἐβαδίζετε πάντες γὰρ οἶδ᾽ ὅτι σωθηναι αὐτὴν ἐβούλεσθε εἰ δὲ τοὺς πλουσιωτάτους, οἱ τριακόσιοι εἰ δὲ τοὺς ἀμφότερα ταῦτα, καὶ εὕνους τῷ πόλει καὶ πλουσίους, οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα τὰς μεγάλας ἐπιδόσεις ἐπιδόντες καὶ γὰρ εὐνοία καὶ πλούτψ τοῦτ᾽ ἐποίησαν. ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἔοικεν ἐκεῖνος ὁ καιρὸς καὶ ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνη οὐ μόνον εὕνουν καὶ πλούσιον ἄνδρ᾽ ἐκάλει, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρηκολουθηκότα τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, καὶ συλλελογισμένον ὀρθῶς . . . At the end of l. 37 some such infinitive as ἀρμόσαι is required, but ευνο[υν (?) has apparently been corrected, and what exactly was written is very uncertain.

#### 859-864. POETICAL FRAGMENTS.

The following six small pieces in verse, which do not seem to be extant, may be conveniently grouped together.

859 contains the latter parts of a few hexameter lines from the end of a column, written in bold and well-formed uncials of the sloping type common in the third century. Some variae lectiones and corrections have been inserted apparently by a second hand, to whom the occasional accents and breathings may also be due; a high point, placed slightly above the line, occurs once. There are mentions of Stymphelus and Talaus king of Argos (l. 2); and the very rare word  $\partial \lambda \partial \beta \omega \partial \eta s$ , otherwise known only from Hesychius, is found in l. 5. On the verso are some blots and flourishes.

860, consisting of three fragments from a column of lyrics, is more valuable. The good-sized, upright hand is evidently early in date and probably falls within the first century, or at any rate is not later than the beginning of the second. An insertion in l. 3 and a variant, enclosed as commonly within two dots, at l. 5 are due to the original scribe, who seems also to be responsible for the occasional accents and punctuation (a point in the middle position in l. 7). The subject and authorship of the poem are alike obscure; the vocabulary is suggestive of Bacchylides: Fr. (a) 3 τα λακάρδιος, cf. Bacch. 5. 157, 15. 26 ταλαπευθής; 5 έρεμναίζες cf. Bacch. 16. 116, where ἐρεμνόν should be retained; 10 μεγαλοκλέα, a compound otherwise only found in Bacch. 7. 49; Fr. (b) 7 μενεπ|τολέμων (?), cf. Bacch. 5. 126, 170, 16. 73. With regard to the position of the two main fragments, (b) is probably to be placed below (a) so that the right edges of the papyrus make a more or less straight line, the extent of the gap between (a) 18 and (b) 1 being uncertain. This arrangement is indicated by some strongly marked fibres on the verso, which is inscribed with part of an account of some kind, written towards the end of the second century.

861 is a narrow strip containing very scanty remains of two columns of iambics, the language pointing to tragedy rather than comedy. The squarely formed upright uncials belong to what is commonly called the biblical type, and may be assigned to the third century. A broad margin was left at the top of the columns.

862 and 868 are fragments of comedies. 862 belongs to a dialogue mentioning a person called Phidias, a name no doubt frequent in the later Attic comedy (cf. Antiphanes ap. Athen. ii. 38 b, Menander  $\Delta \epsilon \iota \sigma \iota \delta a \iota \mu \omega \nu$  Fr. 1). The hand, which is probably of the third century, is a better and perhaps rather earlier example of the style exemplified by 861. Change of speaker is denoted by the usual double dots. Two marks of elision are perhaps later additions.

868, written in well-formed sloping uncials of the third century, is in rather better preservation. The verses perhaps belong to a single speaker, who seems to be bewailing his misfortunes; but they are too broken for reconstruction. Two instances of the rough breathing and a high point at the end of 1. 8 may well be by the original scribe.

864, containing the ends of lines from an entire column, comes apparently from an anthology. At the top are five hexameter lines, in which the  $\delta i \omega$  'Axaioi figure, written in a semicursive hand; the letters of the last three lines, which seem to have been put in at a different time, are markedly larger and coarser than those of the two preceding. Below, in a more regular and probably distinct hand, is a series of iambic verses in tragic style, written continuously like prose. The column is divided off into three paragraphs, of which the third is separated by a broad blank space from the second, while a rather narrower interval is left between the second and the hexameters. It is likely that the names of the authors stood in these spaces. The occurrence in l. 22 of the unattested word  $\mu \nu \kappa \eta \delta \delta \nu$ , followed two lines later by  $\theta \rho \eta \nu \varphi \delta \delta \nu$ , is noticeable. The papyrus probably dates from the third century. In the transcription given below we have tentatively marked off by horizontal lines the successive verses; in the last paragraph the point of division is sometimes indicated by short intervals left between the words.

<sup>2.</sup> The form Ταλαῶο is also found in a citation from Antimachus in Pausan. 8. 25. 9; cf. Etym. M. p. 746. 10 Ταλαῶο μετὰ τοῦ ι τινές ἢν γάρ φασι Ταλαοῖο οὐ κατεπείγει δέ, ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν εἰς ως εὐθειῶν ᾿Αττικῶν κέκλιται, καὶ πλεονασμῷ τοῦ ο, ὡς Μίνωο.

<sup>3.</sup> Στύμφηλος was the name of several mythological personages, as well as of the city,

river, and mountain in Arcadia. The following word is perhaps  $\frac{\partial \pi \sigma \pi \rho \rho \lambda \iota \pi \epsilon \hat{\nu}}{\partial \nu}$  in some form; but the vestige of the letter after  $\lambda$  is too slight to give any indication.

5. αλαβώδεος: cf. Hesychius ἀλαβώδες ἀνθρακώδες, κεκαπνισμένον; the word is a derivative of ἀλαβή = ἄνθρακες.

8. πελέσκεο occurs in Iliad X 433.

# **860.** Fr. (a) $9.2 \times 5.1$ cm.

```
Fr. (a)
                                                                       ] δεδορ[κ
             τοισι βροτων
             ] ερχομενοισιν υποσ[
                                                                        ]ηρολο[
           τα]λακαρδιος επλε
                                                                       ]ρ ορματ[
             ντα χαλκου
   TO
                                                5
                                                              ]\pi\rho[.]\cdot[...]
              ων επιοντ ερυμναίς
5
                                                    (?) μενεπ τολεμών
             ]ελλαις
                                                            εν πυκινας στιχα[ς
              τ αλκάν.
                                                             ] και εμιξατον λ[
             € καστος ανηρ
                                                             ο πλοις
             π]ατριδος αι σφισιν ο[
                                                 10
              ]ν μεγαλοκλεα δο[
10
                                                   Fr. (c).
             VTES alvos
             ]τα πασαν \epsilon . [. . ]λλοβ[
                ]αρ τον εχον[τ] ε[
15
              α]νδρι γαρ ουδ[
                EUTE Ka
```

Fr. (a) 3. The meaning of the insertion (probably by the first hand) is not evident. There are some traces of ink after  $\epsilon \rho$ , but whether another letter or letters followed is very doubtful.

6. No doubt a] ελλαις or θυ] ελλαις, to which ερεμπαίς in l. 5 probably refers.

Fr. (b) 4. The first letter is more like  $\rho$  than  $\phi$ .

# 861. 12.6 x 3.5 cm.

Col. i.	Col. ii.
<b>]</b> µ[	ĸ[
$\nu[\cdot]\nu$ . [.]	ω[
] <b>ω[.</b> ]	<b>π</b> [
]ων περας	20 <i>0</i> [
]ω γ εμου	गृ
<b>]€</b> \$	€[
]λιον	$oldsymbol{\mu}[$
δ]υστυχω	$\sigma$ [
]καλει	25 <b>β</b> [
10 ]ς ερω	$\mu$ [
$]\sigma\pi$ οτην	λ[
]νον αν	<b>a</b> [
]ομαι	τ[
jόr	30 ιχ[
15 ]עַאָקּ	λ <u>ϵ</u> [
]οφρων	
_	

4. πέρας ΟΓ περᾶς. 11. δε]σπότην ΟΓ ]ς ποτ' ήν.

# 862. 13·2 × 10·2 cm.

] . . [
]δη μου [. . . . . .]ηλυσ[
] . τοις ενο . [. .]ροις θεοις
] . κως ουκ αν εβιων ουδ ἀπαξ
5 ]η μοι της πολεως πλειστον πολυ
]ὰμοι διαφθειρουσι νυν
] των ενθαδε.
] παρελειπον προ τ[ο]υ

] . εις ανακρισιν [
] . ως μαχου[με
]ται[.]εσω[

3. The doubtful o may be ε and the next letter had a long tail like ρ or υ: ]. τοι σε νερ[τε]ροις might read. But the supposed ρ may also be υ or τ.
7. Πάριδες occurs in the sense of μοιχοί in Anth. Pal. xi. 278 and Chariton 5. 2. Perhaps Αλεξαν]δροι preceded.
12. εσω[: or θεν[ or θεν[.

# 864. 15.8 × 6.8 cm.

]μονας εν φρ[ε]σι μυθους ]ς αιωρων νεκυν | παν ]ς φαινεται ειναι αριστον 15 E]λλησποντιαν | καθ εκ . [ ] . ουσι δε δειοι Aχαιοι πε]φυρμενοι | τοτ εκ θαλα[σ ]δ αλλοι παντες αριζο)τοι ]μιας | αλευεται ενθα ] φρασει τινα παντες ]ν | αμουσον ακτης ]ν μελος | επειτα παν  $\pi$ ]ενθηρει στολη | στενουσα 20 ] κλυδων | οποια κοχλου[ς

- 1. a of Juovas has been corrected from  $\epsilon$ .
- 7. πενθήρη στολήν occurs in Jo. Chrysost. t. 2, p. 624 c (ed. Par.).
- 10. The end of the verse may equally well be after οπου. εδαι suggests only έδαισεν: εδει cannot be read.
- 17. If the text is right αλευεται and ενθα form a crasis. The epic word αλεύεσθαι is not found in the tragedians, though αλεύειν occurs in lyric passages.
  - 24.  $\theta$  in  $\theta \rho \eta \nu \omega \delta \sigma \nu$  is corrected apparently from  $\chi$ .

### 865-870. PROSE FRAGMENTS.

Plate I (867).

The following six small prose fragments remain unidentified, and except in the case of 866 there is good reason for believing them to belong to works which are not extant. The first three seem to be historical, the fourth is perhaps from a commentary, the fifth is philosophical, and the sixth geographical.

865 consists of the beginnings of the last eight lines of a column, written in a medium-sized uncial hand of the third century. The fragment belongs to a description of a war in which Greeks were apparently fighting foreigners, and the leader of one of the armies was the illegitimate son of a person whose name probably ended in -ευs (l. 5), this general being subsequently recalled, perhaps in consequence of an oracle (ll. 6-7). 'Υδροῦs, presumably the town in Calabria, is mentioned in l. 3. A φρούριου of that name occurred in Book xxxix of Theopompus' Philippica (Fr. 210), which was concerned with Sicilian history, though whether the φρούριου was identical with 'Υδροῦs in Calabria is not certain. Possibly our fragment too belongs to a lost work dealing with Sicilian history. Apart from the Theopompus passage, there seems to be no mention of 'Υδροῦs in Greek historians before the Roman period.

866 contains a few letters from the first seven lines of a column. The script is a neat uncial of a distinctly early type, and may be ascribed with confidence to the first century. A mention of the Carthaginians in 1. 5 suggests that this fragment also is historical, but the context is quite uncertain.

867 (Plate I) has six nearly complete lines from the top of a column, in

a rather large and handsome square uncial, resembling the hand of 661 (Part IV, Plate V). That papyrus (late second century) provides an exceptionally early example of the type of hand to which the great Biblical codices belong. The present specimen is probably somewhat later than 661, and is likely to have been written in the third century. Two kinds of stops (high and middle points) occur. An iota adscript has been inserted in one place by the original scribe. The fragment refers to the capture of Ephesus, and may belong to a historical work. For  $\pi\rho\sigma\sigma\beta\iota d\zeta\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$  with the dative, which occurs in 1. 4, the only example quoted in the lexica is Diod. xx. 39.

868 consists of parts of twelve lines, apparently from the top of a column, written on the verso, the recto being blank except in one corner where there are one or two broken letters. The script is a medium-sized rather irregular uncial, probably of the first century. The nature of the fragment is very obscure; the second person singular occurs in ll. 5 and 9, but it is difficult to believe that the lines belong to a connected oration or dialogue, and we are disposed to regard the fragment as a piece of a commentary, the blank spaces after apistos and akoueis in ll. 6 and 9 in that case marking the division between the text and the scholia; cf. 853. The rare word  $\frac{\partial \pi \delta \kappa av \mu a}{\partial \kappa av \mu a}$  (l. 4) is not found in writers of the classical period.

869 contains the ends of twenty-two lines from the upper part of a column, written in a sloping uncial hand of probably the latter half of the third century. The subject is clearly of a philosophical character, and perhaps has reference to religion.

870 is part of a leaf from a papyrus codex containing a geographical work. The recto gives a list of tribes in Thrace, Macedonia, and Asia Minor, apparently in two columns, the successive names being numbered. Of the verso only a few letters from the ends of lines are preserved; the last seven lines also seem to be a list of names, but the upper portion of the page is different. Which side of the leaf came first is uncertain. The script is a good-sized oval uncial of the sixth or seventh century.

```
865. 8 × 6·3 cm. 866. 6 × 2·4 cm.

απολειπ[
μνω διατ[...]ν[
νπο Τδρου[ν]τος κελ[
του στρα
]οβαλουσι [
τευματος ηγειτο.[

ως νοθος νιος νστ[ερον δε
με

5 Κ]αρχηδονιο[
```

```
ταπεμπτος εγεν ετο
                                                                          per eis \pi i.
    της κατα μαντεια[ν
                                                                                  ]0€1/
    μενων των Ελλη[νων
     865. 3. The supposed \lambda after \kappa \epsilon might be \chi.
     5. we is probably the termination of the genitive of a proper name ending in -eve. The
phrase μετάπεμπτος γίγνεσθαι occurs twice in Plutarch.
     7. κατα μαντεια[ν: or καταμαντεια[s, but this word is not known.
     866. 2. πυθυμέ may be the end of a line.
 867. 5.7 \times 7.5 cm.
                              Plate I.
                                                                 869. 13.8 × 6.1 cm.
        ϋδωρ αυ[. . .] . . [η
                                                            ] υπαρξεως διαπο . [.
                                                            ] μη βλεπειν ναους τ[.
       νεγκεν επι θα[
        λασσαν. κακ[ε]ιθ[εν
                                                            ]ς και βωμους αφαγ[.
        Εφεσωι προσεβιία
                                                            ]ας ηλθον επι το διστ[.
     5 σθη· τα δ αλλα γα[ρ
                                                         5 ] pov \epsilon \sigma \tau \iota \nu \eta ouk \epsilon . [. .
       [v]\pi\epsilon\rho\mu\eta\kappa\eta \pi\rho\sigma\sigma[.
                                                            α]λλ ουχι ταυτα μεν [
                                                              σης τοις λοιποις απο
                                                              υν δε ποτε τοις κα[
                                                              νουσιν θεοις απο
          868. 8·1 × 4·1 cm.
                                                        10 ]τα[[ν]]το των εκασ
       ]εμε[.]οι τον ακρατον [
                                                             ] νομιζομενοις ου
       ] και οτι θραυστης σ[
                                                            μενος αυτοις παρασ
                                                            τι τοις κατ αληθη
       ]ς δου[λ]ων ημετερω[ν
       βλοις αποκαυματα [
                                                            ] αλλ ουχι τοια . . [. .
 5 ]ς δικην τεισεις εμου [
                                                      15 |s avaykaotiko.
       ]ον τοις αριστοις
                                                            ]ν εις το προκειμ[ε
    δια κονειτωσαν πενί
                                                            ] μεγι[σ]τα δε πασιν [
                                                    νον
       μενης γυναικές α[
                                                            ]εν αμα την παρα[
      μων ουκ ακουεις
                                                            ]κατα φλυαρ[....
       ]\alpha\theta\eta[.]ω \tau[\rho]\alpha\chi\eta\lambdaον [
                                                              ] \epsilon is \alpha \nu \theta \rho \omega [\pi \dots
                    ]ισασε[
                                                              ] . αντες οτι [. . . .
                     ]\mu \iota \nu \omega
                                                                 ]\lambda o v s v o [\dots \dots
```

867. I. ].  $[\eta]$ : the first letter is probably a,  $\delta$ ,  $\kappa$ ,  $\lambda$ , or  $\chi$ , while the vestiges of the second suggest  $\gamma$ ,  $\eta$ ,  $\iota$ ,  $\pi$ , or  $\tau$ . It is not certain that a letter is lost at the end of the line.

868. I. ] \*με[ν] ω is possible, though the ν would be rather cramped. But there may have been a blank space before ω; cf. ll. 6 and 9.

2. στι θραυστης: the division ο Τιθραυστης is less probable.

869. 3. Some form of ἀφαγνίζειν is presumably to be restored, if the γ is right; but the vestiges after αφα may represent the angular mark for filling up a line.

5. Perhaps η ουκ εσ[τι.

14. Possibly το γλωσ[σ.

18. Or ] ενα ματην.

870. 14.5 × 5.5 cm.

Verso.		R	ecto.
	Col. i.		Col. ii.
 ]κ . [	 ]€\$	 μβ	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
$  au\epsilon$ [	]	μγ	Γαλατ[αι
$\epsilon ] \theta \nu \eta \ \tau \eta s$	i	 μδ	Παφλ[αγονες
]ias.	25 ]	με	$\Phi  ho  u \gamma \epsilon [s]$
<sub>5</sub> ]σιν. Αρα	ì	45 μς	
β ε]ν γαρ τω	i	,,,,	. [.]αιαλ[
] Αραβια	i	μζ	Θετταλ[οι
1	j. y	μη	Μακαιδίονες
] <b>. a</b> i	30 ]	$\mu\theta$	Θρακες [
10 ]	j.	50 V	Μυσοι [
]οι γεγονασιν	]	να	$m{B}$ εσσοι [
$m{E}]  u  ho \omega m{\pi} [m{\eta}]$	]	νβ	Δαρδαν[οι
]	].	νγ	Σαρμα[ται
] προσηγοριας	35 ]	νδ	$oldsymbol{\Gamma} ho[$
15 <b>Α</b> ]ρκαδες.	].	55 <i>ν</i> ε	$\Pi$ [
]ωνες. του	].		[
]	]	v5	<b>!</b> [
]aves.	].	νζ	<b>4</b> [
$oldsymbol{\Pi}oldsymbol{lpha}]\mu\phi v\lambda o\iota$ .			
20 ]			•
] · · · äi			
48. l. Maredores.	54. Perha	aps Γρ[auκ	oi.

#### 871, 872. LATIN FRAGMENTS.

Plate V (871).

We have not been able to identify the two following fragments in Latin, and print them here in the hope that some of our readers may be more successful.

871, a papyrus, has a considerable palaeographical interest, since part of a document in Greek cursive on the verso, which is most probably of the fifth century, provides a fairly secure terminus ante quem. On the other hand it is unlikely that the writing on the recto was separated from that on the verso by a very wide interval of time, and consequently that the literary text is to be put earlier than the fourth century, while it may be as late as the commencement of the fifth. It is written in rather heavy rustic capitals, of a less formal and epigraphic type than e.g. those of the Palatine Virgil, though not dissimilar in formation. The tail of the Q is a conspicuous feature; I is made rather tall in qui in 1. 5 and iis in 1. 6. Words are divided off by dots after the manner of inscriptions, as in the Herculaneum fragments on Actium and in 30, a manuscript which in Part I we perhaps dated rather too early. Somebody is addressed in the second person in 1. 3, and the treatise seems to have been of a philosophical character, and not extant, if the references for the rather rare word astutia, which occurs in 1. 2, are complete in the new Latin Thesaurus.

872 is a small piece from a vellum leaf of a book, containing on one side the beginnings and on the other the ends of a few lines, written in good-sized and rather ornate uncials which may be referred to the sixth century. S at the beginning of a line is made rather tall; the same letter is combined with a U at the end of 1. 6 in order to save space. Whether the fragment is to be classed as prose or verse is doubtful. The scanty remains, so far as they go, would suit hexameters, and the lines differ considerably in length, but that is not seldom the case in Latin prose MSS. It does not seem to be Virgil; but no good word occurs to provide a clue.

# 871. 12·3 × 12·9 cm.

Plate V.

inertia · m[agis · .] . it · quam virtute · et · astuti[ae · mag]is · convenit · qua[m · sapientia[e · me]mineris · autem de · [ iis · me · loq[ui no]n · qui · numeros · a[. tium · suo · [. . . .]cunt · sed · qui · in[ · iis · partib[us · in ·] quibus · nullus · ne[ · minimu[s · quidem · tius · quam[ ·

id · quod · e · [ 10 [n]eganti[ [pe]rfora[

1. The vestiges before it suggest c, t, or s; x would probably also be suitable, but no

example of that letter occurs in the papyrus.

4. The letter at the end of the line if not a can only be m or possibly n, and judging by the preceding and following lines, not more than one or two letters should follow. a[r]tium is the obvious word, and this would involve suos, not suorum (the slight vestiges after suo would be consistent with either r or s) in 1.5; but numeros artium suos, whatever the mutilated verb in [cunt may be (discunt, dicunt?), seems an awkward collocation. The use of the plural numeros is noticeable; it should mean not 'numbers' but 'parts', 'members', or 'office', a sense in which the word is often accompanied by suus.

6-7. nullus ne minimus quidem: cf. e. g. Cicero, Tusc. 5. 6. 16 nulla ne minima quidem aura; but nesc without quidem would also be possible. At the end of l. 7 liben vius

suggests itself.

11. [pe]rfora[: the final letter may be m or n, but performare or performidolosus are improbable, and the absence of a stop between r and f makes per form[ inadmissible.

# 872. 5.9 x 7 cm.

Recto.	Verso.
· · ·	٠٠.
] . <i>tus</i>	d . [ sic d[
]. e	ter s .
]tros	10 tunc u
; ]. <i>er</i>	insç[
]ņdus	.[

5. Or possibly ]. eri, but the appearance of i is probably due to the penetration of ink from the other side, the vellum being thin.

11. The letter after s may also be e or o.

# III. EXTANT CLASSICAL AUTHORS

873. HESIOD, Theogonia.

 $5.9 \times 6.7$  cm.

Third century.

The beginnings and ends of a few lines from the *Theogonia* of Hesiod, preserved on a fragment of a leaf from a papyrus book. The character of the handwriting, a rather small and informal round uncial, points to a date not very late in the third century, in which the codex form is somewhat uncommon except for theological works. A mark of elision is used in 1. 999, and in one or two other places a similar sign may have been obliterated, the surface of the papyrus being damaged. The columns of writing were remarkably tall, there being an interval of 63 lines between the corresponding points of the recto and verso. The text agrees, so far as it goes, with that of Rzach.

Verso.

930 εκ [δ] Αμφ[ιτριτης και ερικτυπου Εννοσιγαιου Τρ[ι]των ε[υρυβιης γενετο μεγας ος τε θαλασσης πυθμεν [εχων παρα μητρι φιλη και πατρι ανακτι ναιει χρυ[σε]α δ[ω δεινος θεος αυταρ Αρηι ρεινοτορω Κυθε[ρεια Φοβον και Δειμον ετικτε 935 δεινους οι τ αν[δρων πυκινας κλονεουσι φαλαγγας εν πολεμω κρυοεν[τι συν Αρηι πτολιπορθω Αρμονιην τε [η]ν Κα[δμος υπερθυμος θετ ακοιτιν Ζηνι δ αρ Α[τ]λαντις [Μαιη τεκε κυδιμον Ερμην κ[ηρ]υκ αθ[α]νατ[ων ιερον λεχος εισαναβασα

Recto.

[ηγε παρ Aιητεω τελεσας στονοεντας  $\alpha$ ε]θλους 995 [τους πολλους επετελλε μεγας βασιλευ]ς υπερηνωρ [υβριστης  $\Pi$ ελιης και ατασθαλος οβρι]μοεργος

[τους τελεσας ες Ιωλκον αφικετο πολλ]α μογησας [ωκειης επι νηος αγων ελικωπιδ]α κουρην [Αισονιδης και μιν θαλε]ρ[η]ν ποιησατ' ακοιτιν 1000 [και ρ η γε δμηθεισ υπ Ιησ]ο[νι] ποιμενι λαων [Μηδειον τεκε παιδα τον ο]υρεσιν ετρεφε Χειρων [Φιλλυριδης μεγαλου δε Διος ν]οος εξετελειτο [αυταρ Νηρηος κουραι αλιοιο γερ]οντος [η τοι μεν Φωκον Ψαμαθη τεκε] δια θεαων

997. ες Ιωλκον: we print the reading of the MSS. 'Ισωλκόν Rzach. 1004. δια: οτ δείλα.

# 874. APOLLONIUS RHODIUS, Argonautica III.

 $6 \times 4.8$  cm.

Early third century.

Oxyrhynchus papyri of Apollonius Rhodius have been remarkably productive of valuable readings (cf. 690-1), and it is to be regretted that the remains of the present MS. are not more extensive, since judging by the small fragment which survives it would have been of much importance for critical purposes. Only the ends of nine lines from the bottom of a column are preserved; but in this narrow compass occurs an apparent confirmation of a generally accepted emendation of Brunck (l. 263), besides marginal references to unknown variants in two other lines. The text is written in a small sloping hand on the verso of a second-century list of persons, and probably dates from the end of that century or the earlier part of the third. There is one instance of an acute accent which may be by the original scribe, but no clear case of punctuation (cf. l. 268, note). Our references to the MSS. L(aurentianus) and G(uelferbytanus) are derived from Merkel's edition.

[λευγαλεης Φριξοιο εφ]ημοσυνηι[σι]ν ελεσ[θε
[πατρος ο μεν θνησκω]ν στυγερας επετελλετ αν[ιας
265 [ημετερη κραδιη τι] δέ κεν πολιν Ορχομενοι[ο
[οστις οδ Ορχομενος κ]τεανων Αθαμαντος εκητι
[μητερ εην αχεουσαν α]ποπρολιποντες ικοισθε
[ως εφατ Αιητης δε πα]νυστατος ωρτο θυραζε

[εκ δ αυτη Ειδυια δαμαρ κ]ιεν Αιηταο 270 [Χαλκιοπης αιουσα το] δ αυτικα παν ομαδοιο πην μ[ [ερκος επεπληθει τοι μεν] μεγαν αμφεπενοντο . [

[ 19 letters ] κιεν Αιηταο εν τ(ισιν) ου(τως) φερετ[αι ος φερεται [

263.  $\epsilon \phi$  ημοσυνηί $[\sigma i]^{\nu}$  ελεσ $[\theta \epsilon :$  so Brunck; ... φημοσύνηισινέεσθαι L;  $\epsilon \phi$ ημοσύνησιν εεσθε.. G. The reading in the papyrus is unfortunately not certain, but at any rate does not agree with that of LG, while on the other hand the broken letters are quite consistent with Brunck's conjecture.

264. επετελλετ: ἐπετείλατ' MSS.

265. κεν πολιν: so L; κε πτόλιν G.
268. At some little distance from the end of the line there is an ink-spot which perhaps

represents a stop (in the middle position).

269. This line is rewritten at the bottom of the column with a note concerning an alternative version found in some MSS. Whether the ordinary reading of the verse stood in the text is of course uncertain. No variant is cited by editors beyond the trivial  $i\partial via$  (L) for  $Ei\partial via$ . The abbreviation of  $o\tilde{v}(r\omega s)$  is written in the usual way with a semicircle above o, and cannot be naturally interpreted as the negative  $o\tilde{v}$ ; moreover the omission of l. 269 would necessitate the alteration of the feminine participle and the following  $r\tilde{v}$  in l. 270. There was indeed a considerable variation in that verse (cf. the next note); but there is no need to suppose that it affected the general construction of the passage. The letters preceding  $\phi \epsilon \rho \epsilon rai$  in the second line of the adscript are very doubtful; before the papyrus breaks off after  $\phi \epsilon \rho \epsilon rai$ , there is a short blank space, but not enough to show that the note ended here.

270.  $\pi\eta\nu$   $\mu$ [ in the margin at the end of the line seems to be a variant on (Χαλκιό)πης ἀίουσα, but no other reading is attested here. The letter after  $\pi\eta\nu$  is almost certainly  $\mu$ , not  $\alpha$ ; it is unlikely that another letter has disappeared in the space between  $\nu$  and  $\mu$ .

271. appeneror: so LG; duptim. Brunck with four late Paris MSS. On the extreme edge of the papyrus opposite this line are signs of ink which would suit e.g.  $\tau$  or  $\phi$ : but they may be accidental.

# 875. SOPHOCLES, Antigone.

 $5.5 \times 5.7$  cm.

Early second century.

A fragment from the top of a column, inscribed with the ends of five lines from the *Antigone*. The hand is a good-sized uncial, round and upright, but not calligraphic; it probably dates from the first half of the second century. A different writer seems to have made at least one alteration (l. 243), but the mark of elision in l. 244 is apparently original. The antiquity of L's  $\sigma\eta\mu\alpha\ell\nu\omega\nu$  in l. 242, where the variant  $\sigma\eta\mu\alpha\nu\omega\nu$  is commonly preferred, is the one small item of any value to be gleaned from the text.

[το πραγμα δηλοις δ ω]ς τι σημαινών νε[ον  $\sigma'$  κν  $\sigma'$  κν  $\sigma'$  κν  $\sigma'$  [τα δεινα γαρ τοι προστι]θη[[κ]] ο[[χλ]]ον πολυ[ν [ουκουν ερεις ποτ ει]τ' απαλλαχθεις απε[ι 245 [και δη λεγω σοι τον νεκ]ρον τ[ι]ς αρτιώ[ς [θαψας βεβηκε καπι χρωτ]ι διψιαν

242. σημαινών: so LA; σημαινών Ven. 472 and several other late MSS., and this was apparently also the reading of Didymus; cf. Schol. Ajax 1225.

243. The correction of the graphical error  $0\chi\lambda0\nu$  seems to be due to a diorthotes; whether he or the original scribe was responsible for the alteration of the preceding  $\kappa$  to  $\sigma$  is more doubtful. The method of the change is different, the  $\kappa$  being crossed through, while the  $\chi\lambda$  are cancelled by dots placed above them. Presumably  $\pi\rho0\sigma\tau\epsilon\theta\eta\kappa$  was first written.

244. π of απαλλαχθεις has been converted from a γ.

# 876. EURIPIDES, Hecuba.

2.9 × 8.4.

Fifth century.

A small fragment of a leaf from a papyrus book containing the *Hecuba* of Euripides. The somewhat negligent uncial writing, which is upright and of good size, seems to belong to the earlier Byzantine period, and may date from the fifth century; the ink is of the common brown colour. Marks of elision were used, but no accent occurs. The paragraphus after 1. 738 and elision mark in 1. 740 are in blacker ink and seem to be due to a corrector, who is perhaps responsible also for  $\epsilon\mu\omega\nu$  in 1. 703. A variant found in Parisinus 2713 (thirteenth century) alone of the better MSS. appears in 1. 740.

 A γαμεμνονος τουδ' η [φερω σιγη κακα  $\overline{\tau\iota}$  μοι προσωπω νω[τον εγκλινασα σον 740 [δυρη] το κραθεν δ' ου λεγ[εις τις εσθ οδε

703. The space suits ενυπνιον (MSS.) better than ενυπνον (Murray with Hermann). The division of the verse at αιαι is also found in A.

739. A dot above the line between  $\omega$  and  $\nu$  is apparently meaningless.

740. κραθεν: so the first hand in Cod. Par. 2713, the reading having been subsequently altered to πραχθέν, as in other MSS., by correctors. κραθεν of course gives no sense, and presumably κρανθέν was intended; cf. e. g. Ιοη 77 το κρανθέν ως αν έκμάθω.

# 877. EURIPIDES, Hecuba.

Fr. (a)  $11.8 \times 4.3$  cm.

Third century.

These two fragments from the upper part of a column also come from a copy of the *Hecuba*. The text, which is on the verso of the papyrus, the recto being blank, is in a slightly sloping uncial hand of the oval type, and was probably written in the third century. No lectional sign occurs other than the paragraphus. A variant at l. 1272 is of some small interest.

οιμο[ι γυναικος ως εοιχ ησσωμενος δουλη[ς υφεξω τοις κακιοσιν δικην ουκου[ν δικαιως ειπερ ειργασω κακα 1255 οιμοίι τεκνων τωνδ ομματων τ εμων ταλας αλγεί[ς τι δ η με παιδος ουκ αλγείν δοκείς χαιρε[ις υβριζουσ εις εμ ω πανουργε συ ου γαρ μ[ε χαιρειν χρη σε τιμωρουμενην all ou  $\tau[\alpha\chi \ \eta\nu\iota\kappa \ \alpha\nu \ \sigma\epsilon \ \pio\nu\tau\iota\alpha \ \nuo\tau\iotas$ 1260 μων ν αυστοληση γης ορους Ελληνιδος  $\kappa \rho[v] \psi \eta$  [  $\mu \in v$  ουν  $\pi \in \sigma$ ουσαν  $\in \kappa$  καρχησιων προς τίου βιαιων τυγχανουσαν αλματων αυτη προς ιστον ναος αμβηση ποδι υποπ[τεροις νωτοισιν η ποιω τροπω 1265 κυων [γενηση πυρσ εχουσα δεργματα πως [δ οισθα μορφης της εμης μεταστασιν ο Θρηξί μαντις ειπε Διονυσος ταδε

σοι δ ο[υκ εχρησεν ουδεν ων εχεις κακων ου γα[ρ ποτ αν συ μ ειλες ωδε συν δολω

1271 [θανου]σα τυμβίω δ ονο]μα σω [ κεκλησεται  $[\mu o \rho \phi \eta]$ ς επωδον  $\mu[\eta]$  τι της ε $\mu[\eta]$ ς ερεις  $[\kappa u \nu o s]$  ταλαινης σημα ναυτ[ιλοις τεκμαρ  $[o v \delta \epsilon \nu \ \mu]$ ελει μοι σου γε μοι δον[τος δικην 1275  $[\kappa a \iota \ \sigma \eta \nu]$  γ αναγκη παιδα Kασα[νδραν θανειν  $[\alpha \pi]$ επτυσ αυτωι  $[\sigma o \iota]$  διδωμ ε[χειν  $[\kappa \tau]$ ενει νιν η τουδ αλοχο[ς οικουρος πικρα  $[\mu \eta \pi \omega]$   $[\mu \alpha \nu \epsilon \iota \eta \ T \nu[\nu] \delta \alpha \rho \iota [\varsigma \tau \sigma \sigma \nu \delta \epsilon \ \pi \alpha \iota s]$   $[\kappa \alpha u \tau o \nu]$  γε  $\tau [o] u \tau o \nu \ [\pi \epsilon] \lambda \epsilon [\kappa u \nu \ \epsilon \epsilon \alpha \rho \alpha \sigma \ \alpha \nu \omega]$ 

1280 [ουτος συ] μαιν[η και κακων ερας τυχειν

1256. τί δέ με MSS., corr. Bothe.

1272. The vestiges after  $\epsilon \pi \omega \delta o \nu$  are inconsistent with  $\eta$  and suit  $\mu$ , and there is space for another letter between this and  $\tau$ .  $\mu[\dot{\eta}] \tau_i$  gives a sense, but would be a doubtful improvement on the MSS. reading  $\dot{\eta}$   $\dot{\tau}$ . Nauck proposed  $\dot{\epsilon} \pi \dot{\omega} \nu \nu \mu \dot{\rho} \nu \tau_i$ .

1276. αὐτῷ ταῦτα σοὶ δίδωμ' ἔχειν MSS. ταυτα seems to have been omitted after αυτω.
The line may have been completed by e. g. τάδε, but a graphical error is more likely.

The line may have been completed by e.g. τάδε, but a graphical error is more likely.

1279. γε: so L; but the vestige of the first letter is too slight to be decisive against the variants δε and σε.

## 878. THUCYDIDES II.

27.4 × 16.9 cm.

Late first century.

These remains of three consecutive columns, containing portions of chapters 22-4 of the second book of Thucydides, were found not at Oxyrhynchus itself but in a small very shallow mound lying about a mile beyond the site to the north, where some experimental work (without other result) was done one day in January, 1906. The text is written in a round ornamental hand which we should refer to the latter part of the first century. Upright strokes are commonly finished off with apices, A is of the capital shape, M shallow-topped,  $\mathbb{I}$  of the archaic form. No breathings, accents, or stops occur; a short blank space marks a pause in 1. 23, paragraphi are sometimes employed, and the ordinary angular sign (cf. e.g. 853), which is here usually accompanied by a dot above and below it, like a  $\delta \iota \pi \lambda \hat{\eta}$   $\pi \epsilon \rho \iota \epsilon \sigma \tau \iota \gamma \mu \dot{\epsilon} \nu \eta$ , is used to fill up short lines. But though early in

date the MS. is inferior in quality, having several erroneous readings; it is however of some interest on account of its support, in two doubtful passages, of the traditional text. Our collations in 878-880 are with the text of Hude.

# Col. i.

[εστησαν η δε βοη]θεια αυτη 22. [
των Θεσσαλων] κατα το πα
[λαιον ξυμμαχικ]ον εγενετο
[τοις Αθηναιοις κ]αι αφικον
5 [το παρ αυτους Λαρ]ισσαιοι Φαρ
[σαλιοι Παρασιοι] Κραννω >
[νιοι Πειρασιοι Γυρ]τωνιοι >

23.3

Col. ii.

15 ανεχωρησαν δια Βοιωτων
ουχ ηιπερ εσεβαλον παριον
τες δε Ορωπον την γην την
...
Πειρακην καλουμενην ην
νεμονται Ωρωποι Αθηναι

20 ων υπη[[ι]]κ[[ω]]οι εδηιωσαν αφι κομενοι δε ες Πελοποννη σον διελυθησαν κατα πο > λεις εκαστοι αναχωρησαν των δ αυτων οι Αθηναιοι φυ 25 λακας κατεστησαντο κατα

25 λακας κατεστησάντο κατα 
γην και κατα θαλατταν ωσ 
περ δη εμελλον δια παντος 
[του] πολεμου φυλαξειν και 
[χιλια] ταλαντα απο των εν 
30 [τηι] ακροπολει χρηματων [ε] 
[δοξε]ν αυ[τοι]ς εξαιρετα ποι 
[ησαμενοις χ]ωριζεσθαι και 
[μη αναλουν] αλλα απο των 
[αλλων πολε]μειν ην δε τις

[Φεραιοι ηγουντο δ]ε αυτων
[εκ μεν Λαρισσης Πολυμη]

10 [δης και Αριστ]ονους απο >
[της στασεως εκατερος ε]κ
[δε Φαρσαλου Μενων η]σαν
[δε και] τω[ν αλλων κατα π]ο
[λεις] αρχοντες [

Col. iii.

πεντη κοντα ναυσι προσ 25. I  $\beta \in \beta \circ \eta \theta \eta \kappa [\circ \tau \in S \kappa \alpha \iota \quad \alpha \lambda \lambda \circ \iota$ τινες των ε[κει ξυμμαχων αλλα τε εκακίουν περιπλε 45 OVTES KAL ES  $[M \in \theta \omega \nu \eta \nu \ \tau \eta s]$ Λακωνικης [αποβαντες τωι τειχει πρίοσεβαλον ον τι ασθενει κ[αι ανθρωπων ουκ ενοντων [ετυχε δε πε 25. 2 50 ρι τους χωρουίς τουτους Βρα σιδας ο Τελλιδίος ανηρ Σπαρ τιατης φρουρίαν εχων και αι σθομενος εβ[οηθει τοις εν τωι χωρ[ι]ωι με[τα οπλιτων 55 εκατον δ[ιαδραμων δε το των Αθην[αιων στρατοπεδον εσκεδασ[μενον κατα την χω ραν και προς το τειχος τετραμ  $[\mu\epsilon]$ νον  $\epsilon\sigma[\pi\iota\pi\tau\epsilon\iota$   $\epsilon$ ς την  $M\epsilon$ 60  $[\theta \omega]$ νην κ[αι ολιγους τινας εν τηι εκ[δρομηι απολεσας

35 [ειπηι η επιψ]ηφισηι κινειν
[τα χρηματα τ]αυτα ες αλλο τι
[ην μη οι πολε]μιοι νηιτηι
[στρατωι επιπλεω]σι [τ]ηι πο
[λει και δεηι αμυνασ]θαι θα
40 [νατον ζημιαν επεθ]εντο

των μεθ α[υτου την τε πολιν περιεποι[ησε και απο τουτου του τολμη[ματος πρωτος των 65 κατα τον [πολεμον επηινεθη εν Σπαρτη[ι οι δε Αθηναιοι 25. ; [αρ]αντες π[αρεπλεον και [σχοντ]ες τη[ς Ηλειας

5. Δαρ ισσαιοι: so AB; Λαρισαίοι H(ude) with FM.

6. The papyrus evidently agreed with the MSS. in inserting a name (Παράσιοι ΑCEFM, Περάσιοι Β) between Φαρσαλιοι and Κραννωνιοι. H. brackets Π. following Heringa, Παγασαῖοι Stahl. The correct reading is probably Φαρσάλιοι Πειράσιοι, omitting Πειράσιοι after Κραννώνιοι, as indicated by the new Thucydides commentary; cf. 853. xiii. 20, note.

7. Hesparsol: so MSS.; cf. the previous note. Hupársos H., cf. Strabo ix. p. 435 and

Steph. Byz.

10-3. The remains of letters are scanty and the decipherment is doubtful. τω (?) in l. 13 and apxorres in l. 14 are on a detached fragment.

17. l. Ωρωπον: the initial letter is correctly written in l. 19.

- 18. Πειραικην: so MSS.; Γραϊκήν Steph. Byz., H. The interlinear ι may have been inserted by the first hand. It is not clear whether the two dots merely enclose the added letter as is often the case, or represent a diaeresis; the former alternative is more likely.
  - 19. l. Ωρωπιοι.

20. The correction is perhaps by a diorthotes.

32. χωρίζεσθαι: χωρίς θέσθαι MSS., rightly no doubt.

44. The paragraphus is misplaced; perhaps the scribe took αλλα for the conjunction.

61. εκ[δρομηι: ἐσδρομῆ MSS., more appropriately.

62. α[υτου: so E, H.; ἐαυτοῦ ABFM.

64. [... πρωτος: 80 MSS.; πρώτου Herwerden, H.

#### 879. THUCYDIDES III.

12·1 × 8·1 cm.

Third century.

Part of one column, with the beginnings of a few lines of the column adjoining, written in third-century sloping uncials of a common type. The portion preserved, from the fifty-eighth and fifty-ninth chapters of Thucydides, Book III, shows a correct text, supporting a traditional but suspected reading (l. 23). Two kinds of stop, the high and low (l. 13), are used, besides paragraphi; these, like the interlinear insertions in ll. 8 and 11, may be by the original scribe.

Col. i.

[pas  $\xi v \mu \mu \alpha \chi$ ]o[ $\iota$  δε ομαι 58.  $\chi \mu o \iota s$  ποτ[ $\epsilon$ ] γενομενοις

ων υμεις το εναντιον αν δρασαιτε μη ορθως 5 γνοντες σκεψασθε δε. 58. 5 Παυσανιας μεν γαρ εθα πτέν αυτους νομιζων Col. ii.  $[\epsilon]\nu \ \gamma\eta^i \ \tau\epsilon \ \phi\iota\lambda[\iota]\alpha\iota \ \tau\iota\theta\epsilon\nu\alpha\iota$ και παρ ανδρασι τοιουτοις. 10 υμεις δε ει κτενειτε η  $\mu[\alpha]$ s και [χ]ωραν την  $\Pi \alpha$ ταιϊδα Θηβαϊδα ποιησε τε. τι αλλο η εν πολεμιαι τε και παρα τοις αυθεν 15 ταις πατέρας τους υμέ τερους κα[ι ξυ]γγενεις α τιμους γερών ων νυν σκομέν εκείνης ηι τα 59. 2 [ι]σχουσι καταλειψετε· προς λα μπροτατα μετ αυτων δε και γην εν ηι ηλευ 30 πρίαξαντες νυν εν τηι 20 [θ]ερωθησαν οι Ελληνες  $\delta \epsilon \tau \sigma \delta \epsilon \nu \sigma \tau \sigma \tau \sigma \kappa \nu \delta v$ δουλωσετε ϊερα τε θεων νε υομεν παθειν οπερ 59. 3 [οις] ευξαμενοι Μηδων  $\delta \in \alpha[\nu \alpha \gamma \kappa \alpha \iota o \nu \ \tau \in \kappa \alpha \iota$ [εκρ]ατησαν· ερημουτε χαλ[επωτατον τοις ωδε [ $\kappa \alpha i \theta$ ] $\nu \sigma i \alpha s [\tau \alpha] s [\pi] \alpha \tau \rho i \sigma v s$ 35 εχοίυσι λογου τελευταν δι 25 [των εσσαμενω]ν και κτι οτι κ[αι του βιου ο κινδυνος [σαντων αφαιρησεσ]θεεγγυ[ς μετ αυτου

δε: so ABEFGM; τε C, H(ude).
 23. ερημουτε: so MSS.; ἐρημοῦντες Stahl, ἐρημώσετε Herwerden. H. prints ἐρημοῦντε with an obelus.

# 880. THUCYDIDES V.

Fr. (b)  $18.1 \times 13.2$  cm.

Late second century.

The following nine fragments from the fifth book of Thucydides fall into two groups, which were discovered on different occasions and come from quite different parts of the MS. Frs. (a)-(d), containing portions of chapters 32-4 and 40, were

found together, and the remainder, covering chapters 96-105 and part of 111, made their appearance some little distance away ten days afterwards. The rather broad columns are written in a clear and upright semicursive hand, dating apparently from the later decades of the second century. High stops and paragraphi are used, double dots as usual denoting a change of speaker in the report of the debate at Melos. There are two instances of the rough breathing; a final  $\nu$  is occasionally represented by a horizontal dash over the preceding vowel; iota adscript and  $\xi$  in  $\xi v \nu$  are commonly but not consistently written. The text is not of a high class and shows several errors which are absent from the better mediaeval MSS.; it supports tradition in two passages where emendations are accepted by Hude, but confirms Krüger's conjecture  $\tau v \hat{v} = v v \hat{v} + v \hat{v} \hat{v}$  for  $v \alpha \hat{v} = v v \hat{v}$ , which Hude does not adopt.

```
Fr. (a). .
                                                 του]s αυ[τουs
                                                                                        32. I
                                               ] μεν Αθ ηναιοι
                                        απεκ τειναν [
                                           yuv]aikas [
                                      Πλατ]αιευσιν [
          5
                                           κα]τηγαγο[ν
                                              ] 7@[S TE
Fr. (b). .
            [a\delta v]va[	au oldsymbol{o} \delta ovtes \delta l]a[	au oda a to te] \epsilon v [Kv]
                                                                                                                     33. 2
            [\psi \in \lambda o is] \tau [\epsilon i \chi o s \kappa \alpha i \tau ] a s \epsilon \nu [\Pi a \rho \rho a \sigma i o is] \pi o \lambda [\epsilon i s]
       10 \alpha\pi\eta\lambda[\theta o]\nu. \Lambda\alpha\kappa\epsilon\delta\alpha[\iota\mu]o[\nu\iota o\iota\ \delta]\epsilon tous \tau\epsilon\ \Pi[\alpha\rho]
                                                                                                                     33. 3
            \overline{[\rho]}agious autovomous \pi[0i\eta\sigma\alpha\nu]tes kai to [\tau\epsilon i]
            [χος κα] \theta ελοντές ανέχωρησαν επ οικου κα[ι
                                                                                                                     34. I
            [του α]υ[τ]ου \thetaερους ηδη ηκοντών αυτοις τ[ών
            [α]πο Θραικης μετα Βρασιδου εξελθοντων
       15 [\sigma \tau]ρατιωτων ους ο Kλεαριδα[s] μετα τα[s] σπον
            [\delta as \epsilon \kappa] o\mu i\sigma \epsilon or \Lambda a\kappa [\epsilon \delta ai] \mu [o] \nu ioi \epsilon \psi \eta [\phi i\sigma a\nu
            [το τους μ]εν μετα Βρα[σιδου] Ειλωτας μ[αχεσα
            [\mu\epsilon\nu00]s \epsilon\lambda\epsilon\nu\theta\epsilon00s \epsilon[i]\nuai και οικειν ο[\pi0v
            [αν βουλ]ωνται και υστερ[ο]ν ου πολλω α[υτους]
       20 [μετα τ ων νεοδαμωδων ες Λεπρεον [κατε
```

880. THUCYDIDES V	189
[στησαν] κειμενον επι τηι Λακωνικ[ηι και [τηι $H\lambda$ ]ειαι οντες ηδη διαφοροι $H[\lambda]$ ει[οις τους [δ εκ τ]ης νησου ληφθεντα[ς σφων και τα [οπλα] παραδοντας δε[ισ]αντες [μη τι δια την 25 [ξυμφ]οραν νομ[ισ]αν[τ]ε[ς] ελα[σσωθησεσθαι [και ον]τε[ς επ]ιτι[μοι] ν[εωτ]ερισ[ωσιν ηδη και αρ [χας τινας εχον]τας α[τι]μους ε[ποιησαν ατι [μιαν δε τοιανδε] ώστε μητε α[ρχειν μητε πρι [αμενους τι η πωλου]ντας κ[υρισυς ειναι	34. 2
Fr. (c)	
30 ετος τω[ι πολεμωι ετελευτα αμα δε τωι ηρι ευ  θυς τ[ου επιγιγνομενου θερους οι Αργειοι ως οι  τε π[ρεσβεις των Βοιωτων ους εφασαν πεμψειν  ουχ η[κον το τε Πανακτον ηισθοντο καθαιρου  μεν[ον και ξυμμαχιαν ιδιαν γεγενημενην  35 τοις [Βοιωτοις	40. I
Fr. (d)  π[  4° ξ[  τ[  σ[  γα[  τρ[	
Frs. (e), $(f)$ , $(g)$ .	26
[τους τε μη προσηκο]ντ[ας και οσοι αποικοι ον 45 [τες οι πολλοι και α]ποσ[ταντες τινες κεχειρων	96
[ται ες το αυτο τι]θ[ε]ασι[ : δικαιωματι γαρ ουδετε [ρους ελλειπει]ν ηγουν[ται κατα δυναμιν δε τους [μεν περιγιγνε]σθαι· ημας δ[ε φοβωι ουκ επιε	97

[ναι ωστε εξω το]υ κ[αι] πλεον[ων αρξαι και το α 50 [σφαλες ημιν δια το κα]ταστρα[φηναι α] $\psi$   $\pi$ [αρα [σχοιτε αλλως τε και νη]σιωται [ναυκρ]ατορ[ων [και ασθενεστεροι ετερων οντες ει μη  $\pi$ ]εριγε

[νοισθε: εν δ εκεινωι ου νομιζετε ασ]φα[λ]ει98 [αν δει γαρ αυ και ενταυθα ωσπερ υμεις των] δι 55 [καιων λογων ημας εκβιβασαν]τες [τωι υμε [τερωι ξυμφορωι υπακουειν] πειθετ<math>[ε και η][μας το ημιν χρησιμον διδασκο]ντας [ει τυγχανει [και υμιν το αυτο ξυμβαινον] πειρασ[θαι πειθεί [οσοι γαρ νυν μηδετεροις ξυμμ]αχου[σι πως ου Fr. (h). . 60 [ο υμεις α] $\sigma[\theta$ ενεις τε και επι ροπης μιας οντες μη 103. 2  $[\beta o \nu \lambda \epsilon \sigma] \theta \epsilon \pi \alpha \theta [\epsilon \iota] \nu \mu [\eta \delta o] \mu o [\iota \omega \theta \eta \nu \alpha \iota \tau o \iota s] \pi [o \lambda$ [λοις ο]ις παρον ανθρωπειω[ς ετι σω]ζεσθαι επει [δαν] πιεζουμενους αυτο[υς επιλι]πωσιν αι φα[νε]ρ[α]ι ελπιδες επι τας αφα[νεις κα]θιστανται65 μαντικήν τε και χρησμούς και οσα τοιαυτά με [τ] ελπιδων λυμαινεται : χαλεπον μεν και η 104 μεις ευ ιστε νομιζομεν προς δυναμιν τε την υμετεραν και την τυχην ει μη απο του ϊσου [εσται] αγωνιζεσθαι ομως δε πιστευομεν τηι 70 [μεν τ]υχηι εκ του θειου μη ελασσωσεσθαι ότι [οσιοι] [[οσιοι]] ου προς δικαιους ισταμεθα· της δε [δυνα]μ[εως] τω ελλειποντι την Λακεδαιμο[ν]ιων ημιν ξυνμαχιαν προσεσεσθαι αναγ κην εχουσαν και ει μη του αλλου της γε συγγε 75 νειας ενεκα αισχυνηι βοηθειν και ου παντα πασι ουτως αλογως θρα[συν]ομεθα [:] της μεν 105. 1 τοινυν προς το  $\theta$ ειον  $\epsilon[v]$ μενειας ουδ ημεις οι ομεθα λελειψεσθαι ουδεν γαρ εξω της ανθρω πειας των μεν ες το θειον νομισεως των δε 80 ες σφας αυτους βουλησεως δικαιουμενης πρασ σομέν ηγουμέθα γαρ το τε θειον δοξηι το αν 105. 2 θρωπειον τε σαφως δια παντος απο φυσ[εως] αναγκαιας ου αν κρατηι αρχειν και ημεις ουτε θεντες τον νομον ουτε κοινωι πρωτοι χρη

85	σαμενοι οντα δε παραλαβοντες και εσομενδ ες αει καταλειψοντε[s] χρωμεθα αυτωι ειδο	
	[τε]ς και υμας και αλλους εν τηι αυτηι δυναμει [η]μιν γενομενους δρωντας αν αυτο και προς [μεν] το θειον ουτως εκ του εικοτος ου φοβου	105. 3
90	[με]θα ελασσ $[ω]$ σεσ $θα$ ι τ $[ης$ $δε$ ες $Λ]$ ακεδαιμ $[ονι$	
	[ους δοξης ην δια το αισχρον δη βοη]θησ[ειν	
Fr. (i).		
	παρε[χε]τε ει [μη μεταστησαμενοι ετι ημας αλλο τι [τ]ωνδε [σωφρονεστερον γνωσεσθε	111. 2
95	ου γαρ δη επι γε τη[ν εν τοις αισχροις και πρου πτοις κινδυνοι[ς πλειστα διαφθειρουσαν	111. 3
	$[\alpha \nu \theta \rho \omega] \pi [o] vs [\alpha \iota \sigma \chi \upsilon \nu \eta \nu \tau \rho \epsilon \psi \epsilon \sigma \theta \epsilon \pi o \lambda \lambda o \iota s$	
	[γαρ προορ]ω[μενοις	

1-2. The papyrus seems to have differed here from the ordinary text which would give 40 letters between the s of του in l. 1 and ν of μεν in l. 2, whereas the usual length of a line is about 34-5 letters. Perhaps τουτου was omitted; that there was an agreement with Dion. Hal. De Thuc. Iud. 845. 12, who has περί δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους τούτους Σικυωνίους 'Aθηναίοι, is less likely.

14. [a]πο: so MSS.; ἐπί H(ude).

21-2. τηι Λακωνικ[ηι και τηι Ηλ]ειαι: τῆς Λακωνικῆς καὶ τῆς 'Ηλείας MSS.
33. η[κον: ἤκοντο οτ ἴκοντο MSS. The η in the papyrus is clear, and the line is quite long enough without the superfluous 70.

Fr. (d). This small piece, containing the first letters of lines, we have failed to identify. Since it was found with Frs. (a)-(c) it would be expected to come from the neighbourhood of cc. 30-40.

49. το]υ κ[aι: so Krüger; καὶ τοῦ MSS., H.

50-1. It is likely that the papyrus had ναυκρατόρων rather than ναυτοκρατόρων (B corr. M), but owing to the very doubtful identity of the two broken letters at the end of 1. 50 the

size of the lacuna between νη σιωται and ] ατορίων is uncertain.
55. εκβιβασαν]res: so H. with CG; but εκβιασαν]res (ABEFM) may equally well have stood in the papyrus.

63. πιεζουμενους: this late form also occurs in C.

επιλι]πωσιν (AB) suits the space better than επιλει]πωσιν (CEFGM).

71. ou  $\pi \rho os$ : l.  $\pi \rho os$  ou with MSS.

72. The second ε of ελλειποντι has been corrected probably from an ι.
75. αισχυνηι: καὶ αἰσχ. MSS. The loss of και would be easy between κα and αι.

80. δικαιουμένης: δικαιούμεν ή MSS.

82. απο: ὑπό MSS.

84. KOLVEL: I. KELHEVEL WITH MSS.

87. υμας: ὑμᾶς ἄν MSS.

88. auro: so MSS.; rairó H., cf. Valla and Schol.

# 881. PLATO, Euthydemus and Lysis.

 $10.2 \times 6.2$  cm. Late second or third century.

302 b

A small fragment containing on the recto part of a column, and a few letters from the ends of some lines of the column preceding, from Plato's *Euthydemus*. The text, which is written in a small neat uncial hand, round and upright, of about the end of the second century, shows one or two unimportant variants as compared with the three principal MSS., with none of which it agrees at all consistently. Stops (in the middle position), paragraphi, and double dots marking a change of speaker occur.

On the verso of this is a portion of a column from the Lysis, written in a small irregular uncial hand with some admixture of cursive, dating probably from the first half of the third century. Double dots accompanied by paragraphi mark, as usual, alternations in the dialogue; there is also a doubtful instance of a high stop, and one accent. The surface of the papyrus has suffered considerably and decipherment is sometimes difficult. Considering the small size of the fragment variations from the ordinary text are surprisingly frequent; they do not seem to be very valuable, though in most cases they are not obviously wrong.

## Recto.

Col.	i.	Col. ii.
COI.	1.	CO1. 11.

[μον τονδε: αρ ουν εφη τ]αυ λημμ ενος ουκ εστιν 301 e  $[\tau \alpha \ \eta \gamma \eta \iota \ \sigma \alpha \ \epsilon \iota \nu \alpha \iota \ \omega \nu \ \alpha] \nu$ ην δ εγίω ω Διονωσοδω [αρξηις και εξηι σοι αυ]τοις ρε: τα[λαιπωρος αρα [χρησθαι οτι αν βουλη]ι. συ γε τ[ις ανθρωπος ει 302 a 15 και ουδε [Αθηναιος ωι 5 [οιον βους και προβα]τα [αρ αν ηγοιο ταυτα σα] ει μητε θε[οι πατρωιοι εισιν [ναι α σοι εξειη και απ]ο μηθ ιε[ρα μητε αλλο μη [δοσθαι και δουναι κ]αι δεν καλ[ον και αγαθον: εα [ $\theta v \sigma \alpha \iota \quad o \tau \omega \iota \quad \beta o v \lambda o \iota o \quad \theta \epsilon ] \omega v$ . ην δ εγω ω Διονυσοδω 10 [α δ αν μη ουτως εχηι] ου 20 ρε· ευφημει τε και μ[η χα λεπως με προδιδασ[κε

εστι γαρ εμοιγε και βίω μοι και ϊερα πατ[ρωια και ταλλα οσαπερ [τοις 25 αλλοις Αθηναιοίις των τοιουτων: €[ιτα τοις αλ λοις εφη Αθην[αιοις ουκ εστι Ζευς ο πατρωι

5. προβα]ra: cf. T, Ven. 189 and Par. 1808, where πρόβατον has an a written above the final syllable; πρόβατον BW, Burnet.

14. συ γε τ ι: τις συ γε Burn. with T, τε συ γε B. 22-3. βωμοι και: so TW, Burn.; om. B.

23. ιερα πατ ρωια: Ιερά οἰκεῖα καὶ πατρφα BTW.

#### Verso.

[επιτρεπου]σιν αλλα αρ[ 208 C 10  $\epsilon \phi \eta \epsilon [\iota] s \delta \iota \delta \alpha \sigma \kappa \alpha [\lambda o] v$ : [χει σου τις: πιδαγωγος  $\mu\omega\nu$   $\mu\eta$   $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $ou\tau o\iota$   $\sigma[ou]$   $\alpha[\rho]$ [εφη:] μων δουλος ων χο[υσ]ι[ν ο]ι διδασκαλο[ι]:[π]αντ[ω]ς δηπου: παμ $[\eta\mu\epsilon\tau]\epsilon\rho\sigma\sigma$   $\gamma\epsilon$   $\epsilon\phi\eta$ :  $\hat{\eta}$   $\delta\epsilon\iota$ 208 d 5 [vov  $\eta$ ]v  $\delta$   $\epsilon \gamma \omega$   $\epsilon \lambda \epsilon v \theta \epsilon$  $[\pi o]\lambda\lambda[ov]$ s αρα σοι γε δεσπο [ρον ον]τα γ∈ ϋπο δουλου 15 [τας και αρχ]οντας ως εοι [αρχεσ]θαι· τι δε και ποιων  $[\kappa \in V] \in \kappa \omega[V]$  o  $\pi \alpha \tau \eta \rho \in \phi \iota$  $[av \ ov] \tau os \ \sigma ov \ o \ \pi a[\iota] \delta a \gamma \omega$ [στησι: αλλ αρα επ]ειδαν [. . . . . . . . . . . . . . ] . . .

1.  $a\rho$  at the end of the line is uncertain, but to read  $a\lambda\lambda$   $a\rho\chi$  is not more satisfactory, for though the first of the doubtful letters is in some ways more like  $\rho$  than a the second is more like  $\rho$  than  $\chi$ . Moreover the division  $\alpha\rho\chi|\alpha$  is very objectionable in a literary text, while to read  $a\rho\chi[\epsilon i$  would make this line longer than any of those that follow, and besides necessitate a supplement of three letters at the beginning of l. 2, where there is no known variant.

<sup>2.</sup> σο]υ τις: τίς σου MSS., which also read όδε or δ δέ (δ alone Paris. 1811) before παιδαγωγός. The scribe omitted the a and perhaps also the ι in the latter word; he does not seem to have written medaywyos.

<sup>4.</sup> ἀλλὰ τί μήν precedes ἡμέτερος γε in the MSS. (omit ἀλλὰ . . . ἔφη Ven. 189).

<sup>6.</sup> γε: om. MSS.

<sup>7.</sup> de Rai: de MSS. except Vat. 226 which has Rai in place of de.

8. σου ο π.: ό π. σου MSS.

14.  $\gamma \epsilon$ : the reading is quite uncertain, but something certainly stood in the papyrus between  $\sigma \omega$  and  $\delta \epsilon \sigma \pi o [\tau a \epsilon]$ . For the insertion of  $\gamma \epsilon$  cf. l. 6.

15. ως εοίκεν: om. MSS. ως τοικεν occurred a few lines above in 208 b. It is superfluous here after τρα.

## 882. DEMOSTHENES, In Aristogitonem I.

 $9.8 \times 7$  cm.

Second century.

A fragment from the bottom of a column of a roll containing the first speech of Demosthenes against Aristogiton. It is written in an upright and rather small round hand, not very regular, and probably dating from the second century. No stops or other lectional signs are found, but slight blank spaces, perhaps corresponding to marginal paragraphi, are left where a pause occurred in ll. 7 and 10. An interlinear addition in l. 8 may be by the original scribe. The fragment is too small to possess any critical value; the writer was apparently careless.

[κ]αι κεγρα[γως] κ[αι ιο]υ ιου π[αντ ανω

[τ]ε και κατω ποιω[ν εν] ταις εκκλησι

[αι]ς ως δεον στ[ρεβλου]ν λαβων ο

[τι]δηποτε παρω[ν οτε] ηφειετο αφω

5 [ν]ος εγενετο τη[ν κατα] Δημοκλε

[ου]ς εισαγγελια[ν αν]α[σεισα]ς ποι ε

[τρ]εψεν αλλα μυρια ων εμο[ι] μεν

[ερ]γον απαντων μνησθηναι συ ο[ιδα

[ο]τι και τα [αν]τιγραφα αυτων εξεις

το [ερ]γολαβων αυτωι [τ]ις ουν ο τον τοι

§ 48

l. κεκραγως.

8. SY add ἐστί(ν) after ἀπάντων: om. Blass with the other MSS.

9. efeis: l. exeis with MSS.

συ δ [ευ] ο[ιδα: Om. ευ AF, Blass. It is of course impossible to be sure that ευ was inserted here as well as δ, but the similarity of συ and ευ will readily account for the original omission of δ ευ, whereas δ by itself would less easily drop out.

# 883. DEMOSTHENES, In Aristocratem.

18 × 4·1 cm.

Third century.

A short fragment containing parts of §§ 149-50 of the speech against Aristocrates. The roll was written in narrow columns, a large space (7.5 cm.) being left above them. The good-sized, well-formed hand is of the oval type, but the letters are upright or have only a very slight slope;  $\omega$  is noticeably small. It seems to be a rather early example of this style of literary writing, and perhaps goes back to the beginning of the third century. A stop placed midway in the line and accompanied by a paragraphus marks the end of a section. There are two agreements with minor MSS. against S; but judging from the blunders in ll. 11-4 the text was not of a high class.

	τερα[ς τ]ριακ[ον	<b>∮ 149</b>	μον παλιν [πο
	τορους ον ακ[ρι	•	. λεμειν π[ροει
	βως ηδει $πα[ν$		$\lambda$ ετο $X$ ερ $[ ho$ ονη
	των ανθρωπ[ων		σον και ου[δεν
5	διακειμεν[ον		15 ειχε ποιειν [
	εχθροτατα ϋ		ϋμας εκει κα
	μιν. και με[τα	<b>∮</b> 150	κον μ[ισ]θο[ι πα
	ταυτα επειδ[η	•	λιν αυτον Ολ[υι
	τον προς $A\mu$ [φι		$\theta$ ιοις τοι $[s \ \ddot{v}]\mu[\epsilon]$
10	πολιν πολ[ε		20 τεροις εχ[θροις

πα[ν]των: so A; τῶν ὅντων other MSS., Blass.
 διακειμεν[ον] εχθροτατα υμιν: ἐχθ. ὑμῖν διακ. MSS.
 ταυτα: so v; ταῦτά γ' Blass with other MSS.

II sqq. The ordinary reading here is πρότερον πολεμεῖν εἶλετο Τιμόθεος τοῦ πρὸς Χερρόνησον. The text of the papyrus has gone badly astray; προειλετο for εἶλετο is comparatively harmless, but παλιν is an awkward repetition of παλιν in l. 17, and the omission before Xερ[ρονη]σον reduces the passage to nonsense.

# 884. SALLUST, Catilina.

15.8 x 15.4 cm. Fifth century. Plate V (recto).

Latin classics have been conspicuous for their rarity among papyri from Egypt, and hence the following fragment of Sallust's *Catilina*, ch. vi, is of more than ordinary interest. It consists of a nearly complete leaf from a papyrus

codex, which may be assigned to the fifth century. The upright and well-formed hand is of the 'mixed' type, the forms of the letters, in which cursive characteristics predominate, being in general similar to those e.g. of the legal fragments in P. Amh. II. 28, which are no doubt of about the same date. The ink is of the reddish-brown colour common at this period. Dots in three positions as well as the colon (cf. P. Amh. II. 27) are used for purposes of punctuation, pauses being also sometimes marked by blank spaces (ll. 1, 3, 25) or paragraphi (l. 6). que is written q: the only other abbreviation which occurs is reip for reipublicae.

The scribe was extremely careless and made a number of errors, which have been amended to some extent by himself but more often by some one else. Since the colour of the ink in these corrections does not differ from that of the text, it is not easy to distinguish the hands; but the alteration of e.g. propularent to propulerant in 1. 18 seems clearly to be by the original writer, while the insertion of annis four lines lower down is not less clearly due to another person. There also occur a few cursive adscripts (ll. 5, 6, and 10) which may be independent both of the original scribe and the corrector of annis, &c.; if, however, they are to be assigned to one or other of them, the former seems more likely to be responsible than the latter. It may be noted that the cross-stroke of t in tempore, l. 5, is brought down to form the base of the following e as in the Italian papyri of the fifth and sixth centuries. In several places small interlinear marks are found of which the significance is not clear; cf. note on 11. 7, 26-7, 30. The text as corrected is good, agreeing in the main with the best MSS., of which there are a large number dating from the tenth century onwards. The most interesting reading is the occurrence in 11.5-6 of the sentence ita brevi... facta est, for which there is otherwise small support. Our collation is based on the edition of R. Dietsch (Leipzig, 1859), from whose text the papyrus rarely diverges.

Verso

liberum adq· solutum [[fuit]] hi postquam in una moenia convenere. dispari genere

dissimili lingu[e]. alius alio more viven tes. incredibile memoratu[s] est quam faci tempore tu

5 le coluerin[t] ita brevi multido diversa

t g per çon m
a[d]q·va[s]a concordia civitas facta est:

sed postquam res eorum civibus moribus agris· aucta· satis prospera satisq· pollens videbatur: sicuti pleraq· mortalium haben vi. 2

6

7

optis is otur invidia ex opolent[[um]] orta est

[i] gitur reges. populiq f[[e]]nitimi. bell o tem

taba[nt]
[p]t[a]re [pa]uc[i] ex amicis auxilio esse [nam cete
[ri metu pe]r[c]ulsi a peric[u]lis aber[ant

4 lines lost.

Recto.

propul[a]r[e]nt: sociis a[d]q. amicis auxilia por[ta

bant m[us]gisq· [dis] dandis quam accipien
20 dis beneficiis amicitias parabant imperium
legetimum nomen imperii regium habe

annis
bant delecti quibus corpus infirmum inge
nium sapientia validum erat reip consulta

bant ii vel aetate vel cura similitudine 25 patres appellabantur post ubi regium imperium quod initio conservandae [i

[b]ertatis a [d]q augenda reip fuerat in super [bi]am dominationemq se convertit immu [tato m]ore annua imperia binosq impera 30 [tores sibi fecere eo] modo min[ume

1. fuit, which is crossed through, is not found in the MSS.

3. alius: so the majority of MSS.; alii Dietsch with PBT (2nd hand) p1 &c.

5-6. ita... facta est: this sentence is found in Leid. G and with erat for est in a MS. used by Popma, Vind. I and 2, and cod. Herbipolitanus; om. Dietsch. tempore, which is inserted above the line, is found only here; the addition is no improvement. per concordiam as a variant for concordia is also novel; the reading is uncertain, the supposed c of con looking more like n, and very little remaining of the final m. Both per concordiam and tempore might be regarded as explanatory glosses rather than textual variants.

7. Above e of eorum is a mark resembling a small c, which we do not understand.

10. We suppose that the mistaken opulentum has been twice corrected. ia over the termination is clear, but the decipherment of the cursive letters which precede at a higher level is very doubtful. The first of them is probably e, and entia seems just possible, though there is really more ink than is satisfactorily accounted for by nt. ex... or epo... might be read

11. temptare or tentare MSS. Just in front of the upright stroke of b in bello there is an angular mark to which we can attach no meaning. The low stop beneath it is doubtful.

- 13.  $pe_r[c]ussi$  (p<sup>6</sup> g g<sup>6</sup>  $\sigma$ ) might also be read, but is less likely than  $pe_r[c]ulsi$ .
- 21. l. legitimum.
- 22. annis (o)rpus: so M; corpus annis is the usual order.
- 24. ii: ei MSS., except g4, which has hi.
- 26-7. Several small interlinear signs of doubtful significance occur here; cf. Plate V. Above quod there is something rather like an e, and above the middle i of initio are some strokes resembling the letters li; a more complicated sign appears over augendae, and an angular mark over e of fueral.
  - 30. There is an angular mark above the n of minume; cf. notes on ll. 11 and 26-7.

# IV. MISCELLANEOUS LITERARY FRAGMENTS

885. TREATISE ON DIVINATION.

23.3 x 8.3 cm. Late second or early third century.

This text, containing one well-preserved column between two others which have almost entirely disappeared, is written in careful and well-formed upright uncials of about the end of the second century. High stops are used, besides paragraphi, while a coronis below a short line at 1.57 marks the end of a section; an accent occurs in 1. 38. The subject of what remains is the interpretation of strokes of lightning when falling upon statues. A parallel to this is to be found in the work of Johannes Lydus, de Ostentis, §§ 47-52, where a section occurs (probably derived from Cornelius Labeo, a writer of the second or third century) giving the prognostications to be deduced when various objects, and among them statues, are struck by lightning, according to the position of the sun. Possibly astronomical conditions were also taken into account in the present treatise, though they do not figure in what remains. Whether it concerned thunderbolts only (περί κεραυνών) or was of a wider character and included other διοσημεΐαι is also doubtful. It is interesting as an early specimen of the treatises on signs and wonders which in the Byzantine period became so popular. A noticeable circumstance is that there are no traces of Egyptian influence, the gods mentioned in Il. 44-6 being exclusively Greek. According to Lydus indeed (§§ 43, 52), things were not struck by lightning in Egypt, or if ever they were, when the sun was in Pisces, it was a good omen. Thunderstorms do occur at the present day, though rarely.

(	Col. i.			Col. ii.		Col.	iii.
	]01			χη αυτω εσται			f
	]λη			της ευδαιμονι			ĺ
	]			ας εαν δε ολοσχε			τ[
	]		35	ρως καταπεσηι		65	
5	]εσ			η εικων πλη			[
	].v			γεισα υπο του κε			<u>a[</u>
	] <u>o</u>			ραυνου απώλει			<b>a</b> [
	<u>ļ</u>			αν αυτου τω γε			γ[
	<b>]</b> ∞		40	νει σημαινει ο		70	η[
10	].	ж		λωι· χρη ουν τον			7[
	]€			πενητα εικονα			γ.[
,	]			αφιερουν· και			<b>α</b> [
	]			θυειν Διϊ Κεραυ			€ν[
	]		45	$v[\iota]$ $\omega\iota$ · και $H$ ρακ $\lambda \epsilon\iota$		75	$\mu$ [
15	]012			και Τυχηι Σωτει			$\sigma \theta$ [
	]2.			ρα κατα δυνα			K÷[
	] γαρ			μιν και προσποι			vo[
	]aı		,	εισθαι μεν το προ			τα[
	$]\eta\sigma$		50	τερον σημειον		80	$\pi[$
20	] <b>a</b>			της δε πεσουσης			<b>x</b> · [
	]			εικονος εκθυε			$\sigma\eta[$
	. ]			σθαι και αποτρο			€π[
	]€ν			πιαζεσθαι το ση			ðĮ
	]ασ		55	μειον θυοντα		85	<b>7</b> [
25	].			τοις αυτοις θε			<b>a</b> [
	]			orz	p		λα[
	]			<del></del>			<b>7</b> [
	]			εαν εικονές ανδρων			μ[
	<b>]</b> o		60	καλων κ[α]γαθων		90	<b>π</b> [
30	ķ			υπο κεραυνου			ρọ[
	$\alpha \rho$ ]			πληγωσ[ι] . [			

51. First σ of πεσουσης corr. from ι.

'(If the statue of a poor man be struck by a thunderbolt and do not fall), it will be the beginning of happiness for him; but if the statue when struck by the thunderbolt falls down entirely, it indicates the destruction of his whole family. The poor man should therefore purify the statue, and sacrifice to Zeus Wielder of Thunder, and Heracles, and Fortune the Preserver in accordance with his means, and appropriate the former portent; but the portent of the fallen statue he should expiate and avert by sacrifice to the same gods. If the statues of noble men be struck by a thunderbolt...'

31 sqq. The sense of the protasis of this sentence is apparent from what follows; it may be restored εαν εικων ανδρος πενητος υπ]ο | [κεραυνου πληγε]μ[σα μη καταπεση αρ]|χη κ.τ.λ. In Lydus, De Ostentis, the passage concerning statues is as follows (§ 47): εὶ δὲ κατ' ἀγαλμάτων κατενεχθη (κεραυνὸς) ποικίλας καὶ ἐπαλλήλους τὰς συμφορὰς τοῖς πράγμασιν ἀπειλεῖ· εἰ γὰρ χαρακτήρες ἰδεῶν τινων καὶ κόσμια πόλεων τὰ ἀγάλματα ὑπωπτεύθη τοῖς παλαιοῖς, ἀρὰ τοῖς πράγμασιν ἡ περὶ αὐτὰ ὕβρις. The statues there meant are public ornaments, or represent abstract qualities, and the portent has a more general significance than is the case here, where private individuals are concerned.

41. The marginal sign, which stands midway between the two columns, is repeated again before 1.87. Its meaning is obscure; it cannot be associated with the paragraphus below 1.41, since at 1.87 there is no paragraphus, nor on the other hand is it very likely in the latter place to have some connexion with the conclusion of the section in 1.57, for 1.10 is a full line, and there is therefore no reason to suppose that a section ended at that point. The symbol might be taken to represent  $a\rho$  or  $\delta\rho$ , but the first letter would be incompletely formed.

## 886. MAGICAL FORMULA.

21.3 × 12.5 cm.

Third century.

A formula for obtaining an omen, of a type common in magical papyri, and purporting, as often happens with Hermetic writings, to be copied from a sacred book; cf. note on ll. 2-4 and Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, pp. 138 sqq.

The letters of the alphabet, which are frequently employed in astrology and magic (cf. Boll, Sphaera, pp. 469 sqq., Reitzenstein, op. cit., pp. 260 and 288, Dieterich, ABC-Denkmäler, P. Brit. Mus. 121. 705 sqq., &c.), play a somewhat mysterious part in the formula, their number being reckoned as 29 instead of 24. An uneven figure was in any case required owing to the nature of the process described in ll. 19-21, but how the figure 29 was obtained is quite obscure. To give confidence in the efficacy of the spell, the claim is made (ll. 7-10) that it was used by Hermes and Isis in the search for the dismembered body of Osiris. The scribe was a very illiterate person, and makes several mistakes. A couple of dashes are placed in the margin below l. 1 and against ll. 24-5.

Μεγάλη 1σις ή κυρία.

ρὶ ὧν θέλις κληδονισθῆναι. λαβὼν φύνιἀντίγραφον ἰερᾶς βίβλου τῆς εὐρετίσης ἐν
τοῖς τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ ταμίοις.
5 ὁ δὲ τρόπος ἐστὶν τὰ περ[ὶ]
τὰ γράμματα κθ
δι΄ ὧν ὁ Ἑρμῆς κὲ ἡ Ἰσις
ζητοῦσα ἐαυτῆς τὸν ἀδελφὸν κὲ ἄνδρα Ό10 σιρειν. ἐπικαλοῦ μὲ[ν(?)
τὸν β κὲ τοὺς ἐν βυθῷ θεοὺς πάντας πε-

- 15 κος ἄρσενος φύλλα κθ ἐπίγρ(αψον) ἐν ἐκάστφ τῶν φύλλων τὰ τῶν θεῶν ὀνόματα κὲ ἐπευξά-μενος ἐρε κατὰ δύο
  20 δύο, τὸ δὲ ὑπολιπό[μ]ε-νον ἔσχατον ἀναγνῶ-τι κὲ εὐρήσις σου τὴν κληδόνα ἐν οἶς μέτεστειν καὶ χρημαθισθήση τη-25 λαυγῶς.
- 1. τσις Pap.; so in l. 7.
  3. l. εὐρεθείσης.
  7. l. καί: so in ll. 9, 11, 18, 22.
  9. ö|σιρειν' Pap.
  14. l. φοίνικος.
  The κ has been inserted later.
  17. θεω Pap.
  19. l. αἶρε.
  19–20. δυο΄ δυο΄ Pap.
  20. ϋπολιπο[μ]ενον Pap.
  21. l. ἀναγνῶθι.
  24. l. χρηματισθήση.
- 'Great is the Lady Isis. Copy of a sacred book found in the archives of Hermes. The method is concerned with the 29 letters used by Hermes and Isis when searching for her brother and husband Osiris. Invoke the sun and all the gods in the deep concerning those things about which you wish to receive an omen. Take 29 leaves of a male palm, and inscribe on each of the leaves the names of the gods; then after a prayer lift them up two by two, and read that which is left at the last, and you will find wherein your omen consists, and you will obtain an illuminating answer.'
- 2-4. Prof. F. Cumont well compares the beginning of a magical formula found in Catal. codd. Astr. Gracc. vii. p. 62 Βίβλος εὐρεθεῖσα ἐν Ἡλιουπολει τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐν τῷ ἰερῷ ἐν ἀδύτοις ἐγγεγραμμένη ἐν ἱεροῖς γράμμασι κ.τ.λ.
- 6.  $\kappa\theta$ : in 1. 15  $\kappa\epsilon$  might be read in place of  $\kappa\theta$ , the right-hand part of the second numeral being lost, but there is, we think, no doubt about the reading  $\kappa\theta$  here; cf. introd.
- 10. ἐπικαλοῦ μέ[ν: the vestiges following μ suit ε better than α. μέ[ν is not very satisfactory, and ἐπικαλοῦμαι constantly occurs in magical formulae of this character (e. g. the extract from P. Leyden W. quoted in note on l. 14); but to read ἐπικαλοῦμε (= ἐπικαλοῦμαι) here makes the change to the second person singular in l. 13 very difficult.
  - 11. The sign following τόν is the ordinary symbol in magical papyri for ηλως.
- 14 sqq. Cf. e. g. P. Leyden W. xxiv. 31 sqq. λαβών φύλλον δάφνης ἐπίγραψον τὸν χαλακτῆρα (l. χαρακ.) & (l. δς) ἐστιν καὶ δείξας το (l. τῷ) (ἡλίῳ) λέγε, ἐπικαλοῦμαί σε κ.τ.λ.
  - 19. κατὰ δύο δύο: for this mixture of distributives cf. e. g. Luke x. 1.

# 887. DIRECTIONS FOR WRESTLING (?).

10.6 x 5.8 cm.

Third century.

On the recto of this small fragment are parts of eight lines from the bottom of a column, containing repeated references to different parts of the body and

apparently belonging to a treatise of the same class as 466, which is concerned with grips in wrestling. The careful and rather large uncial writing is probably of the third century. On the verso is another text in a similar and possibly identical hand; but the letters are more hastily formed, and the lines are set much wider apart and also come further down towards the lower edge of the papyrus. The subject here is evidently different, but the remains are too scanty to give a definite clue to its nature.

Recto.	Verso.
<ul> <li>επι το]ν δεξ[ιο]ν [ωμον</li> <li>] εις τα αριστερα του [</li> <li>] επι τον δεξιον ω[μον</li> <li>] επι το [α]κρον του [</li> <li>] επι τ[ο]ν αριστερο[ν ωμον</li> <li>]λημψεται</li> <li>] επι το ακρον το[υ</li> <li>] επι το στηθος π[</li> </ul>	

# V. DOCUMENTS OF THE ROMAN AND BYZANTINE PERIODS

# (a) OFFICIAL

888. EDICT OF A PRAEFECT AND PETITION.

Fr. (b)  $9.2 \times 14.9$  cm.

Late third or early fourth century.

A petition to the exegetes of the Oxyrhynchite nome, with which is here coupled the Small Oasis, from two persons, one of whom was a woman (cf. note on l. 9), concerning the guardianship of the children of their dead sister. Only the first two or three lines of this document remain and its purport is unknown; the interest of the papyrus lies in the fact that prefixed to the mutilated petition is a copy of an edict, dated in the year 287, of the praefect Flavius Valerius

Pompeianus, relating to the appointment of guardians for orphan minors. This ordinance directs that magistrates empowered to make such appointments (οἱ τοῦ χειροτονεῖν κύριοι) should do so in all cases where orphans were without guardians, since absence of the latter led to much delay in business in which orphans were involved. The question here arises, what magistrates were competent to appoint guardians? According to the lex Iulia et Titia, passed in B.C. 31, this right was in the provinces vested in the praefects, and that that enactment continued in force in the third century is shown by 720, where it is expressly named (A.D. 247). In practice, however, the praefect of Egypt is seldom found exercising his power, which was delegated to subordinate officials, and in particular to the  $\hat{\epsilon} \xi \eta \gamma \eta \tau a l$ , who, as in 888, are the persons most commonly invoked in connexion with the guardianship of minors; cf. e. g. B. G. U. 1070, in which a woman supplies to the exegetes the name of a man suitable for the guardianship of her children. From P. Amh. 85 and 86, which are applications addressed to the exegetes for leases of land belonging to orphans, it would appear that this magistrate was actually responsible to some extent for the proper management of property of that class. Professor Mitteis, to whom we are indebted for several points in the interpretation of this papyrus, thinks that the praefect was principally appealed to when the parties concerned came from different nomes, or when one or other of them happened to be residing outside his own nome, and the local magistrates were consequently unable to act. The latter explanation would well suit P. Tebt. 326, where the applicants who have recourse to the praefect are natives of Antinoopolis domiciled in the Fayûm. The exegetae, however, were not the only officials competent in these matters. In 487 the γραμματεύς πόλεως is stated to have assigned a guardian to certain minors, and the epistrategus is requested to direct the strategus to give orders that the γραμματεύς should substitute another person. According to P. Tebt. 326, where the case is referred to the praefect, the magistrate who would actually make the appointment in accordance with the praefect's instructions would be not the exegetes but the strategus; cf. P. Cattaoui verso ii. 17-9, where the iuridicus proposes to instruct the strategus to make an appointment of guardians. In both these instances no doubt the strategus may be supposed to be acting merely as the temporary delegate of the superior authority; but a more general competence to deal with such matters is proved, for Oxyrhynchus at any rate, by 56, where an application by a woman for a κύριος is addressed to the exegetes because the deputy-strategus was absent, and 898. 26-9, where a strategus orders the guardian of a minor to be changed. A new date is supplied by this papyrus for the praefecture of Pompeianus, who is shown to have been in office in Oct. 287, while from P. Amh. 137 he is known to have been still praefect in July 289.

```
[\Phi]λα[ούιος Οὐαλέριος Πομπη]ιανὸς ὁ διαση[μό]τατος ἔπαρχος Aἰγύπτου
    οις [έαν μη πεποιημένοι ωσ]ιν κηδεμόνες ορ[φαν]οις οι του χειροτονείν
                                                                        κύριοι καθ εστώτες
                15 letters
                                      ποιζείσθωσαν τοὺς καθ' [ἡλζικίαν κηδεμόνας
    ěν
                                                     ούτω γάρ συμβήσεται της π[ροσ-
    ηκ[ούσης ἐπιμελείας τ]υγχάνειν, ώς νῦν γε [\pi]ολλὰ τῶν ὀρφανικῶν πραγ-
                                                                     μάτων τῶν ἐπὶ το[ῖς
 5 κη[δεμόσιν όντων άνα]βολης τυγχάνειν διά τὸ μη παρείναι τοις δρφανοις
                                                                            ἐπιτρόπους ήτοι
    κου[ράτορας. έτους] δ καὶ γ (έτους) τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ
                                                                   Μαξιμιανού Σεβαστών
    \Phi a[\hat{\omega}\phi \iota . . \pi \rho o \epsilon \tau \epsilon \theta \eta \ \hat{\epsilon} \nu \ O \xi v] \rho \dot{\nu} \gamma \chi \omega \nu \ \tau \hat{\varphi} \ a \dot{\nu} \tau \hat{\varphi} \ \mu \eta \nu [\hat{\iota}] \ \Phi a \hat{\omega} \phi \iota \ \kappa \zeta.
                                          έ]νάρχφ έξηγητη 'Οξυρυγ[χίτου κ]αί· Μικρᾶς
               'Οάσεως βουλ(ευτῆ) τῆς λαμπ(ρᾶς) καὶ λαμπ(ροτάτης) 'Οξυρύγ-
    [χων πόλεως
10 [\pi a \rho \dot{a} \ldots \kappa a] \dot{a} \Lambda \pi o \lambda \delta \omega \nu (as \dot{a} \mu \phi \sigma \tau (\epsilon) \rho \omega \nu \dot{a} \rho (\tau \rho \dot{a} s)
                                   Θαήσιος ἀπὸ τῆς λαμπ(ρᾶς) καὶ λαμπ(ροτάτης)
    ['Οξυρύγχ(ων) πόλ(εως). τυχόντες της κ]ηδεμονίας τῶν ἀφηλίκων ἀδελφιδῶν
                                                         ήμων, τέκνων της μετηλλαχυ-
                                                                       ' Ωριγ ] ένους απίδ] της
    [ías
                                  50 letters
    [αὐτῆς πόλεως . . .
```

1. πομπη μανος Pap. 5. τυγ'χανειν Pap. 6. σεβαστώ Pap. 8. οξυρυγ' Pap.

To..., exegetes in office of the Oxyrhynchite nome and the Small Oasis, senator of the illustrious and most illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus, from . . . and Apollonia, both children of Origenes and Thaësis, of the illustrious and most illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus. We were given the guardianship of our nephews (or nieces), the children of our dead sixty and output of Origenes of the said sixty.

sister . . . daughter of Origenes, of the said city . . .

<sup>&#</sup>x27;Proclamation of his excellency Flavius Valerius Pompeianus, praefect of Egypt. Orphans for whom no guardians have been assigned shall have guardians in accordance with their age created for them by those competent to make the appointment...; for it will thus result that they receive proper attention, whereas at present much business concerning orphans and depending upon their guardians is delayed because the orphans are unattended by tutores or curatores. The 4th which = the 3rd year of our lords the Augusti Diocletianus and Maximianus, Phaophi... Published in Oxyrhynchus on the 27th of the same month Phaophi.

3. The lacuna may be filled e.g. ἐν [ἐκάστω νομῷ εἰθέως, οτ ἐν[τὸς . . . ἡμερῶν. π[ροσ]η-

κ ούσης Mitteis.

τοὺς καθ [ήλ]ικίαν κηδεμόνας, 'guardians corresponding to the age of the orphans,' i. e. tutores for those below the age of puberty (14 years), curatores for those under 25 years. κηδεμών is here used as a wider term including both tutores and curatores; cf. ll. 5–6 where ἐπιτρόπους ἥτοι κου[ράτορας is synonymous with τοὺς καθ' ήλικ. κηδεμόνας, 'tutores or curatores as the case may be.' The distinction between tutor and curator is not infrequently lost sight of in provincial documents of this period, but no such confusion would be expected, as Mitteis has pointed out to us, in an official proclamation, and ἥτοι therefore does not mean that ἐπιτρόπους and κουράτορας are convertible terms.

5. There is a hole in the papyrus between  $\eta$  and s of  $dva | 30\lambda \eta s$ , in which there is room for a letter; the writing surface seems to have been faulty at this point. The supplement

of the preceding lacuna is a trifle shorter than it might be.

6. There would be room for about five letters between κου ράτορας and έτους, but a short

blank space may well have been left before the date.

8. The Small Oasis (Bahriyeh) which was grouped with the 'Επτανομία (cf. P. Amh. 137. I ἐπιστρ(ατήγφ) 'Επτ. καὶ 'Οάσεως Μικρᾶς) would naturally, for administrative purposes, be combined with the Oxyrhynchite nome, to the west of which it lies; cf. 485, where the implication is that persons living in the Oasis were under the jurisdiction of the Oxyrhynchite strategus.

9. The petitioners were either brother and sister, or else two sisters; in the former case, which is the more probable, they perhaps also stood in the relation of husband and wife. In any case the passage provides another instance of female guardianship, which has already been attested for peregrini by 495, and for Roman citizens by P. Tebt. 378; cf. Wenger, Zeitschr. f. Savigny-Stiftung, 28, p. 305¹. Various instances in the papyri prove the possibility of a mother acting as guardian to her children (cf. e. g. 898. 5-6), and the guardianship of mothers and grandmothers was eventually admitted by the later Roman law; but that of women not so related to the ward was at no period legalized.

#### 889. EDICT OF DIOCLETIAN AND PETITION.

23.5 × 9.3 cm.

Fourth century.

This narrow strip from a papyrus written in a large cursive hand in very broad lines contains in ll. 11 sqq. part of a petition addressed to the boule of, no doubt, Oxyrhynchus, by a man who probably wished to be let off some municipal burden on the score of old age and ill-health. In support of his case he appeals to an imperial decree, of which a copy is prefixed in ll. 1-11. The papyrus is thus similar in character to P. Flor. 57, a petition to the praefect claiming immunity from λειτουργίαι, which begins by quoting several rescripts of Septimius Severus and Caracalla guaranteeing this immunity to persons over the age of 70. The authors of the present decree are clearly Diocletian and Maximian, and the date of it is apparently the third consulship of the Caesars Constantine and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In 495 it is the sister of the testator, not, as stated by Wenger, his daughter, who is appointed guardian.

Galerius, A.D. 300. It was of the nature of an indulgence  $(\phi \iota \lambda] a \nu \theta \rho \omega \pi l a$ , 1. 5) apparently to persons over the age of 60  $(i \xi \eta \kappa o \nu \tau a \epsilon \tau \epsilon i s$ , 1. 9), but the special nature of the benefits conferred remains obscure, the only clue being afforded by 1. 8, where there seems to be a reference to  $\pi \rho d \kappa \tau o \rho \epsilon s$  (?) and to the practice of quartering persons upon others  $(i \pi l \sigma \tau a \theta \mu o \iota)$ . The remains of the date of the petition itself (ll. 11-2) are too slight to fix the year, but it no doubt falls within the 50 years following A.D. 300.

```
Γε ρμανικός Μέγιστος Γουνθικίος Μέγιστος
             Εύσεβης Εζύτυχης Νικητης Σεβαστός κ[αὶ
                          \s Σαρματικοί Μέγιστοι Γερμαν[ικός Μέγιστος
             Μαξιμιανό]ς οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι Καίσαρε[ς
                      φιλ]ανθρωπία κεκελεύκαμεν [
5
                          ]ου χρόνου της πολυαιτίας α. [
                          ] καταλαμβανόντων διά τ[
                       πρλάκτορες καὶ ἐπίσταθμοι κοί
                          ]οις έξηκονταετίς ώς εί ελα[
10 προετέθη ἐν ἀλεξανδιρία τῆ α΄ εἰδῶν Δεκεμβρίω[ν
                  Καίσαρζοιν το γ΄ υπάτοις.
                                                 ύπατίας 'Οκ
               τῶν λαμ]προτάτων Παχών κθ.[
                      πόλεως διά τοῦ ἐνάρχου πρυτάν[εως
                     \tau \hat{\eta} \hat{\eta}
                     της αύτης πόλεως. του προτεταγ[μένου
15 παρά
                   έξηκο]στον ένιαυτον ύπερβεβηκοτ[
                    έβδο μηκοστόν και τρίτον ένιαυ τόν
                       π]ερί έμε γήρας και την του σώ[ματος άσθένειαν
                  γηροβ οσκίαν μήτε κτήσιν [
                         ]ν έπιρωσθηναι κάμοὶ τον . [
20
                         ]αι ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμοίων μου φθασαντ . [
```

6. l. πολυετίας. 11. ϋπατοις ϋπατιας Pap. 16. ϋπερβεβηκοτ[ Pap. 18. ν Of την corr. from σ.

1-4. Since there are two Augusti bearing the titles Germanicus and Sarmaticus, and two Caesars, while the consuls hold office for the third time and must be Caesars or Augusti (Αὐτοκράτορ)σιν is the only alternative for Καίσαρ|σιν in l. 11), the reign of Diocletian and Maximian, and the third consulship of Constantius and Galerius are clearly indicated. A slight difficulty arises in connexion with the title Γουνθικός (= Gothicus; cf. for the form P. Leipzig 119. verso ii. 8, where perhaps Γουνθικοῦ should be read for Γουντικοῦ), which was

adopted by Claudius, Aurelian, and Probus, but seems to be new as an epithet of Diocletian. With regard to the length of the lines, only in ll. 1 and 13 can the beginnings be restored with any degree of probability. In l. 1 [Αὐτοκράτωρ Γάιος Αὐρήλιος Οὐαλέριος Διοκλητιανός Γε]ομανικός implies an initial loss of 46 letters, and in l. 13 [τῆ κρατίστη βουλῆ τῆς λαμπρῶς καὶ λαμπροτάτης 'Οξυρυγχιτῶν πό]λεως a loss of 52, and since no shorter restorations of these two lines are likely, the initial lacunae may be estimated at not less than 45 letters throughout. How much is lost at the ends of lines is more uncertain. If the names of the Caesars were given in full, as is likely, in ll. 3-4, we must restore καὶ Φλαύιος Οὐαλέριος Κωνστάντιος καὶ Γάιος Οὐαλέριος Μάζιμανό]ς, i. e. 56 letters, of which 5-10 probably occurred in l. 3; hence even if Γερμαν[ικὸς Μέγιστος is the last of Maximian's titles, there seems to be a loss of from 15 to 20 letters, and the total number of letters missing between the points at which one line breaks off and the next commences can hardly be less than 60 on an average, and may amount to 70 or more. In l. 3 Σαρματικοί Μέγιστοι seems to be an error for the singular, applying to Maximian alone, for if the plural is correct here, Γερμαν[ικοὶ Μέγιστοι must then be read, and Diocletian has already been styled Γερμανικός in l. 1.

8. Ko[: OT Ku[i.

- 11. Probably [Κωνσταντίφ και Μαξιμιανφ τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις Καίσαρ]σιν; cf. the note on ll. 1-4. The date by the regnal years (ἔτους ιζ και ες και ε) probably occurred at the end of l. 10. The date beginning ὑπατίας refers to the following petition; Oν may be read for Oκ. Owing to the length of the lacuna before λαμμπροτάτων the names must have been given in full, and it is quite uncertain who these consuls were.
- 13. Probably  $[\tau \hat{\eta}$  κρατίστη βουλ $\hat{\eta}$  της λαμπρ $\hat{\alpha}$ ς καὶ λαμπροτάτης 'Οξυρυγχιτῶν πό $\lambda$ εως; cf. note on ll. 1–4.
  - 15. προτεταγ μένου: sc. ἐπιστάλματος οτ διατάγματος or the like.
  - 16. έξηκο στόν: cf. l. 9 έξηκονταετίς. έβδομηκο στόν (cf. l. 17) is also possible.

#### 890. LETTER TO A STRATEGUS.

20.2 × 14.7 cm.

Third century.

An incomplete letter from the prytanis of the local  $\beta \omega \lambda \dot{\eta}$  at Oxyrhynchus to the strategus, giving a list of persons who owed money to the municipal treasury. Apparently these sums were to be collected by the agents of the imperial government and to be balanced against moneys owing to the imperial from the municipal exchequer.

Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Αὐρήλιος Σαραπίων ὁ καὶ ᾿Απολινάριος καὶ ὡς χρηματίζω ἔναρχος πρύτανις τῆς ᾿Οξυρυγχειτῶν πόλεως Αὐρηλίω 5 Λεωνίδη στρατηγῷ τῶι φιλτάτωι χαίρειν. τοὺς ἀπαιτεῖσ[θα]ι μέλλοντας ἀφ᾽ ὧν [δ]φ[είλ]ουσι τῆ π[όλει] χωρούντων

```
[είς δι]αγραφὴν τῶν ἐκ λόγου τῆς

10 [πόλε]ως διαγραφομένων καὶ νῦν
[γράφομέν] σοι πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐμποδί-
[ζεσθαι τὴ]ν εἴσπραξιν τοῦ ἰερωτάτου
[ταμείου.] εἰσὶ δὲ Αὐρήλιοι
[....καὶ ᾿Α]πολλώνιος καὶ Δομιττια-

15 [νός, οἱ τρεῖς Σ]αραπίωνος τοῦ καὶ
[.....ἀγορ]ανομήσαντος, (δραχμὰς?) υ,
[......... Ἡρ]ακλᾶς ὀνόματος
[ 20 letters ]ατ..[...
```

12. ἔερωτατου Pap. 14. δομιτ'τια [νος Pap.

'Lucius Septimius Aurelius Sarapion also called Apolinarius, and however I am styled, prytanis in office of Oxyrhynchus, to his dearest Aurelius Leonides, strategus, greeting. A written list of those from whom are to be exacted the sums which they owe to the city, and which are to be used in payment of moneys payable from the account of the city, is hereby given you in order that there may be no hindrance in collecting the revenues of the most sacred Treasury. They are Aurelius..., Aurelius Apollonius, and Aurelius Domitianus, all three sons of Sarapion also called ..., ex-agoranomus, 400 drachmae ...'

- 7. With ἀφ' ὧν the sentence begins as if the object of ἀπαιτεῖσθαι, i. e. particular sums of money or τὰ ἐπιβάλλοντα, was going to be stated; but this is not expressed, so that ἀφ' ὧν is practically equivalent to ἄ.
- 14. Perhaps [... δ καὶ 'A]πολλώνιος, in which case δύο must be substituted for τρεῖς in l. 15.
- 16.  $(\delta \rho \alpha \chi \mu \dot{\alpha} s?)$  v: av, i. e.  $A\dot{v}|\rho\dot{\eta}\lambda \iota \sigma s$ , might be read; but it is likely that the actual amounts of the debts were mentioned, not merely the names of the debtors.

# 891. Apportionment of Duties to an Exegetes.

11.8 × 6.7 cm. A. D. 294.

A letter from the boule of Oxyrhynchus to an exegetes, acquainting him with the fact that he had been chosen to act in his official capacity during part of the month of Epeiph as superintendent or president in the discharge of certain duties, the nature of which is uncertain (cf. l. 11, note), the expenses being borne in common by the whole body of exegetae.

The papyrus is written in a small very flowing cursive, and the surface is much damaged in several places.

['Εφ' ύ]πάτων Οὐαλερίων Κωνσ]ταντ[ίο]υ καὶ Μαξιμια[νοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων. 'Οξυρυγχιτῶν τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ 5 {και} λαμπ(ροτάτης) πόλεως ή κρα(τίστη) βουλη δι' Αὐρηλίου Κορνηλιανοῦ διασ . . ( ) ἐνάρχου πρυτάνεως Πτολεμείνφ τφ και Σαρμάτη έξηγητη τῷ φιλ(τάτφ) χαίρειν. 10 έξηγητοῦ ζητουμένου είς τὰς  $\alpha \cdot [...] \alpha s ' E \pi \epsilon i \phi \epsilon \omega s \iota \zeta$ έδοξεν ώστε σε μεν προστηναι, τὰ δὲ ἀναλώματα άπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν ἀπὸ 15 του τάγματος δοθήναι καί Ινα τοῦτο εἰδέναι έχοις έπιστέλλεταί σοι, φίλτατε. and hand  $\epsilon \rho \rho \hat{\omega} \sigma \theta a i \sigma \epsilon \epsilon \dot{v}_{\chi}(\delta \mu \epsilon \theta a)$ , φίλτατε.

'In the consulship of Valerius Constantius and Valerius Maximianus, the most renowned Qaesars. The most high senate of the illustrious and most illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus through Aurelius Cornelianus . . ., prytanis in office, to their dearest Ptoleminus also called Sarmates, exegetes, greeting. An exegetes being required for the . . . of Epeiph up to the 17th, it was decided that you should preside, while the expenses should be paid by the whole body of those belonging to the order. This letter is accordingly sent to you, dear friend, for your information. We pray for your health, dear friend.'

1-2. The writing is much obliterated in these lines, but on palaeographical grounds the papyrus can hardly be later than Diocletian's reign, and that the Caesars are Constantius and Galerius is, we think, certain. Probably the initial  $\epsilon$  was written large, causing l. 2 to begin much further to the right than ll. 1 and 3.

5. The reading καὶ λαμπ(ροτάτης) is very doubtful, and it is not satisfactory to suppose the repetition of καὶ; but λαμπροὶ καὶ λαμπροτάτη are the regular epithets of Oxyrhynchus, and though λαμ. ρ' might be read for και λαμ', the letter before the supposed ρ would suit ν or μ but not π. σεμνοτάτης and ἀρχαίας, honorific epithets of Hermopolis (e. g. in P. Brit. Mus. 955), are out of the question here.

7. διασ..(): διασημ() or διαστ() might perhaps be read; the letter following the doubtful  $\sigma$  has a vertical stroke coming below the line and suggests  $\tau$  or  $\rho$ , while above this is a long horizontal line possibly representing an overwritten  $\lambda$  or  $\mu$ . But διασημ(στάτου) and διαστ(ολίως) are unsuitable to the context, and no title of any kind would be expected at this

point, so that it is perhaps safer to regard the word as part of the name of the prytanis, though in that case the abbreviation of it is remarkable.

II.  $a \cdot [...]as$  'E $\pi\epsilon i\phi$ : the supposed s is very doubtful, and there may be nothing at all between a (for which  $\theta$  may be read) and 'E $\pi\epsilon i\phi$ , but  $i\pi[\delta \tau is]$  a is unsuitable, for the lacuna ought not to contain more than 3 letters at most, and even with  $i\pi[\delta]$  a there is no stroke above a to indicate a numeral, as there is over  $\zeta$  of  $i\zeta$ . Moreover, to supply  $i\pi \mu i\rho as$  with  $\tau is$  and suppose that only the period and not the purpose for which the exegetes was required was expressed, is unsatisfactory. We prefer therefore to read  $a \cdot [...]as$  in agreement with  $\tau is$ , though  $\tau is$  'E $\pi i i\phi$  would be expected.

14. ἀπὸ τοῦ τάγματος: this seems to mean the εξηγητικὸν τάγμα, for there were no doubt several exegetae, just as there were several gymnasiarchs; cf. Preisigke, Städtisches Beamtenwesen, p. 60, and 908. introd. That βουλευτικόν is the word to be supplied with

τάγμα (cf. C. I. G. 4411 b. 5) is less likely.

### 892. APPOINTMENT OF A SUPERINTENDENT OF WORKS.

24.2 × 13.8 cm.

A. D. 338.

A letter from the logistes of the nome to a member of the boule at Oxyrhynchus, informing him that he had been appointed by that body to superintend the supply of wood required in building a public bath and a gate. Though written in a formal cursive hand the letter is only a rough draft, which has been subjected to correction, especially towards the end. The words added between the lines are more cursively written than the body of the document, but the hand seems to be the same;  $\mu\eta\delta\epsilon\nu$  added in the margin of l. II is almost certainly due to the original scribe.

On the verso is a list of names preceded by a heading in two lines, the writing being much effaced. Apparently the individuals in question were sent to the Arsinoite name to meet some charge.

Φλαούιος Εὐσέβιος λογιστης 'Ο[ξυρυγχίτου Αὐρηλίφ Πασίωνι 'Ωρίωνος β[ουλευτη της αὐτης πόλεως άδελφφ ε. [... χαίρειν. ἴσθι ἐκ τῶν ἐπισταλέντων ὑπὸ τη [ς της πόλεως κρατίστης βουλης διὰ τοῦ ἐνάρχου π[ρυτάνεως Αὐρηλίου Νεπωτιανοῦ ἡρησθαί σε [εἰς ..... τῶν ἐνχρηζόντων ξύλων εἰς ... οσ [..... ἔτι δὶ εἰς βαλανῖον καὶ [τ] ην κατασκευαζ [ο μένην βορρινην τῆς πόλεως πύλην, καὶ ἵνα τοῦ ἔργου [ἀ]ντιλάβη καὶ διὰ ταχέων

10 ταῦτα ἐκκόψας παρενεχθῆναι ποιήσης εἰς τὸ κοντρὸν [ μηδὲν ἔνεδρον γενέσθαι τὸ δημόσιον καὶ πολιτεικὸν ἔργον ἐπιστέλλη, ἀδελφέ.

ύπατείας Φλ[αου]ίω[ν Ο]ύρσου καὶ Πολεμίου τῶν λαμπρ[οτ]άτων Τῦβι ιη.

4. ϋπο Pap. 9. τνα Pap.

'Flavius Eusebius, logistes of the Oxyrhynchite nome, to Aurelius Pasion, son of Horion, senator of the said city, his... brother, greeting. Know that by the instructions of the most high senate of the city conveyed through the prytanis in office, Aurelius Nepotianus, you have been chosen to (provide) the timber required for the ... bath, and also for the construction of the north gate of the city; and you are hereby instructed, brother, to take charge of the work, and with all speed to get the timber cut and delivered, so that there may be no fraud in connexion with the public bath and the municipal work. In the consulship of Flavius Ursus and Flavius Polemius the most illustrious, Tubi 18.'

1. Flavius Eusebius occurs also in 85 and 86.

6. Cf. C. P. Herm. 83. 7-8 αἰρεθέντος . . . εἰς συνων[ὴν ποιήσε]σθαι καὶ [ἀ]νακομιδὴν ξύλων. [εἰς συνωνήν is possible here, but does not combine very well with ἐκκόψας. [εἰς ἀνακομιδήν οr [εἰς ἐπιμέλειαν (cf. e. g. C. P. Herm. 67. 8) would be appropriate enough, but are somewhat

long. For a similar notification of appointment cf. B. G. U. 362. v.

7. δημόσιον would be expected to occur somewhere at the end of this line; cf. l. I I τὸ δημόσιον λουτρόν; but εἰς δημόσ[ιον cannot be read, and though the letter following εἰς may be τ, and the doubtful σ may be δ, εἴς τε τὸ δ[ημόσιον is also inadmissible. Perhaps the word following εἰς gave the special name of the bath in question, but if so it differed from the δεῖον βαλανεῖον (43. verso iii. 24), Καί(σα)ρος βαλανεῖον (43. verso iv. 24), and θερμῶν ᾿Αδριανῶν δημόσιον βαλανεῖον (896. 7; cf. 53. 6).

11-2. The words from τρέδρον to τρίου have lines drawn through or above them, indicating deletion, but τρέδρον γενέσθαι at any rate cannot be spared. Apparently the corrector, whether identical or not with the original scribe (cf. introd.), at first cancelled these words, intending to rewrite the sentence entirely, but changed his mind and merely added

what was required to restore the sense of the passage.

## 893. JUDICIAL SENTENCE.

12.5 × 34 cm. Late sixth or seventh century.

The extraordinary grammar of this document makes it difficult to construe, though its general purport is fairly clear. It is a decision or enactment ( $\tau \delta \pi \sigma s$ ; cf. note on l. 1) pronounced by three  $\mu \epsilon l \zeta \sigma \nu \epsilon s$  (cf. 900. 19, note) of a village concerning some dispute, of which no details are given, between Marcus, another  $\mu \epsilon l \zeta \sigma \nu$ , and Marinus. The latter, who was apparently the plaintiff, is declared to have the right of imposing upon Marcus, acting through his daughter Sophia, a formal affidavit ( $\theta \epsilon i \sigma s \delta \rho \kappa \sigma s$ ), in which perjury would have serious consequences; and

Marcus would then be free from further proceedings. If Marinus declined to conduct an investigation by means of the proposed affidavit he was to be debarred from taking other steps in the matter.

The writing is across the fibres of the papyrus.

- $+ T\hat{\varphi}$  τύπ $\varphi$  τῶν ἀξιω[.]πίστων ἀνδρῶν Παμουθίου μείζ(ονος) [υ]ί(οῦ) . σω[. ο]υ καὶ Πανῖρεν ἀπὸ μειζ(όνων) [υ]ί(οῦ) [Ἰ]ωάννου καὶ ἀπολλὰ ἀπὸ μειζ(όνων) υί(οῦ) Φοιβάμμωνος ἀπὸ κώμης ἀπόλλωνος ὑπὲρ Μάρκου
  - άπὸ μειζ(δνων) καὶ Μαρίνου στιπποπραγματευτῆ, ὅστε Μαρίνου ἐξουσίαν αὐτοῦ
  - ζητήσαι τοῦ  $\theta \epsilon(\hat{\imath})$ ου δρκου διὰ Σοφία θυγατρὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Μάρκου ἀπὸ  $\mu \epsilon \iota \underline{\ell}(\delta \nu \omega \nu)$
- 5 καὶ μετὰ τὴν ζητούμενον τοῦ θε(ί)ου δρκου διὰ τῆ αὐτῆ Σοφία α[ὐ]τοῦ δὲ Μαρίνου
  - οὐδέν[a] λόγον ὑπὲρ οἰασδήποτε ὅλον τὸ σύνολον πράγματος. ἐγράφ(η)  $\mu\eta(νὸς)$
  - Παῦνι [κ]θ δρα ξκτη τοῦ ἡμέρας. δῆλα δὲ πάλιν ἡ εἰ δὲ μὴ θελησαι τοῦ αὐτοῦ
  - Μαρίν[ou] ζητήσαι τοῦ  $\theta \epsilon \langle t \rangle ou$  δρκου διὰ τ $\hat{\eta}$  αὐτ $\hat{\eta}$  Σοφία αὐτοῦ δ $\hat{\epsilon}$  Μαρίνου οὐδ $\hat{\epsilon}$ να λόγον
  - [ὑπὲρ οἰασ]δήποτε ὅλον τὸ σύνολον πράγμ(ατος) καὶ ἀπελλάχθην αὐτοῦ ὡς. ἐν τύπφ.
- 2.  $[\vec{\imath}]$ ωαννου Pap. 3. l. στιπποπραγματευτοῦ . . . Μαρίνφ ἐξ. αὐτῷ εἶναι. στε of ωστε over an erasure. 4. l. ζητήσαι διὰ τοῦ . . . Σοφίας θυγατρός. 5. l. τὸ ζητ. . . . τῆς αὐτῆς Σοφίας αὐτῷ Μαρίνῳ ἔσεσθαι. 6. l. οἰουδήποτε. 7. l. ὥρα . . . τῆς ἡμ. . . . θελήσει ὁ αὐτός. 8. l. Μαρίνος . . . διὰ τοῦ . . . τῆς αὐτῆς Σοφίας αὐτῷ Μαρίνῳ ἔσεσθαι. 9. π of δηποτε apparently corr. l. οἰουδήποτε . . . ἀπηλλάχθη.
- 'By the sentence of the honourable men Pamuthius, official, son of . . ., and Paniren, of official rank, son of John, and Apollos, of official rank, son of Phoebammon, of the village of Apollo, in respect of Marcus, of official rank, and Marinus, tow-merchant: Marinus has power to make inquiry by means of the divine oath through Sophia, daughter of the said Marcus, of official rank, and after the inquiry by means of the divine oath through the said Sophia Marinus shall have no ground of complaint on any matter of any kind whatsoever. Written on the 29th of the month Pauni, the sixth hour of the day. It is manifest on the other hand that, if the said Marinus refuses to make inquiry by means of the divine oath through the said Sophia, Marinus shall have no ground of complaint on any matter of any kind whatsoever, and Marcus is free of him as though he were declared so by sentence.'

1. For τύπος in the sense of ordinance or decree, found in late Greek, cf. P. Brit. Mus. 77. 45-7 μηδέ προσέλευσιν κατά σοῦ . . . ποιήσασθαι . . . μηδέ αἰτήσαι θείον καὶ πραγματικὸν τύπον πρὸς τήνδε τὴν διαθήκην, Justin. Nov. 113 tit. θείους τύπους ἡ θείας κελεύσεις.

 $d\xi ιω[.]πίστων$ :  $d\xi ισπίστων$  must be intended (cf. e.g. P. Brit. Mus. 77. 68  $d\xi ισπίστων$  μαρτύρων); but the space between ω and π is so wide that it is difficult to suppose that nothing

intervened. ἀξιω[ν]πίστων may have been written, but not ἀξίω[ν καί].

7-9. This clause is added as a postscript to provide for the contingency of Marinus refusing to acquiesce in the form of investigation prescribed. Something seems to have been written between  $\pi \hat{a} \lambda w$  and  $\epsilon l$ , and the traces may be read as  $\eta$ ; but the expression is very clumsy.

# (b) DECLARATIONS TO OFFICIALS

#### 894. LATIN DECLARATION OF BIRTH.

9-4 × 10-8 cm. A.D. 194-6. Plate VI,

Declarations of the birth of children are of frequent occurrence among Egyptian papyri, but these have always related to peregrini and until recently there has been no example of such a declaration made by a Roman citizen. Two years ago, however, the omission was supplied by some wax tablets in the Cairo Museum published by S. de Ricci, among which is a certificated copy, taken from an official register, of a declaration of birth made by a Roman in the year 148 (Nouv. Revue Hist., 1906, p. 483; cf. Archiv, IV. p. 252). The formula of these tablets, which are in Latin, falls into four sections: (1) Names of seven witnesses. (2) Date (a) by Roman consuls and month, (b) by Emperor and Egyptian months, Alexandr(iae) ad Aegyptum, descriptum et recognitum fac[tum] ex tabula albi profession[um libero]rum nator[um] &c. (3) Date as before, M(arco) Petronio Honorato praef(ecto) Aeg(ypti) professionis liberorum acceptae citra causarum cognitionem tabula v et post alia pag(ina) iii, xviii k(alendas) Octobr(es). (4) Tib(erius) Iulius Dioscorides . . . fil(iam) n(atam) Iuliam Ammonum ex Iulia Ammonario xiii k(alendas) Septembres.... Here three chief points are clear: the declaration was made in the Latin language, it was made at Alexandria, and to the praefect of Egypt. A fragment of a tablet in the Bodleian Library has been recognized by Wilcken (Archiv, IV. p. 267) as part of a similar Latin declaration.

Another instance has now come to light in the following papyrus, which is later in date by some two generations. In the meantime according to the statement of Julius Capitolinus, Vita Marci, 9. 7-9, the formalities of registration had been regulated by Marcus Aurelius, who ordered that declarations of birth should be made within 30 days of the event at Rome to the praefecti aerarii Saturni, in the provinces to certain tabularii publici. We should therefore be prepared

to find in a registration of a date subsequent to this regulation some features distinguishing it from one of the reign of Antoninus. As a matter of fact, however, these distinguishing features do not occur. Our papyrus shows the same three essential points as the Cairo tablets: the declaration was made at Alexandria, and to the praefect, and the certificate is drawn up in Latin, though followed by the signature of the declaring party in Greek. The tabularii publici, whatever that vague term may signify, do not appear. Prof. Mitteis, to whom we are indebted for information on this question of registration, thinks that perhaps only the praefectorial bureau is thereby meant. In any case it seems that the regulations attributed to Marcus Aurelius had practically no effect upon the form of a Roman declaration of birth in Egypt.

The scarcity of dated specimens of Latin cursive makes this papyrus palaeographically valuable. It is written in a clear and good-sized hand with occasional division of words. Abbreviations and an ordinal figure in 1. 6 (cf. 787) are followed by a single dot. a is sometimes supplied with an abortive cross-bar. On the verso are traces of ink which seem to be more than blottings, but the writing is too much effaced for decipherment; it is probably Latin, perhaps figures.

```
[ 21 letters ] anno [..] Imp(eratoris) Cae[sa]ris L(ucii)
[Septimii Severi Pii Perti]nacis Aug(usti) A[rabi]ci Adiabenici
[mense......die...A]lexandr(iae) ad A[egypt]um,
[apud Marcum Ulpium Pri]mianum praef(ectum) Aegypti
5 [ 17 letters pro] fessus est filium sibi natum
[ 20 ,, ]num ex Ulpia Sabina xvi
[ 19 ,, ]. hab(it ) [O]xyryncho.
[ 20 ,, δηλῶ υίο]ν μοι γεγενῆσθαι
```

7. [o]xyrynchó Pap.

'In the . . . year of the Emperor Caesar Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Augustus Arabicus Adiabenicus, in the month . . ., at Alexandria on the coast of Egypt, before Marcus Ulpius Primianus, praefect of Egypt. . . . has declared a son, named . . . nus, born to him and Ulpia Sabina on the 16th . . ., being an inhabitant (?) of Oxyrhynchus. (Signed) I, . . ., declare that a son has been born to me . . .'

1. Probably one line is lost which with the first half of l. 1 gave the date by the Roman consuls and month, as in the Cairo tablets. The year may be the second, third, fourth, or fifth; cf. l. 4, note.

3. mense ... die ...: so the Cairo tablets, which also support the supplement ad A[egypt]um.

4. M. Ulpius Primianus is the only praesect with a name ending in -ianus who is

known in the sole reign of Severus, and though the list is not certainly complete the three praefects who held office during this short period cover it quite sufficiently. There is therefore good ground for identifying the praefect of the papyrus with Primianus, whose name occurs in two inscriptions, C. I. G. 4863. iv of A.D. 194-5 and C. I. L. III. 51 of Feb. 24, 196, and in B. G. U. 973. 6 (undated). Mantennius Sabinus was still praefect on April 21, 194 (Archiv, II. p. 447, no. 77), and Aemilius Saturninus had entered office before July 11, 197 (B. G. U. 15. ii. 1). The limits of Primianus' praefecture are thus from the second to the fifth years of Severus.

4-5. Cf. Vita Gordiani 4. 8 apud praefectum aerarii more Romano professus filium. The

lacuna at the beginning of l. 5 was filled by the name of the father.

6. Jum is the termination of the son's name, and xvi refers to the day of the month on which the birth occurred, and which was given according to the Roman calendar; cf. the Cairo tablets, section (4). According to the law attributed to Marcus Aurelius (cf. introd.) the registration had to be made intra tricensimum diem; it is noticeable that the Cairo tablets are already in accordance with this regulation.

7. If hab. stands for habitans referring to the name of the father, it is somewhat out of its place. Perhaps a plural participle was intended, connecting loosely with both parents. [O]xyryncho should then in either case strictly be [O]xyrynchi, unless [O]xyryncho(rum) (sc.

urbe) be read.

## 895. RETURN OF VILLAGE-ACCOUNTS.

19 × 15.4 cm.

A. D. 305.

A statement rendered to the logistes of the nome by two comarchs of the village of Tampeti, of the village-accounts for two months. Most of its details are lost through the mutilation of the papyrus. The report was required in consequence of an order of the praefect (cf. e. g. P. Tebt. 336) Clodius Culcianus, for whose period of office a new date is supplied; cf. note on 1. 8. The document has been joined to another return of a similar character, of which only the beginnings of the first eleven lines are preserved;  $\sum a\delta d\lambda ov$  occurs apparently as a village name. On the verso at right angles to the writing on the recto are the ends of nine lines, apparently of an account of judicial proceedings. The last three lines are:  $\int ... \epsilon v / \delta \delta id\delta o \cos \epsilon l \pi(\epsilon v)$ .  $\tau a \pi \epsilon \pi \rho a \gamma \mu \ell v a ||A| \mu \mu \omega \nu \iota a v o \delta \iota a \sigma \langle \eta \mu \rangle \delta \tau a \tau o v$ .

'Επὶ ὑπάτων τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶ[ν Κων]σ[ταντ][ου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων τὸ ε. Αὐρηλίω Σεύθι τῷ καὶ 'Ωρίωνι λ[ο]γιστῃ 'Οξυρυγχίτ[ου παρὰ Αὐρηλίων Σακάωνος Πετίριος καὶ Ψόιτος 5 Παταβῆτος ἀμφοτέρων κωμαρχῶν κώμης Ταμπέτι. τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος κα καὶ ιγ (ἔτους) ἐπιζητοῦντί σοι κατὰ κέλευσιν τοῦ διασημοτάτου ἡμῶν ἡγεμόνος Κλωδίου Κουλκιανοῦ τοὺς κωμητ[ικο]ὸς λόγους τῆς

```
ἡμετέρας κώμης μηνών δύο τοῦ τε Φαρμοῦθι

10 καὶ τοῦ Παχών ἀναγκ[αι]ω[ν ἡγ]ησάμενοι ἐπι-
δίδομεν ιν εἰδέναι [ἔχη]ς. [ἔ]στι δέ·

τιμῆς χάρτου καὶ γράπ[τρων . . . .] . ελίας ἐργατῶν

τριῶν ἀποσταλέντ[ων . . . . .] ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνα (δραχμαὶ) ρκ,

τιμῆς χάρτου καὶ γράπ[τρων . ελί]ας ἄλλου ἐργάτου ἐνὸς

15 [ἀποστ]αλέντων ἐπὶ [τὴν . . . .]ιτῶν πόλιν (δραχμαὶ) ρ[

[γί(νονται)] ὁμοῦ (δραχμαὶ) σ[. . . . . .] ρ . . [. . . . .

[. . . .] μυμεν δὲ το[
[. . . .] μεταφορὰ π[
[. . . .] Μικρὰν "Ο[ασι]ν . [

20 [. . . .] ελ[.] . [
[. . . . παρ]εσχή[καμε]ν [
```

Remains of 4 more lines, below which the papyrus breaks off.

10. l. ἀναγκ[αῖ]ο[ν.
 15. l. ἀποσταλέντος.

'In the consulship of our lords Constantius and Maximianus, most renowned Caesars, for the fifth time. To Aurelius Seuthes also called Horion, logistes of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Sakaon son of Petiris, and Aurelius Psois son of Patabes, both comarchs of the village of Tampeti. In reply to your request in the present 21st which = the 13th year, in accordance with the order of his excellency the praefect Clodius Culcianus, for the village-accounts of our village in the two months Pharmouthi and Pachon, we, regarding this as a necessary duty, present them for your information, as follows:—For the price of papyrus and writing-materials... of three workmen sent to Babylon 120 drachmae; for the price of papyrus and writing-materials... of one workman sent to... 1[..] drachmae; total together 2[..]drachmae...

- 2. The numeral e is not very satisfactory, but is confirmed by the date in l. 6.
- 6. The years are those of Diocletian and the Caesars Constantius and Maximianus, the
- year of the emperor Maximianus being omitted; cf. e.g. the date in 71. 4.

  8. Clodius Culcianus is mentioned as praefect in Feb., A. D. 303, in 71. The present passage proves him to have been still in office at the end of May, A. D. 305.
  - 10. Perhaps αναγκεων was written; the space between κ and ω is narrow for two letters.
- 12. γράπ[τρων Wilcken, who compares B. G. U. 1062. 20 τιμῆς χάρτου καὶ γράπτρων.
  ]. ελιας, however, remains a difficulty, for there is hardly room for καὶ ἐπιμ]ελίας here, and certainly not in l. 14.
- 15. 'Οξυρυγχ}τῶν would barely go into the space, and Βαβυλῶνα in l. 13 suggests a more remote locality, e.g. 'Αρσινοἰτῶν.
- 16.  $\rho$  seems to be the numeral; it is followed at a slight interval by a tall upright stroke which may be  $\iota = 10$ .
- 17. Probably not δμ συμεν, since the statement of accounts is continued in l. 18 sqq.; επιδείκ συμεν, e. g., is more likely.
  - 19. Μικράν "O ασι ν: cf. 888. 8, note.

## 896. REPORTS TO A LOGISTES.

25.1 × 34 cm.

A. D. 316.

These two reports addressed to the logistes Valerius Ammonianus belong to the same series as 53, which was sent to the same official and is dated in the same year. The first of them, which is numbered at the top 127, is also closely connected with 53 in subject. It is an estimate of the probable expense of painting certain specified parts of some public baths which were in course of repair; and these repairs were also the occasion of the report contained in 53. Some new technical terms occur in the description of the work stated to be necessary. This is followed by a medical report, similar to 51-2, 476, B. G. U. 647, &c. (cf. 983), upon an official in the service of the governor of the province Aegyptus Herculia (cf. note on 1. 29). The doctors certify that the person in question, who was perhaps suspected of malingering, was suffering from a mild attack of fever.

#### Col. i.

# ρκζ.

Οὐαλερίφ Άμμωνιανῷ τῷ καὶ Γεροντίφ λίογιστῃ 'Οξ(υρυγχίτου) παρά Αύρηλίου Άρτεμιδώρου Άρσινόου άπό της λαμπ(ρας) καὶ λαμπ(ροτάτης) 'Οξυρυγχιτών πόλεως ζωγράφου την 5 έπιστήμην. έπιζητούση τη ση έμμελεία την σύνοψιν των δεομένων τόπων ζωγραφίας τοῦ εὐτυχῶς ἐπισκευαζομένου Τραιανῶν Άδριανών θερμών δημοσίου τής αὐτης πόλεως βαλανίου, κατά ταῦτα δηλώ χρή-10 ζειν είς λόγον ζωγραφίας τῶν τε δεομένων τόπων των δύο ψυχροφόρων καὶ έμβατικοῦ [θ]όλου ένδς καὶ ἀρδρομηκιαίων δλου ξυστοῦ [εί]σόδων καὶ έξόδων καὶ παραθολίων τεσσάρων [τ]ου έξωτέρου ξυστού και τών άλλων τόπων 15 [είς μ] εν τιμήν χρωμάτων άργυρίου δηναρίων [μυριάδ . . .] . [. . . . .] . εου ζωγραφίας δλων ξργων [άργυρίου δηναρίων μυ]ριάδαν μίαν· δπερ προσφωνώ. [ύπατείας Καικινίου Σαβίνο]υ καὶ Οὐεττίου 'Ρουφίνου

20 [τῶν λαμπ(ροτάτων) . . . . . . . . ] (2nd hand) Αὐρή(λιος) ἀρτεμίουρος [ἐπιδέδωκα. Αὐρή(λιος) . . . . ]ων ἔγρα(ψα) ὑπ(ὲρ) αὐτοῦ μ(ὴ) ἰδ(ότος).

Col. ii.

[ ρκη ]
Ο[ὐα]λ[ε]ρ[ίφ 'Αμμωνιανῷ τῷ καὶ Γεροντίω λογιστῆ 'Οξ(υρυγχίτου)
παρὰ Αὐρηλίων "Ηρωνος [.] . [..... καὶ Διδύμου
25 Διοσκόρου ἀμφ(οτέρων) ἀπὸ τῆς λα[μπ(ρᾶς) καὶ] λαμπ(ροτάτης)
'Οξυ[ρυγχ]ιτῶν

πόλεως δημοσίων ἰατρῶν. ἐπ[εσ]τάλημεν ὑπὸ σοῦ σήμερον ἤτις ἐστὶν Φαρμοῦθι ς [ἐκ] βιβλιδίων ἐπιδοθέντων σοι ὑπὸ Ἀπολλωνίου ὀφ(φικιαλίου) ἡγουμένου Αἰγύπτου Ἡρκουλείας Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίου ὥστε γενέσθαι 30 [ἐπ]ὶ τὴ[ν] οἰκίαν ἐν τῆ αὐτῆ πόλει καὶ τοῦτον ἐφιδῶν καὶ [ἡ]ν ἀν καταλάβ[ωμε]ν περὶ αὐτὸν διάθεσιν ἐγγράφω]ς προσφωνῆσαι. ὅθεν γενόμενοι ἔνθα ὁρῶμε[ν αὐτὸ]ν το[ῦτ]ον κλε[ινή]ρην ὄντα πυραιτίοις α. [.]ι . . . [.] συνεχ[όμενον ὅπερ] προσφωνοῦμεν, 35 ὑπατείας Και[κι]νίου Σ[α]βίν[ου καὶ] Οὐεττίου 'Ρουφίνου

τῶν λαμπ(ροτάτων) Φαρμ[ο]ῦθι [ς.]

2nd hand Αὐρήλιος "Ηρων ἐπειδέδωκα

πρ[οσ]φωνῶν ὡς πρόκειται.

3rd hand Αὐρήλιος Δίδυμος ἐπιδέδωκα προσφωνῶν

ing Αυρηλίος Διουμος επιδεόωκα προσφωνων 40 ως πρίδικειται.

4. οξυρυγικτων Pap. 7-8. τραιανων αδριανων over an erasure, probably of αδριανων θερμων. 26. ιατρων Pap. 28. υπο Pap, 31. εγ' Pap. 33. l. πυρετίοις.

'To Valerius Ammonianus also called Gerontius, logistes of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Artemidorus son of Arsinous, of the illustrious and most illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus, a painter by profession. In reply to the request of your grace for an inspection of the places requiring painting in the public bath of the said city now auspiciously under repair at the warm baths of Trajanus Hadrianus, I hereby declare that for the painting of the parts requiring it—of the two cold water conductors, and one vapourbath, and the entrances and exits of the entire colonnade, and four passages round the vapour-bath in the outer colonnade, and the other places—there is required for cost of paint . . . thousand denarii of silver, and of the . . . painting of the whole work ten thousand denarii of silver; which I therefore report. The consulship of Caecinius Sabinus and

Vettius Rufinus the most illustrious, . . . (Signed) I, Aurelius Artemidorus, have presented

the report. I, Aurelius . . . on wrote for him, being illiterate.'

'To Valerius Ammonianus also called Gerontius, logistes of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from the Aurelii Heron son of . . . and Didymus son of Dioscorus, both of the illustrious and most illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus, public physicians. We were sent by you to-day, Pharmouthi 6, in consequence of a petition delivered to you by Apollonius, officer of Aurelius Antonius governor of Aegyptus Herculia, to go to the house in the said city and inspect this person, and to make a written report upon the condition in which we found him. Having therefore proceeded thither we saw the man himself lying on a bed seized with a slight ... fever; which we accordingly report.' Date and signature of the two physicians.

7-8. Τραιανῶν 'Αδριανῶν θερμῶν: the 'Baths of Hadrian' are also mentioned in 54. 14 in A. D. 201, when too they were undergoing repair. Cf. 53. 5-6 τοῦ εὐτυχῶς ἐπ[ε]σκευαζ[ο]μένου θερμῶν δημοσίου βαλανίου, which is evidently identical with the βαλανίου here; the note ad loc. is to be modified accordingly.

11-13. ἐμβατικοῦ [θ]όλου: ἔμβασις and in later Greek ἐμβατή are used in the sense of a bath. For θόλος cf. P. Magd. 33. 3 and Mélanges Nicole, p. 282 ἐν τῶι γυναικείωι θόλωι.

άρδρομηκιαίων is an unknown word of uncertain signification; παραθόλιον is also new, but

creates no difficulty.

16. It is not possible to read ὑ]πὲρ ζωγραφίας, since not only is there no sign of any tail for the ρ, but a mark like an overwritten v would remain unexplained; the supposed v, however, is more directly above the o than elsewhere in the papyrus. κεφαλέου for κεφαλαίου

- might be read but is not satisfactory; perhaps kai re]\(\text{h\'e}\)\(\text{e\'o}\).

  29. Aegyptus Jovia, Aegyptus Herculia, and Thebais were the three provinces of Egypt according to the reorganization of Diocletian. It was supposed by Mommsen (A\'oh.) d. Berl. Akad., 1862, p. 500), whose view has been generally followed, that Aegyptus Jovia consisted of the western, Aegyptus Herculia of the eastern, portions of lower Egypt, the latter coinciding with the province afterwards called Augustamnica; but the intrinsically more probable hypothesis of C. Jullian (Rev. Hist. xix. p. 357) that Aegyptus Jovia was the Delta and Aegyptus Herculia corresponded to the Heptanomis with the Arsinoite nome, is supported, as the editors notice, by a papyrus published by Collinet and Jouguet in Archiv, III. pp. 339 sqq., and receives fresh confirmation from 896. Mommsen's theory, however, might be reconciled with these two documents by transposing Aegyptus Herculia to the west bank.
- 31. καταλάβ[ωμε]ν: or perhaps καταλάβ[ωμ]αι, the singular being used by mistake for the plural; the middle is supported by 51. 10.

33. κλεινήρην όντα occurs in the corresponding passage of 983.

34. The mutilated word is probably an adjective qualifying muperious.

### 897. DECLARATION TO RIPARII,

16.5 x 12.6 cm.

A. D. 346.

A declaration on oath addressed to two riparii of the Oxyrhynchite nome by four inhabitants of a village, denying all knowledge of the whereabouts of a certain individual whom they had been ordered to produce. On the riparii, who were police-officers, see 904. 3, note. The papyrus is nearly complete; the missing termination probably contained only the signatures.

'Υπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου τὸ δ' καὶ Κώνσταντος τὸ γ' Αὐγούστων. Φλαουίοις Εύλογίφ καὶ Διονυσαρίφ ριπαρίοις 'Οξυρυγχ(ίτου) παρά Αὐρηλίων 'Αμόιτος "Ωρου καὶ Πατάπιος 5 Παησίου καὶ Σαρμάτου πρεσβυτέρου καὶ Παπνουτίου Παησίου των πάντων άπο κώμης 'Ισείου Ζαπίτου. ἐπέθετο ἡμιν ἡ ὑμῶν ἐμμέλια ώστε Χωοῦν Ἡρακλήου ὑποβληθέντα είναι άπο της ημετέρας κώμης άνα-10 ζητήσαι καὶ παραστήσαι. κατά ταῦτα δμολογοθμεν δμνύντες τον σεβάσμιον θείον δρκον των δεσποτών ήμων Αύγούστων [μ]ήτε τον Χωουν έτι είναι έπι της [ήμῶν κ]ώμης μήτε είδέναι ήμᾶς 15 [δπου πο]τέ έστιν, καὶ μηδέν διεψεῦ- $[\sigma]$ θαι  $[\mathring{\eta}$  ἔν]οχοι  $ε \mathring{t}[ημεν τ \mathring{\varphi}]$   $θ ε [ί] \mathring{\varphi}$  ὅρκ $\mathring{\varphi}$ 

1. υπατειας Pap. 6. ισειου Pap. 8. υποβληθεντα Pap. 12. αυγουστώ Pap. 14. τ of μητε corr. from δ.

'In the consulship of our masters Constantius for the fourth time and Constans for the third time, the Augusti. To Flavius Eulogius and Flavius Dionysarius, riparii of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Amois son of Horus, and Aurelius Patapis son of Paësius, and Aurelius Sarmates the elder, and Aurelius Papnutius son of Paësius, all from the village of Ision Zapitou. Your grace required us to search out and produce Choous son of Heracleus, supposed to belong to our village. We therefore declare on the august divine oath by our masters the Augusti that Choous is no longer at our village, and that we do not know where he is, and that we have made no false statement, under pain of becoming liable to the consequences of the divine oath . . .'

7. Ζαπίτου: Or Ζαπίσου Or Ζαγνίου. The name of this village is new; cf. 'Ισείον Παγγά (899. 7), 'Ισείον Τρύφωνος (719. 14).

# (c) PETITIONS

## 898. PETITION TO AN ACTING-STRATEGUS.

23.3 × 8 cm.

A. D. 123.

A petition to Hermodorus (cf. 714), basilicogrammateus and acting-strategus, from Didymus, a minor, complaining of fraud on the part of his mother Matrina in her capacity as his guardian. It is alleged that Matrina, after various acts of bad faith, had obtained possession of a deed belonging to Didymus and demanded in exchange for it a document absolving her from all claims in connexion with the guardianship.

 ${}^{ullet}m{E}$ ρμοδώρωι  $m{eta}$ ασιλ $(\iota$ κ $m{\hat{arphi}})$  γρα $(\mu\mu$ αau $\epsilon\hat{\iota})$ διαδεχομένωι καὶ [τ]ὴν στ[ρα(τηγίαν) παρά Διδύμου Διονυσίου τοῦ κα[ί Φατρέως ἀπ' 'Οξυρύγχων πόλεω[ς. 5 ή μήτηρ μου Ματρείνα 'Ηρακλήου τοῦ καὶ Ματρέ∫ου ο]ὖσά μου ἐπ[ίτροπος καὶ πολλά μ[ε ά]δικοῦσα ἔτι καὶ πλανήσασά με ἐποίησεν είς \*Οασιν καταβήναι καὶ γράψασθαι 10 Διοσκόρφ ανδρί απελευθέρας αύτης δυτι ίδίωι αὐτης αδοτ. [. άργυρίου ταλάντου ένδς ήμισ (ο )υ καὶ ὑποθέσθαι ὅσα ἔχω ἐν τῆ ᾿Οάσε[ι κτήματα [λα]βόντα τοῦ Διοσκόρο[υ 15 γράμματα ἀπερ[ισπ]άστου. ἀναβά[ντα δέ με είς τον 'Οξυρυγχείτην μετά καὶ τοῦ Διοσκόρου ἐνήδρευσεν άχρι αν αιτήση με την απερίσπαστον καὶ ταύτης ένκρατης 20 γενομένη καὶ συνειδυῖα έαυτηι πολλά τῶν ἐμῶν ἀνηρπακυίηι

ού πρότερον όμολογείν θέλει  $\alpha i \tau o \theta \sigma \alpha \mu [\epsilon] \dot{\alpha} \nu \tau i \tau \alpha \dot{\nu} \tau \eta s \dot{\alpha} \pi o \chi \dot{\eta} \nu$ της έπιτροπης, ολομένη έκ τού-25 του δύνασθαι έκφυγείν α διέπραξεν· καίτοι Φιλονίκου τοῦ στρα(τηγοῦ) καθ' ὑπομνηματισμοὺς κρείναντος έτερον μου έπίτροπον κατασταθήναι, ού πιστεύοντος 30 ούτε αύτη ούδε τηι ηλικία μου. χωρίς δε τούτων οὐδε όψωνιόν μοι έχορήγησεν έτι πρό μηνῶν τριῶν, ἐκ παντὸς θλείβουσά με είς τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι κατ' αὐ-35 της προελθείν. δεν πάντων χάριν άναγκαίως ἐπιδιδούς τὸ άναφόριον άξιῶ ἔχειν ἐν καταχωρισμφ καὶ διαλαβεῖν ὡς ἐάν σοι [δ]όξη. (έτους) ζ Αὐτοκράτορος 40 Καίσαρος Τραιανού Άδριανού Σεβαστού Παῦνι κθ.

11. idiwi Pap.

20. ovreidvia Pap.

21. ανηρπακυϊηι Pap.

'To Hermodorus, basilicogrammateus and deputy-strategus, from Didymus son of Dionysius also called Phatres, of the city of Oxyrhynchus. My mother Matrina, daughter of Heracleus also called Matreus, who is my guardian and by whom I am much injured, has ended by beguiling me and causing me to go to the Oasis, and to draw up with Dioscorus, the husband of her freedwoman and her confidant, a ... of one and a half talents of silver, and to mortgage all my property in the Oasis in return for a deed of release received from Dioscorus. On my return to the Oxyrhynchite nome with Dioscorus she watched for an opportunity of asking me for the deed, and after obtaining possession of it, being conscious of the theft of much of my property, she refuses to acknowledge having it, and demands in return a receipt for her guardianship, thinking by this means to escape the consequences of her misdeeds. This she has done notwithstanding the fact that Philonicus the strategus has decided, in accordance with a report of proceedings, that another person should be appointed as my guardian, distrusting both her and my own youth. Besides this she has failed to supply my allowance for the last three months, using every means of oppressing me so as to render me incapable of proceeding against her. For all these reasons I am obliged to present this petition, and beg that it may be registered, and that you will take whatever steps you think best. The seventh year of the Emperor Caesar Trajanus Hadrianus Augustus, Pauni 29.

1. 'Ερμοδώρω: cf. 714. 2, referring to the year before the date of the present papyrus. In the previous line there  $[\sigma\tau\rho\sigma(\tau\eta\gamma\hat{\phi})]$  should be read in place of  $[\tau\hat{\omega}_i]$ , for 898. 26 shows that Philonicus was the name of the strategus.

6. ἐπ[ίτρο]πος: cf. 888. 9, note.

9. "Oaow: i.e. the Small Oasis (Bahriyeh); cf. 888. 8, note.

11. αδοτ. [.: a substantive is wanted to be the object of γράψασθαι and to govern the genitive ταλάντου in l. 12. The letters αδο are quite clear, and the next letter is either τ or π. Possibly άδοτου is to be read; cf. l. 18 τὴν ἀπερίσπαστου, and P. Brit. Mus. II. 361 verso 5 περὶ ἀδότου προοιείσ: but this needs other support. For ίδίφ cf. 974.

15. γράμματα ἀπερισπάστου: i. e. a deed of indemnification, distinguished by the formula ἀπερίσπαστον παρέξεσθαι or an equivalent phrase; cf. e. g. 270, 286. 9 sqq., and P. Tebt. 392.

In l. 18 the deed is called \( \hat{n} \) \( \alpha \) \( \eta \) in the deed is called \( \hat{n} \) \( \alpha \) \( \eta \) \( \eta \) \( \alpha \) \( \eta \) \( \

22-3. The construction is mixed: où  $\pi\rho\delta\tau\epsilon\rho\sigma\nu$ ...  $\theta\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\epsilon$  would naturally be followed by  $\pi\rho\lambda\epsilon\delta\mu$ , instead of which a participial phrase is used as if  $\pi\rho\delta\tau\epsilon\rho\sigma\nu$  were absent.

26. Φιλονίκου: cf. note on l. 1 and 957. στρα(τηγήσωντος) is possible, if Philonicus had resigned or died and was not merely absent temporarily. For the competence of the strategi in the appointment of guardians cf. 888. introd.

31. ὀψώνιον: the allowance of Didymus was probably fixed by his father's will; cf. e. g.

494. 16 ή δ' αὐτή γυνή μου χορηγήσει τῷ υἰῷ μου κ.τ.λ.

#### 899. PETITION OF APOLLONARION.

35·3 × 25·3 cm.

A. D. 200.

The recto of this papyrus consists of a copy of a petition from a woman called Apollonarion, claiming on the score of her sex to be released from the responsibility of cultivating various plots of Crown land in the Oxyrhynchite nome. That women were legally exempt from the obligation to undertake this duty was known from B. G. U. 648. 12-4 εls ην (γεωργίαν) γυνη οὖσα οὖκ ὀφείλω

καθέλκεσθαι κατὰ τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν ἡγεμόνων καὶ ἐπιτρόπων περὶ τούτου διατεταγμένα (the correctness of Wilcken's interpretation of that passage in Ost. 1. p. 702 is now confirmed against the view of Mitteis, Aus d. Griech. Papyrusurk. p. 48); cf. also P. Tebt. 327, a petition from a woman asking to be released from the liabilities of an ἐπιτήρησις γενηματογραφουμένων ὑπαρχόντων inherited from her father.

The petition of Apollonarion is dated at the end Thoth 1 of the 9th year of an emperor, who from the reference in l. to to the praefect Aemilius Saturninus must be Septimius Severus: it was a very elaborate and composite document, giving apparently the history of her case from the beginning, and quoting both her own previous petitions and various official correspondence in connexion with them. Since the papyrus contains only the concluding portion of the document, one or more preceding columns being lost, and what remains is in far from perfect condition, it is difficult to trace fully the whole complicated narrative, but the general outline of Apollonarion's proceedings is fairly clear. Her first step was to send the petition which occupies ll. 2-32. In this she explained the nature of her liabilities in connexion with the cultivation of Crown land (ll. 3-8) and the difficulties into which she had fallen (II, 8-14), and requested that she, as a woman, might be released from the obligations and her place taken by men (ll. 14-20). In support of her claim she appended an account of a similar application made in court in A.D. 154 by a woman, which after the recital of earlier precedents created by two praefects and an epistrategus was decided in the applicant's favour (Il. 20-32). The name and rank of the official to whom this initial petition was addressed are lost, but ll. 9-10 show that he was not the praefect, and 11. 16-7 that he was above the strategus. The hypothesis that he was the epistrategus can be supported by the possible restoration σὺ ὁ κύριος ἐπιστ ράτηγος in 1. 18; but since this petition seems to be identical with the βιβλίδιον which in Il. 33 and 38 is coupled with an ἐπιστολή of the dioecetes, probably the latter official was addressed, his name being Flavius Studiosus, as appears from a contemporary document on the verso (cf. p. 225). In answer to Apollonarion the dioecetes wrote a letter, apparently to the acting strategus of the nome, at the same time enclosing a copy of her petition. The text of this letter, as is shown by 1. 33 ξως τούτου της ἐπιστολης και τοῦ βιβλειδίου τὸ ἀντίγρα(φον), occurred immediately before 11. 2-32: ἐσημιω σ d μην at the end of 1. 32 may indicate the official signature of the dioecetes appended to the enclosure. The date in 1. 33, Phamenoth 6 of the 7th year, applies to this signature, not to Apollonarion's petition, which was probably written a short time previously. Concerning the contents of the dioecetes' letter, it is clear both from Apollonarion's reference to it in a later petition (ll. 44-5 καθώς πρότερου ἐπέστειλας) and from the terms in which it is spoken of by the acting strategus (II. 37-8) that the dioecetes admitted the justice

of Apollonarion's claims. The next step, as appears from 11. 37-8, was for Apollonarion to write a petition to the acting strategus, Ammonianus, enclosing the letter of the dioecetes and her original petition, and no doubt asking him to give the necessary instructions to the local officials of the different villages to remove her name from the list of cultivators. This petition to the acting strategus must have been presented between Phamenoth 6 and Pachon 27 of the 7th year, for on the latter day Ammonianus wrote to the comogrammateis of the villages concerned the letter contained in Il. 36-9, enclosing a copy of Apollonarion's petition to himself, the letter of the dioecetes and the original petition, and ordering an inquiry into the facts to be held and a report to be made. So far the negotiations seem to have proceeded smoothly, but at this point a hitch occurred; for in Tubi of the 8th year (i.e. eight months later than Ammonianus' letter to the comogrammateis) Apollonarion addressed a second petition to the dioecetes, of which the conclusion is extant in ll. 40-45, while the lost beginning of it presumably preceded the letter of the dioecetes which occurred immediately before Il. 2 sqq. In this second petition Apollonarion began by quoting the dioecetes' letter in answer to her first petition, and the first petition itself (ll. 2-23), then recounted the action of Ammonianus (ll. 33-9), and ended by asking the dioecetes to give stricter instructions to the new strategus (whose name is shown by one of the documents on the verso to be Diophan[es]), so that pressure might be applied to the local village authorities to carry out the previous orders of the dioecetes and to release her. The second petition of Apollonarion to the dioecetes is, we think, the βιβλείδιον which in l. 46 is coupled with an ἀναγραφή and έπιστολή as having been quoted in the papyrus. Hence the texts of both these documents seem to have immediately preceded the beginning of the second petition. The ἐπιστολή is no doubt a second letter of the dioecetes (to the strategus or Apollonarion) in answer to the second petition: and with it we should connect [ἐσ]ημειωσάμην in l. 46, interpreting that on the analogy of έσημιω σ d μην in 1. 32 as the official signature of the dioecetes appended to the copy of the petition enclosed in his reply; but the identity of Aufidius Ammonius, who also appends his signature in 1. 46, remains quite obscure. The nature of the ἀναγραφή is explained by Col. ii of the verso, which seems to contain an actual copy of it. It was a report, probably supplied by the various comogrammateis, giving the situations and descriptions of Apollonarion's holdings and the names of the previous cultivators. Probably it was sent to the dioecetes by Apollonarion along with her second petition to him, and was also included by him in his reply. That this reply was, like the earlier one, favourable to Apollonarion is clear from the context, especially the words οίς ἀκολ[ο]ύθω[ς κ.τ.λ. in 11. 46-7: the date at which it was dispatched is not stated, but though the

second petition was written in Tubi the reply had not taken effect by the end of the year, for on Thoth 1 of the 9th year Apollonarion sent off yet another petition, addressed, as we think, to the strategus. In this she began by citing the whole dossier, which by this time comprised the second letter of the dioecetes, the  $\frac{\partial v}{\partial y} = \frac{\partial v}{\partial y}$ 

I	Petition of Apollonarion to the strategus (beginning)	1
2	second letter of the dioecetes	Total
3	ἀναγραφή	lost
4	second petition of Apoll. to the dioecetes (beginning)	- 1
5	first letter of the dioecetes	,
6	first petition of Apoll, to the dioecetes	11. 2-32
4	second petition of Apoll. to the dioecetes (continued)	11. 33-5
7	letter of Ammonianus	11. 36-9
4	second petition of Apoll. to the dioecetes (end)	11. 40-5
I	petition of Apoll. to the strategus (end)	11. 46-50
	he chronological order of the documents is 6, 5, 7, 4, 2, 2, 1,	

On the verso, the surface of which is much damaged, are two incomplete columns belonging to three distinct documents, written in hands which strongly resemble each other, but are perhaps not identical, and are certainly different from the hand of the recto. The upper half of Col. i contains parts of 22 lines (the last 8 being almost entirely obliterated) of a document quoting a ὑπομνηματισμός. Among the words decipherable are l. 1 ] as ἀποφάσεως [, 3 παροικ() καὶ γεωργ(), 5 'Αντωνίνω, 6 εν] 'Αλεξ(ανδρεία) τη προς Αίγυ[πτ]ω, 7 προς σ' είδων] 'Απριλλίων Φαρμούθι ιγ, 8 ]ς εἶπ(εν) καταφυγὴν ἐπὶ σὲ τὸν κύρι-, 9 ον ] λέγων ἐδανε[ι]σάμην, 10 κε]φάλαιον και τους τόκους. So far as can be judged, this document, unlike the two following, has no bearing on Apollonarion's case. The rest of Col. i is occupied by a copy of a petition similar to that of Apollonarion, made apparently a year later by another woman called Heraclia. It begins Διοφάν (ει (or -τω), the rest of that line and the two next being almost entirely effaced, but in l. 4 sqq. is a passage which is legible: ὑπὸ σοῦ ἐπιστάλμ(ατος?) οὖ ἔ[στιν] ἀντίγρα(φον)\* Διοφ(άνης) στρα(τηγός) 'Οξ(υρυγχίτου) | (5) κωμογραμματεῦσι τῶν ὑπογεγραμμ[ένω]ν κωμ(ων). βιβλ(ιδίων) δοθέντ(ων) μοι | (6) ύπο Ἡρακλείας Θέωνος ψ ἀνείλημπτα[ι] ἀντίγρα(φον) ἐπιστολ(ῆς) γραφείσ(ης) ὑπὸ | (7) Φλαυίου Στουδιώσου τοῦ κρα(τίστου)

διοικ(ητοῦ) περί [γ]εωργ(ίας) δημοσίας γῆς ὡς οὐ | (8) προσηκούσης αὐτῆ ἀντίγρα(φον) ἐπιστέλλε(ται) ὑμιν ὅπως ἐξετάσαντ(ες) | (9) κατὰ τὸ ἀκρειβέστερον τω ... [.......] ἀκ[όλο]υθόν έστιν τ . . . | (10) σεσημ(είωμαι), (έτους) η Μεσο(ρη) έπα(γομένων) ε. With this letter of Diophanes cf. the almost identical letter of Ammonianus in Il. 36-9 of the recto. Then follows a copy of the petition to Diophanes from Heraclia enclosing a letter of the dioecetes Flavius Studiosus, but these two documents, which continue up to the end of l. 17, are in a hopeless condition. In l. 18 sqq. is what appears to be a short imperial decree bearing upon the immunity of women from γεωργία and beginning Αὐτοκράτωρ Καΐσαρ Λούκ(ιοs) Σεπτίμ(ιοs) Σεουήρος Εὐσε $\beta(\eta s)$ : the words γυναιξίν δικαίας παραιτήσεως occur in l. 21, and a date,  $\eta$  (έτους) Φαρμοῦθ(ι) ιη. l. 22 also seems to belong to the decree, but the subject of the two following lines, which are the last of the column and begin much further to the right, is different. Col. ii has only the beginnings of lines, and probably not more than about a third of each is preserved. The subject of the first five lines is uncertain, but the rest of the column (ll. 6-45) is occupied by a document bearing upon Apollonarion's case, being we think a copy of the ἀναγραφή referred to in l. 46 of the recto (cf. p. 224). It begins (l. 6) δηλοῦ $\mu(\epsilon \nu)$ dvaγράφεσ[θαι, Apollonarion is alluded to more than once, and there are numerous references to lands at various places, including the νομαί Διοννσιάδος mentioned in 1. 6 of the recto, while lists of persons occur, in one case being followed by the words  $\pi \dot{\alpha} \nu \tau (\epsilon s) \dot{\sigma} \nu \tau (\epsilon s) \pi \rho o \gamma \dot{\epsilon} \omega \rho \gamma o (\iota ?)$ .

```
30 letters
                                                              ]..() \alpha\lambda() \mu.() \alpha\tau() \delta\iota[
and hand [Φλαουίφ Στουδιώσφ τῷ κρατίστφ διοικητή παρά Άπ]ολλωναρίου τής
                                                      [καὶ 'Αριστάνδρας 'Αριστάνδρου μη-
             [\tau 
ho \delta s \Delta \iota] \delta \dot{\nu} \mu \eta s \ \tau \hat{\eta} [s \ldots \dot{a} \pi \delta \ \tau \hat{\eta} s \ \dot{O} \xi \nu \rho \nu \gamma \chi \epsilon \iota \tau \hat{\omega} \nu] \ \pi \delta \lambda \epsilon \omega s. \ \tau \hat{\eta} s
                                                                              19 letters
                                               εὐμενε[στάτης
             [....]ρυνεν έπι[
                                                                  μι έχθέσθαι έπὶ τὸ κατ' έμὲ
                                             25 letters
                                                                                   25 letters
                                                                       <u>o</u>[
         5 \ [...] \cdot κλ[..] ειουσι \cdot [..] \cdot ..[.]ρ[........]σ[....τοῦ] 'Οξυρυγ-
                                                  χείτου ώς συνα. [ 25 letters
             [...π]ερ[i] μέν πόλιν (ἀρούρας) κ, π[ερ]ί δε Xύσιν έκ [τ]ῶν νομῶν
                           Διονυσιάδο[ς (ἀρούρας), καὶ περὶ.... (ἀρούρας), καὶ
              \pi]ερὶ τὸ Ἰσῖον Παγγ\hat{a} (ἀρούρας) ρι καὶ \piερὶ \Sigmaερ[\hat{v}]φιν (ἀρούρας) λη\Delta
                                     καὶ περὶ Σενεκελεύ καὶ Κε
                                                                                   25 letters
              ...]σος. ες δσον μεν ουν δύναμίς μοι υπηρχεν ταύτας εγεώργουν
                                                                καὶ ἀν
                                                                                   25 letters
```

	[τὰ τ]ελούμενα, ἐπεὶ δὲ συνέβη μοι ἔκ τε ἐπικλ[α]σμῶν κελευσθέντων
	[ ὑπὸ τοῦ λαμπροτά-
10	[του] ήγεμόνος Αἰμιλίου Σατουρνίνου καὶ έξ άλλων τινών άφορμών
	καὶ σ[ 25 letters
	[ἀνα]γκαίως σχεδόν τι διενιαυτίσαι με έν τούτοις οὐ μόνον συνεχο-
	$μ \dot{\epsilon} ν [ην$ 19 letters $\dot{a} λ λ \dot{a}$
	[καὶ] διὰ τοῦτο τήν τε ἐνδομενείαν μου καὶ τὸν οἰκεῖον κόσμον καὶ
	την ά. [ 25 letters
	[καὶ ἄ]λλα τῶν ἐμῶν πλεῖστα ἔμφορα πολλοῦ ἄξια ὀλίγου παντελῶς
	έν τῷ [ 25 letters
	[είς ἔνδειά]ν με οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν περιστῆναι. οὖ δὴ χάριν ὑπὲρ τοῦ
	μη μετα[νάστ]ην [με γενέσθαι
15	$[\ldots]$ έξ $\ldots$ $\sigma[\omega]$ ν μόνων τραφείσα καὶ ἀνα $\ldots$ εισα δέομαι έπιδιδοῦσ[α
Ŭ	τὸ ὑπόμνημα 21 letters
	[τα] συμβεβηκότα μοι καὶ ἀπαλλάξαι με τῆς γεωργίας τῶν προ-
	κειμένων [d]ρ[ουρων καὶ γράψαι τῷ τοῦ 'O-
	[ξυρυγχ]είτου στρατηγφ όπως ο έκάστης κώμης πραγματικός πρό-
	νοιαν ποιήση[ται 17 letters
	[ γεωρ]γίαν γενέσθαι· άνδράσι γὰρ ἔοικεν τὰ τῆς γεωργίας, ὡς καὶ
	συ ο κύριος έπίστ[ασαι, 16 letters
	[]ματων δια την ξμφυτόν σου εὐεργεσίαν ὑπέταξά σοι ὡς
	$\tilde{\epsilon}$ τ $\epsilon$ ρ $\alpha$ $i$ $\alpha$ $\phi$ $o$ $[\cdot \cdot \cdot] \cdot [\cdot \cdot i v']$ $\tilde{\omega}$
20	[δια] σοῦ κατα πάντα εὐεργετημένη. διευτύχει. (ἔτους) ιη θεοῦ
	Aldiou Άντωνίνου Θ[ωθ 14 letters
	] . ετιδος Πτολλίωνος, Σατουρνίνος ρήτωρ εἶπ(ε). Πτολλίων ό
	$\pi$ ατηρ της [σ]υνηγορ[ουμέν]ης έτ. [
	[] . διετάσσετο γην βασιλικήν τε καὶ δη[μοσ]ίαν περί τε κώμην
	Βουσείρ[ι]ν καὶ Θιντήριν καὶ Τα
	[]. χος κώμας τοῦ Ἡρακλεοπολείτου. ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐκείνου μεταλ-
	λάξαντος ἐπὶ κληρονόμφ ταύτη οἰ [τῶν κω-
	[μῶν] τούτων κωμογραμματεῖς παρά τὰ ἀπηγορευμένα ἐπιβάλλουσι
	αύτη την του πατρός γεωργί[αν
25	[] κέκριται δε ύπο των κατά καιρον ήγεμόνων και έπιστρατήγων
	γυνα[ικα]ς ταύτη τῆ χρεία μὴ καθέλ[κεσ-

 $[\theta]a[\iota,]$  καὶ  $a[i \dot{\nu} \dot{\tau} \dot{\eta}$   $a\dot{\xi}]\iota o\hat{\iota}$  ἀναγεινώσκουσα τὰ κεκριμένα ἀπηλ $[\lambda \dot{a}]\chi \theta a\iota$ της γεωργίας ανδράσι μόνοις πρίο σηκίού- $[\Pi \alpha]_{\rho}[\mu]_{\epsilon\nu} (\omega\nu \quad \epsilon \overline{l}\pi(\epsilon\nu) \cdot \quad \dot{\alpha}\nu\alpha\gamma\nu\omega\sigma\theta\dot{\eta}\tau\omega \quad \tau\dot{\alpha} \quad \dot{\epsilon}[\pi]\dot{\iota} \quad \tau\dot{\omega}\nu \quad \tauo\iota[o\dot{\upsilon}]\tau\omega\nu$  $[\sigma\eta]s.$ κ[ε]κριμένα. ἀναγνωσθέντος . . . [. . . δί ] ατ [ άγ ] ματος Τιβερίου 'Αλεξάνδρου ἀπαγορ[ εύον] τος γυναίκα γεωργια. . [.] . . ατε $[\sigma]\theta$ αι έπὶ τοῦ  $\beta$  (έτους) Γάλ $\beta$ α [. . . ... ι καὶ Οὐαλερίου Εὐδαίμονος τοῦ ἡγεμονεύσαντος τὸ αὐτὸ κεκρικότο[ς  $\dot{\epsilon}$ ]πὶ τοῦ  $\epsilon$  (έτους) Αντωνί[ν]ου [... 30 καὶ Μινικίου Κορελλιανοῦ ἐπιστρατήγου ἐπὶ τοῦ ι (ἔτους) Άντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κ[υ]ρ[ίο]υ, Παρμενίων ε $l\pi(εν)$ · ἀκολ[ού- $[\theta\omega]$ s  $\tau[o\hat{\iota}\hat{s}]$   $\dot{a}$  $\nu a$  $\gamma \nu \omega \sigma \theta \epsilon \hat{\iota} \sigma \iota$   $\dot{b}$  $\dot{\nu}$  $\alpha \tau a \iota$   $\dot{\eta}$   $Ta\theta \nu \nu \nu \ldots \tau \hat{\eta}$ s  $\gamma \epsilon \omega[\rho] \gamma \hat{\iota} as$  $\dot{a}\pi\eta\lambda\lambda\dot{a}\chi\theta$ au  $\tau$  . . . . . . . . . [. .] $\tau o$ [.] . . . . . [. . . έ[τ] έρο[υ]ς [γ] εωργούς είς την γεωργίαν μεταδιατάξαι. Απολλ[ων] άριον ή καὶ Αριστάνδρα ἐπιδέδωκα. ἐσημιω[σ]ά[μην. [..] (ἔτους) ζ Φαμενωθ ς. ἔως τούτου της ἐπιστολης καὶ τοῦ βιβλ[ε]ιδίου τὸ ἀντίγρα(φον). πρὸς ἡν ἀκολούθ[ως [π]ο[ι]ων ό τοῦ νομοῦ βασιλικός γραμματεύς Άμμωνιανός διαδεχόμενος την στρατηγίαν έπέστειλεν τοῖς 35 πραγματικοίς των κωμών περί ά(ς) έστιν τὰ έδάφη ώς υποτέτακται Άμ[μ]ωνιανδς βασιλικός γραμματεύς διαδεχόμενος τή[ν] στρατηγίαν κωμογραμματεί Χύσεως καὶ άλλων κωβιβλειδίων δοθέντων μοι ὑπὸ Απολλωναρίου τῆ[ς] καὶ Αριστάνδρας φ άνείλημπται έπιστολή τοῦ κρα[τίστου δι[ο]ικητοῦ ἔτι δὲ καὶ βιβλείδιον περὶ γεωργίας ἡν ἐδήλ[ω]σεν μή προσήκειν αὐτῆ, τὸ ἔτερον ἐπιστέλλεται ἡμῖν δπως κατά τὰ κεκριμένα την έξέτασιν ποιησάμενοι δηλώσητέ μοι. έσημιωσάμ(ην). (έτους) ζ Παχών κζ. 40 δέον οὖν τὴν μεταδιαταγὴν ἐτέροις γενέσθαι κατά τὰ γραφέντα ὑπὸ σου και την απαίτησιν των φόρων πα[-[ρ]ὰ τῶν γεγεωργηκότων, δθεν δέομαι ἐὰν σοῦ τῆ τύχ[η] δόξη [κ]ελεῦσαι έπιστρεφέστερον γραφηναι τῷ νῦν στ[ρ]ατηγφ τοῦ νομοῦ ὅπως ἐπαναγκάση τοὺς μὲν πρ[α]γματικοὺς κατὰ τ[η]ν μεταδιαταγην ποιήσασθαι, τους δε πράκτορας την απαίτη[σιν

π]οιήσασθαι παρ[ά] τῶν ἀντιποιουμ[ένων

τ[η]ς γης γεωργων, καὶ μὴ ἐνοχλεῖσθαί με γυναῖκα οὖσ[α]ν ἄνανδρον καὶ ἀβοήθητον, καθὼς [π]ρότερον ἐπ[έ45 σ[τ]ειλας περὶ τούτου, ἵν' ὧ εὐεργετημένη. διευτύχει. ᾿Α[π]ολλω νά[ρ]ιον ἡ καὶ ᾿Αριστάνδρα ἐπιδέδωκα, (ἔτους) η Τῦβι ι[.
[ἐσ]ημιωσάμ(ην). Αὐφίδιος ᾿Αμμώνιος ἐσημ(ειωσάμην). ἔως τούτου τ[ὸ] βιβλείδ[ι]ον καὶ ἡ ἀναγρ[α]φὴ καὶ ἡ ἐπιστολή· οἶς ἀκολ[ο]ύθω[ς
[ἀ]ξιῶ ἐπιστεῖλαί σε τοῖς τῶν τόπων πραγματικοῖς ὅπω[ς] καθ' (ὰ) ἡξίωσα τὴν μ[ετα]διαταγὴν ποιήσωνται πρὸς τὸ καὶ τοὺς πράκτορας τὴν ἀπαίτησιν τῶν ὀφειλομένων ποιήσασθαι παρ' ὧν προσήκει. (ἔτους) θ Θὼθ α.
[᾿Απολλ]ωνάριον ἡ καὶ ᾿Αριστάνδρα ᾿Αριστάνδρου ἐπιδέδωκα. Κορνήλιος Πεκύσιος ἐπιγέγραμμαι α[ἀ]τῆς κύρ[ιος.

4. l. ἐκθέσθαι. πι of επι above the line. 7. ἴσιον Pap. 8. ὕπηρχεν Pap. 14. ὕπερ Pap. 19. ὕπεταξα Pap. 25. ὕπο Pap.; so in l. 37. 35. ὕποτετακται Pap. 38. τωρ Pap. 47. σε added above the line.

'To his highness the dioecetes Flavius Studiosus from Apollonarion also called Aristandra, daughter of Aristander, her mother being Didyma daughter of . . ., of Oxyrhynchus. . . . (I am lessee of) 20 arourae near the metropolis, . arourae at Chusis in the pastures of Dionysias, ... 110 arourae at Ision Panga, 381 arourae at Seruphis, and ... arourae at Senekeleu and . . . As long as I had the power I cultivated these and (paid) the taxes, but since it has been my fate as the result both of the extra levies ordained . . . by his excellency the praefect Aemilius Saturninus and of other causes . . . to have perforce spent nearly all the year on them, not only being hard pressed . . . but also in consequence (having sacrificed) both my household stock, my private ornaments, and . . . and a large quantity of other property worth a considerable amount for quite a small sum . . ., I am hence reduced to extreme poverty. For which reason, in order that I may not become a wanderer . . ., as I have only . . . to live on, I present this petition, and entreat you (to pity) my fate, and release me from the cultivation of the aforesaid lands, and to write to the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome instructions that the official in each village shall provide for the cultivation being performed by others; for men are the persons suitable for undertaking the cultivation, as you yourself, my lord, . . . owing to your innate kindness, I have appended . . , in order that I may be completely benefited through you. Farewell. The 18th year of the deified Aelius Antoninus, Thoth .., in the case of . . . etis daughter of Ptollion: Saturninus, advocate, said, "Ptollion the father of my client was appointed (to cultivate) Crown and public land at the villages of Busiris, Thinteris, and . . . in the Heracleopolite nome. He died leaving her as his heir, and since the comogrammateis of these villages are imposing upon her the obligation to cultivate her father's land in defiance of the regulations forbidding this, and it has been decided by praefects and epistrategi from time to time that women are not to be forced to undertake this duty, she too requests, citing these judgements, that she may be released from the cultivation, which pertains only to men." Parmenion said, "Let the judgements upon such cases be read." There were read a decree of Tiberius Alexander in the 2nd year of Galba, forbidding women to be made cultivators, and a decision of Valerius Eudaemon to the same effect in the 5th year of Antoninus, and another of Minicius Corellianus, epistrategus in the 10th year of Antoninus Caesar the lord; whereupon Parmenion said, "In accordance with the judgements which have been read, Tathun . . . has the right to be released from the cultivation . . . , and other cultivators ought to be appointed for the land in her stead." I, Apollonarion also called Aristandra, have presented this petition. Signed, the 7th year, Phamenoth 6. So far the copy of the letter and the petition; acting in accordance with which the basilicogrammateus of the nome and deputy-strategus Ammonianus wrote instructions to the officials of the villages where the lands are situated as follows: Ammonianus, basilicogrammateus and deputy-strategus, to the comogrammateus of Chusis and those of the other villages. I send you a copy of the petition presented to me by Apollonarion also called Aristandra, to which is joined a letter of his highness the dioecetes, and also a petition concerning the cultivation for which she declared herself not to be liable, in order that you may, in accordance with the judgements on the subject, hold an inquiry and report to me. Signed, the 7th year, Pachon 27. The change in appointment of other cultivators ought accordingly to take place in conformity with your letter, and the rents should be exacted from the former cultivators; I therefore entreat you, if it please your Fortune, to command that stricter instructions be written to the present strategus of the nome to compel the officials to make the change in accordance with the orders which they have received, and the collectors to exact the dues from the cultivators who claim the land, and not to harass me, a woman without a husband or helper, following your previous instructions in this matter, that I may obtain relief. Farewell. Presented by me, Apollonarion also called Aristandra. The 8th year, Tubi 1[.]. Signed. Signed by me Aufidius Ammonius. Thus far the petition, the list, and the letter; in accordance with which I entreat you to instruct the local officials to make the change in the appointment as claimed by me, and the collectors to exact the dues from the proper persons. The 9th year, Thoth 1. Presented by me Apollonarion also called Aristandra, daughter of Aristander. I, Cornelius son of Pekusis, have been appointed her guardian. I, ... s, assistant, have brought the petition. The 9th year, Thoth 1.

- 1. The nature of this much abbreviated marginal note, which is written in a larger hand than the body of the text, is quite uncertain.
  - 2. For the restoration Φλαουίφ Στουδιώσφ κ.τ.λ. cf. introd. p. 225.
- 9. For ἐπικλασμοί, which were special levies at intervals, see P. Tebt. 373. 12, note. After κελευσθέντων a date probably followed.
- 10. Aemilius Saturninus is known from B. G. U. 15. ii. 1, a letter from him to the strategi of the Heptanomis written on Epeiph 17 of the 5th year. His official rank was not there given, but P. M. Meyer's view that he was praefect is now confirmed by the present passage and 916. 10, where he is mentioned as praefect in Pauni of the 6th year; cf. Cantarelli, La serie dei prefelti di Egitto, pp. 63-4. The precise date of this petition of Apollonarion to the dioecetes is uncertain (cf. introd.); it cannot be later than Phamenoth 6 of the 7th year (cf. l. 32, note), and probably is not many months earlier. After Saturninus the next praefect who is known is Q. Maecius Laetus, who held office in the 10th year.
- 17. πραγματικός: cf. ll. 35–6, where by πραγματικοί are meant the κωμογραμματείς, and ll. 42–3, where they are contrasted with the πράκτορες. The word seems to be a general term for a minor official; cf. P. Amh. 107. 15 τῶν τοῦ νομοῦ πραγματικῶν, P. Brit. Mus. 164. 7 τῶν βασιλ(ικῶν) γρα(μματέων) καὶ πραγματικῶν, P. Flor. 57. 54, &c. After ποιήση[ται something like ὧστε ὑψ' ἐτέρων τὴν γεωρ]γίαν γενέσθαι is required by the sense. Possibly the previous cultivators (οἰ γεγεωργηκότες) were to be reinstated; cf. ll. 40–4 and the ἀναγραφή on the verso (p. 226) which contains a list of these persons.

18. ἐπιστ may be ἐπίστ σσαι or some part of ἐπιστολή or ἐπιστέλλειν, but hardly ἐπιστ ράτηγος; cf. introd. The construction of ll. 18–19 is not clear. ὑπέταξα, if right, refers to the ὑπομνηματισμός appended by Apollonarion in ll. 20–32, and δέ has perhaps dropped out. ὑπέταξας ὅπως cannot be read, and the word following ἔτεραι does not seem to be any part of ἀφίημι.

21. ] . ετιδος Πτολλίωνος ; the name of the applicant is given in l. 31 as ή Ταθυνν . . . . . ,

where the termination is not -erus. Probably she had two names.

έτ . [: perhaps ἔτι, γῆν being an accusative of the same kind as e.g. Aeschin. 3. 24 έχειροτονήθη Δημοσθένης τὴν ἀρχήν; or an infinitive such as γεωργεῖν may have occurred.

25. ἐπιστρατήγων corresponds to ἐπιτρόπων in the parallel passage from B. G. U. 648.

12-4 quoted on pp. 222-3; cf. Wilcken, Ost. i. p. 427.

27. Parmenion, the presiding judge, cannot have been praefect, for on Thoth 1 of the 18th year of Antoninus (cf. l. 20) that office was held by Sempronius Liberalis (B. G. U. 372). Perhaps he was epistrategus of the Heptanomis, but that view is open to the objection that in Choiak of the 20th year the epistrategus was Statilius Maximus, as is shown by 487. 1, while B. G. U. 340, an undated petition to him, refers to events in the 12th year, so that Statilius Maximus may have been already in office in the 18th year. Other possibilities are that Parmenion was δικαιοδότης, διοικητής, οτ ΐδιος λόγος.

28-30. For Tiberius Alexander and Valerius Eudaemon cf. Cantarelli, op. cit. pp. 33 and 49. Minicius Corellianus, epistrategus of the Heptanomis, occurs also in P. Gen. 31 which refers to the 9th year of Antoninus. Before Οὐαλερίου Εὐδαίμουος, ὑπομνηματισμοῦ, not διατάγματος, is to be understood, as is shown by the word κεκρικότος. In l. 28 after γεωργια

no compound of ἄγεσθαι seems satisfactory.

32.  $\epsilon \sigma \eta \mu \iota \omega [\sigma] \delta [\mu \eta \nu]$  is the signature of some official and the following date refers to it, not to  $\epsilon \pi \iota \delta \epsilon \delta \omega \kappa a$  which marks the end of Apollonarion's petition. The signature may have been added in the office of the dioecetes upon the receipt of the petition, but since the petition is itself an enclosure in the letter of the dioecetes, we are disposed to regard  $\epsilon \sigma \eta \mu \iota \omega [\sigma] \delta [\mu \eta \nu]$  as the signature of the dioecetes at the conclusion of the copy of the petition which he was forwarding; cf. l. 46 and introd.

33. τως τούτου: cf. l. 46, B. G. U. 613. 25 and 36, and introd.

37. & ἀνείλημπται: a singular antecedent for & can be found in τὸ ἔτερον on which βιβλιδίων depends, but the plural βιβλιδίων being probably used, as often, for the singular, the writer may well have meant it to be the antecedent of &. Cf. the letter of Diophanes quoted on p. 225, where the phrase recurs, but with the abbreviation of βιβλ(ιδ) δοθεντ(). For ἀναλαμβάνειν in the sense of 'including in' cf. e.g. 985 &ν ἐπάνω ἀνειλ(ημμέναι) ἐν τῷ τοῦ η (ἔτους) λόγ(φ) (δραχμαὶ) 'β, and B. G. U. 168, 24 τὰ ὑφ' ἐκατέρου μέρους [λεχθέν]τα τοῖς

υπομνήμασι άνελήμφθη.

38. τὸ ἔτερον: τὸ ἴσον οι τὸ ἀντίγραφον would be expected at this point (cf. the letter of Diophanes quoted on pp. 225-6), and perhaps τὸ ἔτερον means no more than the 'duplicate', i.e. 'copy.' If it means the second of two βιβλίδια, and the plural βιβλειδίων in l. 37 is really correct, these were probably duplicates, not two petitions to Ammonianus written at different times, so that the sense would be much the same. None of the three documents stated to be enclosed in Ammonianus' letter actually follows in l. 40 sqq.; the βιβλίδιον περί γεωργίας is the original petition to the dioecetes already quoted in ll. 2-32, and the letter of the dioecetes immediately preceded it, but the petition of Apollonarion to Ammonianus himself does not seem to have been cited in the papyrus; cf. introd.

39. (rous) & Daxor of: the traces of the figure of the year are very slight, and would suit e.g., 7 as well; but the date of Ammonianus' letter is clearly later than Phamenoth 6 of the 7th year (l. 33), the date of the communication from the dioecetes which caused it to be written, and unless the date in l. 39 is earlier than that in l. 45 (Tubi of the 8th year) we are

unable to explain the relation of ll. 40-50 to what precedes, for ll. 40-5 cannot be regarded as an enclosure in the letter of Ammonianus.

41. τῶν γεγεωργηκότων: apparently the previous cultivators were to be made responsible for the land leased by Apollonarion; cf. προγέωργο(ε?) in the ἀναγραφή cited on p. 226. In ll. 43-4 a different phrase is used τῶν ἀντιποιουμ[ένων] τ[η]ς γῆς γεωργῶν, and in l. 48 they are vaguely called ὧν προσήκει. ἐπιστρεφέστερον was suggested by Wilcken.

## 900. PETITION TO A LOGISTES.

## 24.3 × 16 cm.

A. D. 322.

A petition to Dioscurides, the same logistes who issued the proclamation about the gymnastic display in 42, from a functionary who had been nominated as an annual superintendent of the express-post, and who here complains of the failure of certain donkey-drivers to support him in carrying out his duties. It is badly put together, in spite of the comparatively high position of the writer.

The year of the sixth consulate of Licinius Augustus and the second of Licinius Caesar, in which the papyrus is dated (cf. 42. 8-9), is still disputed. The two most recent discussions are those of Jouguet in *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres*, 1906, pp. 231-6 (cf. *Archiv*, III. pp. 339-43), and Seeck in *Rhein. Mus.* 1907, pp. 517 sqq., who uphold A.D. 322, and Viereck in *Archiv*, IV. pp. 156-62, who decides for A.D. 323. Of these alternatives we prefer the former.

'Τπατεί[a]ς τῶν δεσπ $[οτῶν ἡμῶν Λικινίου Σεβαστοῦ τὸ <math>\varsigma'$  καὶ Λικινίου

τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος τὸ β΄ [
Οὐαλερίφ Διοσκουρίδη τῷ καὶ Ἰουλιανῷ λο[γιστῆ ἸΟξυρυγχ(ίτου)
παρ[ὰ] Αὐρηλίου Διοσκόρου Σιλβανοῦ ἄρξαντος βου[λ(ευτοῦ)] τῆς  $\lambda [αμπ(ρᾶς) καὶ λαμπ(ροτάτης)$ 

5 'Οξυρυγχειτών πόλεως. πραιποσίτου μου όντος πατριμωναλίων δεκάτου πάγου τοῦδε τοῦ νομοῦ ὑποβληθέντος ἔτι εἰς κονδουκτορίαν τοῦ ὀξέος δρόμου τοῦ εὐτυχῶς εἰσιόντος ἔτους, καὶ ἐχρῆν τοίνυν τοὺς ἐξ ἔθους

λομένων ὑπακούειν καὶ ἡμεῖν τοῖς ἐνχιρισθεῖσι πλῖστα δημόσια ἐπιτά-10 γματα καὶ τὴν χώραν ἡν ἐξ ἔθους ἀποπληροῦσι ἀποπληροῖν, παρεχομένων αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀναλωμάτων. ἀλλ' ἐπιδὴ μανθάνω τούτους βουλομένους ένεδρεύειν την τηλικαύτην ἀπαρέτητον χρείαν τισὶ μὲν ἀπι[ο]ῦσι, ἐνίους δὲ διαβάλλοντας, τῶν ἡμερῶν τῆς ἀντιλήμψεως σ[υ]ναχθέντων τοῦ λιτουργήματος, ἐκ τούτου ἡπίχθην τὰ βιβλία ἐπιδοῦναι ἀξι-

15 ῶν τοὺς αὐτοὺς ὀνηλάτας ἐπαναγκασθηναι Φαῦστον καὶ \*Ωρον καὶ Χαιρέαν

πάντ' ἔχειν ὑπὲρ ὧν ἑξετέλουν κατ' ἔτος τῆς κονδουκτορίας χρειῶν πάν[τα τε παρα]σχέσθαι αὐτοὺς  $\{s\}$  τοῖς ἐνι⟨αυσί⟩οις ὑπακούοντες, καὶ ἡ[μ]ᾶς διὰ τῶν

[αὐτῶν τ]ὴν ἐνχειρισθεῖσαν χρείαν ἀποπληροῖν καὶ μὴ εἰς ἀνάγκην με γενέ-

[σθαι ἐντυ]χεῖν τοῖς μείζοσιν περὶ τούτου. (2nd hand) ἐνεδρείας γεγενημένης.

20 [ὑπατεία]ς τῆς προκιμένης Μεσορή 5. 3rd hand [Αὐρ(ήλιος)] Διόσκορος ἐπιδέδωκα.

3. ἴουλιανω Pap. 12. l. ἀπαραίτητον . . . τοὺς μὲν ἀπι[ό]ντας. 13. υ ο ενιοις coff. from ι. l.  $\sigma$ [υ]ναχθεισῶν. 14. λι ο λιτουργηματος coff. 16. το ο κονδουκτοριας coff. 17. l. ὑπακούοντας. 18. αν ο ενχειρισθεισαν coff.

'In the consulship of our masters Licinius Augustus for the sixth time and Licinius the most renowned Caesar for the second time, . . . To Valerius Dioscurides also called Julianus, logistes of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Dioscorus son of Silvanus, ex-magistrate and senator of the illustrious and most illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus, Being already the administrator of the imperial patrimonial estates in the tenth pagus of this nome, I have besides been nominated as contractor for the express-post for the year auspiciously approaching. It was accordingly incumbent on those who customarily discharge such services on behalf of the annual nominees to this office, to render obedience to me who have been entrusted with so many public burdens, and to discharge their customary services, for which their expenses are provided. But whereas I learn that these persons are desirous of acting fraudulently in respect of these important and unavoidable functions, some by absenting themselves, and others by deception, and since the period before entering upon this duty has become short, I therefore hasten to present this petition, requesting that the said donkey-drivers, Faustus, Horus, and Chaereas, be compelled to retain and to provide everything for the functions pertaining to the contract which they were wont yearly to fulfil, in obedience to the annual contractors, so that I may with their assistance perform the function entrusted to me, and not be reduced to appeal to the officials upon this matter. (Endorsed) Concerning a case of fraud: in the consulship aforesaid, Mesore 6. (Signed) Presented by me, Aurelius Dioscorus.'

5. The πατριμωνάλια are the properties belonging to the imperial patrimonium, which in Egypt in the Roman period were usually called οὐσιακά. The occurrence of the term patrimonalia in the fourth century is noticeable.

6. ὑποβληθέντος: cf. B. G. U. 906. 10 ὑποβληθέντα βουλευτήν, P. Leipzig 40. iii. 17 τῶν ὑποβληθέντων ὑπὸ τῶν β΄ ο ὑλευτῶν εἰς τὸν κεφαλαιωτήν.

κονδουκτορίαν τοῦ δέξος δρόμου: cf. 138. 9 πακτάριος τοῦ δέξως δρόμου, 140. 7 στα Ωίτης τοῦ δέ. δρ., P. Flot. 39. 6 γραμματηφόρου τοῦ δέ. δρ. In P. Oxy. I. p. 219, &c., we took δέ. δρ. to refer to the race-course, but, as Wilcken has remarked to us, the cursus velox or express postal service is doubtless meant; cf. Cod. Theod. 8. 5. 62 and Preisigke, Klio, VII. p. 269. κονδουκτορία = conductoria is novel, and conductoria is apparently not found in the sense implied here.

12-3. For ἀπαραίτητον χρείαν cf. 904. 9. τισὶ μὲν ἀπζο]νοι has no construction, and should have been in the accusative. The reading is indeed uncertain, and the supposed π not very satisfactory; but a participle seems required to balance διαβάλλοντας, and ἀπζο]νοι, but for the case, gives a good sense. It is noticeable that ἐνίοις was originally written for ἐνίους.

τῶν ἡμερῶν . . . σ[υ]ναχθέντων: we suppose σ[υ]ναχθέντων to be an error for σ[υ]ναχθεισῶν, and the meaning to be that the interval of time remaining before Dioscorus had to take up his duties had become short. This remedy is somewhat violent, but cf. B. G. U. 893. 12–14 οδτοι οί κεκληρωμένοι . . . ἀντιλήμψ[ο]νται τῆς ἀρχί. . . ὀλίγαι(?) ἡ]μέραι ἐν μέσφ εἰσίν, where the sense appears to be very similar, and, for this use of ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι, e. g. B. G. U. 18. 14 ἀντιλαμβ. τῆς ἐγχιρισθείσης α[ὐ]τοῖς χρε[ία]ς.

15. On the duties of δηλάται see Rostowzew, Klio, vi. p. 253.

19. τοῦς μείζοσω: μείζων and μειζότερος are apparently general terms for a person in authority, used in much the same way as δφφικιάλιος. The titles commonly occur without further definition as e. g. in 894. I, but are also found both in combination with a local name indicating the sphere of influence, e. g. 158. 2 τῷ μείζονι τῆς αὐτῆς Ταμπέτι, or with the name of the person to whom the μείζων was subordinate, e. g. 131. 14 μείζονα Κλαυδιανού, B. G. U. 367. 5 and 368. 10 κόμετι καὶ μειζοτίρφ Στρατηγίου τοῦ πανευφήμου πατρικίου; cf. the similar use of δφφικιάλιος in 896. 28. The earliest instance of a μείζων that we have noticed is P. Brit. Mus. II. 214. 22, of the reign of Aurelian.

#### 901. PETITION TO A PUBLIC ADVOCATE.

15 × 12 cm.

A. D. 336.

This document like 902 is addressed to an official occupying the position of Ekdikos or defensor (cf. 902. I, note), though in this case as a deputy. It is a complaint of a woman against a neighbour arising out of a chase after her pigs which had got loose; but the details of the story are lost owing to the mutilation of the papyrus. On the verso are a few letters which apparently have no relation to the petition on the recto.

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Υπατείας Ο[ὐιβίου] Νεπωτιανοῦ καὶ Τεττίου Φακούνδου
   τών λαμπροτάτων Π[α]χών 5.
   Φλαουί[φ] 'Ιουλιανφ διοικοῦντι ἐκδικίαν 'Οξυρυγχίτου
   παρά Αὐρηλίας Άλλοῦτος Θωνίου ἀπὸ κώμης Τααμπέμο[υ]
5 ε πάγου. Εσπερινες ώρες τη χθές ημέρα ημέτεροι χύροι
   δύο την δρμην ποιούμενοι έπι ημέτερον έδαφος
   γενώμενοι έν δδραγωγίφ μηχανής των ήμετέρων
   πέδων καὶ Παβάνου τινὸς ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης, [καὶ]
   ό προιρημί ένος Παβανος παρατυχών έχων μετά
10 χίρας ξοίλιον . . . . ιν τούς χύρους βουλόμεν[ο]ς
   καὶ τοῦτο μ . . . [. . . . .]ως μηδαμώς άδικηθείζς
   ύπο των χύρ[ων άλ]λά έχόμενος της πρός τούς
   χύρους ε . . . [. . ὅτι] ἐμοὶ ἐπελήλυθαν βουλόμενος
                 15 letters
                                ]. ως ὶ μὴ ἔκ τινος
15 [aπο]νύας τὴν [.....]π. [a]λλ' οὖν τῶν βωῶν
   [...] . ον ανκα . [...] . . [..]ημην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
               23 letters
                                   Ικόψας ώς έκ τῶν
                                ].... οις τινάς παράγετε
                                     ] θρασύτητι [...
               26 letters
20
                                     ]ουσα . [. . . . .
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1. υπατειας . . . τετ΄ τιου Pap. 3. φλαουίω Γαρ. 5. l. έσπεριναις δραις . . . χοιροι : l. χοιρ. also in 10, 12, 13. 7. l. γενόμενοι. ημετερώ Pap. 8. l. παίδων. 9. προϊρημίενος Pap. 10. l. ξύλιον, 14. ι μη εκ΄ τινος Pap. 15. l. [ἀπο]νοίας . . . βοών. 16. υπ Pap. 18. l. παράγεται.

'In the consulship of Vibius (?) Nepotianus and Tettius Facundus the most illustrious, Pachon 6. To Flavius Julianus, deputy-advocate of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelia Allous daughter of Thonius of the village of Taampemou in the fifth pagus. In the evening time of yesterday our two pigs made a rush into our piece of land, and got into the channel of the water-machine of our children and a certain Pabanus, of the said village. The aforesaid Pabanus happening to be by, and having in his hands a stick, wished to (catch) the pigs and (remove them?) from the place. He had not been in the least injured by the pigs, but full of . . . against them, because they had overrun me, wishing to . . . (I know not how?) unless from some madness . . .'

1. Cf. for these consuls, whose gentile names are not known from literary sources, P. Flor. 96. 6 and 13, where Vitelli reads  $0 v\bar{v}$ . [.] or and Territor. With regard to the latter, though the traces of the second  $\tau$  in our paperus are excessively slight, the letter is guaranteed by the comma after the first  $\tau$  (see critical note). This mark, which is quite clear, would

not have been inserted if the next letter had been a vowel, and we have no doubt that the supposed in P. Flor. 96 is a similar sign, which is sometimes so exaggerated that it could easily be mistaken for a letter. Moreover, Tettius has the advantage of being a well-known Roman name. Out . [Jou may represent either Virius, as Vitelli suggests, or Vibius.

- 3. διοικοῦντι ἐκδικίαν: the occurrence of this phrase shows that Wilcken's objections in Archiv, II. p. 127 to our supplement διοικ(οῦντι) [τὴν στρ(ατηγίαν) in P. Amh. 72. I are groundless. Its precise significance is not yet proved, but we adhere meanwhile to our original explanation that it means a deputy, and not the magistrate proper; cf. the analogous use of διέπων in e. g. 727. 5, P. Brit. Mus. 908. 13 and 19.
  - 4. The village of Τααμπέμου is mentioned in 501. 10, &c.
- 8. πεδων, if not equivalent to παίδων as suggested above, might be for πεδίων; but πεδία in papyri commonly mean the lands of a village, not of a private owner.
  - 10. . . . . ιν is no doubt an infinitive depending on βουλόμεν[ο], but not λαβείν or λαβίν.
- 14. Perhaps οὐκ οἶδα οἷπως. At the beginning of the line there is a vestige of ink in front of οι, but if another letter was written this line was begun further to the left than those above it.

#### 902. PETITION TO A PUBLIC ADVOCATE.

31.5 × 39 cm.

About A. D. 465.

A petition to a defensor (Exdusos: cf. note on l. 1) of Cynopolis from a cultivator, complaining of oppression and wrongful imprisonment by a member of the senate. According to his own statement the petitioner would seem to have been treated with extreme harshness; but it is likely from his repeated offer (ll. 9-10, 16-7) to pay any debt which could be established against him, that right was not entirely on one side. A difficulty arises regarding the date of the papyrus; cf. note on l. 19.

Φ[λα]ουίφ' Ισάκ τῷ λογιωτάτφ σχολαστικῷ ἐκδίκφ τῆς ἄνω Κυνοπολιτῶν [παρὰ] Αὐρηλίου Μακαρίου υἰοῦ Ἰωσὴφ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως. πρ[ὸ τ]ούτου ὑδροπάροχος καθέστηκα καὶ γεωργὸς φανερῶν πραγμάτων οὐσίας

τοῦ [τῆ]ς μακαρίας μνήμης Φοιβ[ά]μμωνος τοῦ πολιτευσαμένου, μετὰ δὲ τὴν τούτου τελευτὴν

5 δ τ[ούτ]ου άδελφδς Θεόδωρος ἐπισῆλθεν εἰς τὴν φροντίδα τῶν τούτου πραγμάτων

κ[αὶ τυρ]αννικῷ τρόπῳ ἀπέσπασεν ὀκτὰ καλὰ ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν βοικῶν ζώων.

καὶ [ἐστί]λατο καὶ παρεσκεύασέν με ἀδίκως ἀναλημφθῆναι τῷ δεσμωτηρίω πρὸ

τριών τούτων μηνών, καὶ ἐκ τούτου συνέβη τὸ ὑπόλοιπον τών ἐμών ζφων

τῆ λιμῷ τεθνάναι, ταῦτα ἐμοῦ ἐτοίμως ἔχοντος εἰ καὶ φανείην χρεωστοῦντα

το αὐτῷ ἐγγράφως πληρῶσαι. ἐπὶ τοίνυν οἱ ἔκδικοι ἐπενοήθησαν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσειν

πρὸ[s] τῷ βοήθειαν ὀρέξαι τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις, εἰς τελείαν γὰρ ἀνατροπὴν καὶ εἰς αἰχάτην

πεινων περιέστην ενεκεν τοῦ προειρημένου πολιτευομένου, τούσδε τοὺς λιβέλλους

έπιδίδωμι τῆ σῆ λογιότιτι ἀξιῶν κελεῦσαι τοῦτον μετασταλῆναι, πρῶτο(ν) δή πως μὲν

παρασκε[υάσαι] την αὐτοῦ ἀρετην ἀποδοῦναί μοι ἄπερ ἀπέσπασεν τυραννικῷ τρόπφ βοικά μου

15 ζῷα εὐθαλῆ καθὼς καὶ ἀπέσπασεν, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τὰ δοκοῦντα τῆ σῆ λογιότητι πρα-

χθηναι ἀνεθ(ή)ναί τέ με τῶν δεσμῶν, ἐμοῦ ὡς προεῖπον ἐτοίμως ἔχοντος πληρῶσαι

όσα ἐποφίλω αὐτῷ ἐγγράφως· μισοῦσειν γὰρ οἱ νόμοι τοὺς τὰ ἄδικα διαπραττο-

μέν[ο]υς, λογιώτατε ἔκδικε κύριε. (2nd hand) Αὐρήλιος Μακάριος Ἰωσὴφ ἐπιδέδωκα.

grd hand μετὰ [τ]ὴν ὑπατείαν Φλα[ουίο]υ Βιβιανοῦ τοῦ λαμπροτάτου τὸ β καὶ τοῦ δηλωθησομένου Άθὺρ κδ.

1. ισακς Pap. 2. τωσηφ Pap. 3. υδροπαροχος Pap. 6. ε of εκ corr. βοϊκων Pap. 9. l. χρεωστών. 11. οι in τοις and αδικουμενοις written above η, which is crossed through. 11-2. l. ἐσχάτην πεῖναν. 13. l. λογιότητι. 15. Second π of απεσπασεν corr. 16. Some letters inserted above δεσμων have been erased. 17. First σ of μισουσειν corr. from ζ. διαπρατζτο Pap. 19. ομενου αθ blotted.

'To Flavius Isaac, most learned advocate and defensor of the upper quarter of Cynopolis, from Aurelius Macarius, son of Joseph, of the said city. In the past I was appointed irrigator and cultivator of real property on the estate of Phoebammon, of blessed memory, member of the council. After his death his brother Theodorus entered upon the management of his property, and tyrannously seized eight fine beasts out of my kine; he also sent and had me unjustly carried off to prison three months ago, in consequence of which the remainder of my kine have died of hunger. This he has done in spite of my readiness to pay, if written proof of any debt to him can be produced. Therefore, since advocates have been devised in the cities for the purpose of lending assistance to the oppressed—and I have been reduced to complete ruin and the extremity of hunger through the aforesaid member of the council—I present this petition to your wisdom, begging you to order him to

be summoned, first of all bringing about the restoration to me by his excellency of my kine which he tyrannously seized, in the same good condition in which they then were; and for the rest directing that what seems good to your wisdom should be done, and that I be released from my bonds, since I am ready, as aforesaid, to discharge any debt secured in writing. For the perpetrators of injustice are hateful to the laws, most learned lord advocate. (Signed) I, Aurelius Macarius, son of Joseph, presented this petition. The year after the consulship of the most illustrious Flavius Vivianus for the second time, and of the consul whose name is to be declared, Athur 24.'

1. σχολαστικῷ ἐκδίκῳ: cf. 901. 3, 129. 3 τοῦ λαμπρο(τάτου) ἐκδίκου ταύτης τῆς 'Οξυρυγχετῶν πόλε(ως), P. Brit. Mus. I. 87. 85 ἔκδικος 'Ερμώνθ(εως), B.G. U. 1094. 1 σχολαστικὸς καὶ ἔκδικος τῆς 'Ερμών πόλ(εω)ς (l. πόλε(ως)?), P. Strassb. 40. 6 σχολαστικῷ καὶ συνηγό[ρφ (?) τῆς] Θηβαίδος. These ἔκδικοι are the defensores civitatis who from the year A.D. 365 appear as regularly constituted authorities in the provincial towns (Cod. Just. 1. 55; Cod. Theod. 1. 29). They were elected by the body of the citizens, the decurions being ineligible, and held office originally for five years, but after the time of Justinian only for two. Scholastici are expressly named in Cod. Theod. 1. 29. 2 among the classes suitable for the appointment. The defensores had a limited jurisdiction in civil cases and in minor criminal matters; their chief function was, as described in ll. 10–1 of the papyrus, to protect citizens from oppression and injustice—plebem tantum vel decuriones ab omni improborum insolentia et temeritate tueantur, Cod. Theod. 1. 29. 7; cf. Cod. Just. 1. 55. 4 ut imprimis parentis vicem plebi exhibeas, descriptionibus rusticos urbanosque non patiaris adfligi, officialium insolentiae, iudicum procacitati ... occurras, &c. In P. Leipzig 34. 10 of c. A.D. 375 the form δηφήνοωρ is used.

The  $\sigma_X$ 0 $\lambda$ a $\sigma$ 7 $\omega$ 0i were advocates employed in defending cases and similar legal work, such as drawing up petitions; cf. Cod. Theod. 8. 10. 2, where they are coupled with officiales, and their avarice is censured: nec latet . . . scholasticos ultra modum acceptis honorariis in defensione causarum omnium et annonas et sumptus accipere consuesse.

- 3. ὐδροπάροχος: cf. 187. 22 ὑδροπαροχ(ίας) and P. Brit. Mus. III. 1044. 25. φανερῶν πραγμάτων is similar to ἀκινήτων πραγμάτων in 126. 17, &c.
- 7. [ἐστίβλατο is not quite satisfactory, the λ being doubtful, and the middle voice unusual.
  - 13. πρῶτο(ν) δή πως: οτ πρωτο(τύ)πως, as Wilchen suggests.

#### 908. ACCUSATION AGAINST A HUSBAND.

27.2 × 21.6 cm.

Fourth century.

This singular document is an elaborate indictment of a husband by his wife, who gives a circumstantial account of the former's violent or insulting behaviour, extending over a considerable period of time. The two, whose names are not mentioned, seem to have been a young couple, united originally by an aypapos

yάμος, and subsequently by a regular contract (ll. 17–8); but in neither condition could they succeed in living on terms of harmony. The present document, which is unaddressed, was presumably a kind of affidavit used in proceedings taken against the husband; it is written in vulgar Greek, and in an irregular uncial hand, the letters of the first two lines being much enlarged. The occurrence of the word  $\piολιτική$  in l. 37 is of special interest in connexion with the much-discussed *Epistle of Psenosiris*; cf. note ad loc. On the verso are a few lines of shorthand in two columns.

Περί πάντων ων είπεν κατ' έμου ύβρεων. ένέκλεισεν τούς έ[α]υτοῦ δούλους καὶ τούς έμοῦ ἄμα τῶν τροφίμ[ω]ν μου καὶ τὸν προνοητήν καὶ τὸν υίον αύτοῦ ἐπὶ ὅλας ἐ[πτ]ὰ ἡμέρας είς τὰ κατάγαια αὐτοῦ, τούς μέν δούλους αύτ[οῦ κ]αὶ τὴν έμὴν δούλην Ζωὴν ύβρίσας άποκτίνας αὐτούς τῶν π[λ]ηγῶν, καὶ πῦρ προσήνεγκεν ταῖς τροφίμαις μου γυμνώσας αί[τὰ]ς παντελώς α ού ποιούσι οί νόμοι, καί λέγων τοις αὐτοις τροφίμοις ὅτι δότε πάντα τὰ αὐτῆς, καὶ εἶπαν ότι οὐδὲν ἔχει παρ' ἡμῶν, τοίς δὲ δούλοις λέγων μαστιγ (γ) ο(υ)μένοι(ς) ὅτι τί ήρκεν έκ της οίκίας μου; βασανιζόμενοι οδν είπαν ότι οὐδέν τῶν σῶν ἦρκεν άλλὰ σῶά ἐστιν πάντα τὰ σά. άπήντησεν δε αύτῷ Ζω[ίλ]ος ὅτι καὶ τὸν τρόφιμον αὐτοῦ ἐνέκλισεν, καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὅτ[ι] διὰ τὸν τρόφιμόν σου ἦλθας ἡ διὰ τὴν τοίαν ήλθας λαλήσαι έπάνω αὐτής; 15 καὶ ώμοσεν ἐπὶ παρουσία τῶν ἐπισκόπων καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ ότι άπεντεῦθεν οὐ μὴ κρύψω αὐτὴ(ν) πάσας μου τὰς κλεῖς καὶ ἐπέχω αὐτοῦ ἐπίστευεν κάμοὶ οὐκ ἐπίστευεν. ούτε ύβρίζω αύτην άπεντεύθεν. και γαμικόν γέγονεν, και μετά τας συνθήκας ταύτας και τους δρκους έκρυψεν πάλιν έμε τας κλείς είς έμέ. καὶ ἀπελθοῦσα [εί]ς τὸ κυριακὸν ἐν Σαμβαθώ, καὶ ἐποίησεν τὰς ἔξω θύρας αὐτοῦ ἐνκλισθῆναι ἐπάνω μου λέγων ὅτι διὰ τί ἀπῆλθας είς τὸ κυριακόν; καὶ πολλὰ ἀσελγήματα λέγων είς πρόσωπόν

μου καὶ διὰ τῆς ρίνὸς αὐτο[ῦ,] καὶ περὶ σίτου (ἀρτάβας) ρ τοῦ δημοσίου τοῦ

τοὺς τόμους κρατήσας αὐτ[ο]ὺς ὅτι δότε τὴν τιμὴν τῶν (ἀρταβῶν) ρ, μηδὲν δεδω[κῶς] ὡς προεῖπον. καὶ εἶπεν τοῖς δούλοις αὐτοῦ ὅτι δότε συμμά-

χους ΐνα καὶ αὐτὴν ἐνκλείσωσι. καὶ ἐκρατήθη Χωοῦς ὁ βοηθὸς αὐτοῦ

ονόματός μου μηδέν δεδωκώς μηδέ άρτάβ(ην) μίαν. ένέκλεισεν δέ

25

30

35

είς το δημόσιον καὶ παρέσχεν αὐτῷ Εὐθάλαμος ἐνέχυρον καὶ οὐκ ἡρκέσθη.

ἦρκα κάγὼ ἄλλο μικρον καὶ παρέσχον τῷ αὐτῷ Χωοῦτι. ἀπαντήσας δὲ αὐτῷ εἰς ᾿Αντινόου ἔχουσα το προς βαλανῖόν μου μεθ΄ ὧν ἔχω κοσμαριδίων, καὶ εἶπέν μοι ὅτι εἴ τι ἔχεις μετ΄ ἐσοῦ αἴρω αὐτὰ δι' δ δέδωκες τῷ βοηθῷ μου Χωοῦτι ἐνέχυρον διὰ τὰ δημόσια αὐτοῦ. μαρτυρήσαι δὲ περὶ τούτων πάντων ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ. καὶ περὶ ᾿Ανίλλας τῆς δούλης αὐτοῦ ἔμεινεν θλίβων τὴν ψυχήν μου καὶ ἐν τῷ ᾿Αντινόου καὶ ἐνταῦθα ὅτι ἔκβαλε τὴν δούλην ταύτην ἐπειδὴ αὐτὴ οἶδεν ὅσα κέκτηται, ἴσως θέλων μοι καταπλέξαι καὶ ταύτῃ τῷ προφάσει ἄραι εἴ τι ἔχω· κάγὼ οὐκ ἡνεσχόμην ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτήν. καὶ ἔμεινεν λέγων ὅτι μετὰ μῆναν λαμβάνω πολιτικὴν ἐμαυτῷ. ταῦτα δὲ οἶδεν ὁ θ(εός).

1. ῦβρεων Pap. 3. l. ταις τροφίμαις. 4. ῦιον Pap. 6. προσηνεγ'κεν Pap. 7. ιο οι ποιουσι added above the line. 8. l. ταις αὐταις τροφίμαις. 9. μαστιγ γομενοι Pap. 17. ῦβριζω Pap. 22. σ οι σιτου cott. from τ. 26. ῖνα Pap. 28. l. ἀπήντησα. 31. l. μαρτυρήσει. 33. Second ο οι αντινοου cott. 34. ῖσως Pap. 35. l. με for μοι. και added above the line. αι οι αραι cott. (?) 37. ικ οι πολιτικην added above the line.

'Concerning all the insults uttered by him against me. He shut up his own slaves and mine with my foster-daughters and his agent and son for seven whole days in his cellars, having insulted his slaves and my slave Zoë and half killed them with blows, and he applied fire to my foster-daughters, having stripped them quite naked, which is contrary to the laws. He also said to the same foster-daughters, "Give up all that is hers," and they said, "She has nothing with us"; and to the slaves when they were being beaten he said, "What did she take from my house?" and they under torture said, "She has taken nothing of yours, but all your property is safe." Zoilus went to see him because he had shut up his foster-son, and he said to him, "Have you come on account of your foster-son or of such a woman, to talk about her?" He swore in the presence of the bishops and of his own brothers, "Henceforward I will not hide all my keys from her (he trusted his slaves but would not trust me); I will stop and not insult her." Whereupon a marriage deed was made, and after this agreement and his oaths, he again hid the keys from me; and when I had gone out to the church at Sambatho he had the outside doors shut on me, saying, "Why did you go to the church?" and using many terms of abuse to my face, and through his nose. There were 100 artabae of corn due to the State on my account of which he paid nothing, not a single artaba. He obtained possession of the books, and shut them up saying, "Pay the price of the hundred artabae" having himself paid nothing, as I stated before; and he said to his slaves, "Provide helpers, to shut her up also." Choous his assistant was carried off to prison, and Euthalamus gave security for him which was insufficient, so I took a little more and gave it for the said Choous. When I met him at Antinoöpolis having my bathing-bag (?) with my ornaments, he said to me, "I shall take anything you have with you on account of the security which you gave to my assistant Choous for his dues to the State." To all this his mother will bear witness. He also persisted in vexing my soul about his slave Anilla, both at Antinoopolis and here, saying, "Send away this slave, for she knows how much she has possessed herself of," probably wanting to get me involved, and on this pretext to take away whatever I have myself. But I refused to send her away, and he kept saying, "A month hence I will take a mistress." God knows this is true.'

- 3. τροφίμων: cf. P. Leipzig 47. 10. The τρόφιμαι here were apparently some girls who were being brought up by the complainant, the masculine in 1. 8 being an error. A different male τρόφιμος is mentioned in l. 12.
- 6. For the hyperbole in αποκτίνας cf. e. g. P. Brit. Mus. I. 113. 12 (d). 11 δ χρεώστης εφόνευσεν με. The instrumental use of the genitive των πληγών is noticeable.

9. παρ' ἡμῶν (literally 'on our side') is practically equivalent to παρ' ἡμῶν.

- 14. τοίαν is a slighting reference to the writer of this indictment. For ἐπάνω cf. 131. 14-5 μάρτυρας τα ψε εύρεθέντας έπάνω τοῦ πατρός μου, Β. G. U. 29. 1-2 ἔσχον . . . ἐπάνω τῶν έμῶν κλήρων (both of Byzantine period); the word is used in another uncommon sense in l. 20.
- 15. With this oath made in the presence of the bishops cf. P. Leipzig 43, where a bishop acts as a judge.
- 16-7. The insertion above the line is a parenthetical explanation of οὐ μὴ κρύψω . . . κλείς.

22. Speaking through the nose aggravated the insult; cf. μυκτηρίζειν, naso suspendere, &c.

In Persius 1. 33 balba de nare locutus has a different meaning.

- 29. πρὸς βαλανίον is perhaps better written as two words than one. In either case the article meant seems to be some kind of handbag which was carried by a lady in going to the bath, and would hold trinkets and similar objects. A connexion with βαλανίνη, sc. στολί (cf. 265. 3), is less likely.
  - 34. αὐτὴ οίδεν: cf. P. Tebt. 424. 5 εἰ δὲ μετανοεῖς, σὰ οίδας.

35. καταπλέξαι is the opposite of έκπλέκειν as used in P. Tebt. 315. 21 καγώ σε έκπλέξω. 37. For πολιτική in the sense of πόρνη cf. P. Grenf. II. 73. 9. The present passage, which supplies a contemporary parallel, supports our view of that papyrus as against the interpretation of Deissmann (The Epistle of Psenosiris) who wished to make την πολιτικήν there a proper name.

#### 904. PETITION TO A PRAESES.

31.3 x 88.5 cm.

Fifth century.

A petition addressed to an unnamed praeses (of the Thebaid) by a certain Flavius, who had consented to act as substitute for Philoxenus in the post of riparius, a police official (cf. l. 3, note). Philoxenus had undertaken to provide Flavius with the requisite staff of helpers and indemnity in case of accident, but had failed to fulfil his bond; and Flavius, who had been subjected to much indignity and even violence in the performance of his duties, now prays that he may be released from them and the original holder made responsible. The petition is cast in a stilted and rhetorical style; the handwriting is an exceptionally large, formal cursive.

## Παρά Φλ(αουίου).

2 ή τῆς ὑμετέρας δικαιοκρισ[ί]ας καθαρότης πάντως κάμὲ ἐλεήσει τὸν γεγηρακότα καὶ άσυνθηκεὶ διαπεπονθότα καὶ χλεύην παρά Φιλοξένου τοῦ καθοσιωμένου μαγιστριανοῦ.

- 3 οὖτος γὰρ λόγον ἐνωμότως μοι δεδωκὼς καὶ ἐπαγ[γειλ]άμενος ὡς πάντως δσαπερ ἐπιζητεῖται εἰς τὴν τοῦ ῥιπαρίου λειτουργείαν ἐκτὸς πάσης ὑπομνήσεως πληρώσει,
- 4 παρέχων μοι καὶ πρὸς βοήθειαν οἰκέτας τε καὶ συμμάχους καὶ [ἄ]λλους τοὺς ὀφείλοντας τὴν παραφυλακὴν τῆς πόλεως ποιεῖσθαι, οὐ μόνον δὲ τοῦτο, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ συμβῆ ἀτόπημά τι γενέσθαι
- 5 αὐτὸν τὸ ἀζήμιον πληροῖν τοῖ[s] τὴν βλάβην ὑπομένουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα τὰ συντίνοντα εἰς τὴν λειτουργείαν ταύτην ἀποκαθιστᾶν· τούτων δὲ δλων ἐκτὸς γεγένηται
- 6 καὶ παρορών με τὸν ἄθλιον καθ έκάστην ἡμέραν μετεωριζ[δ]μενον σχοινίοις καὶ πληγαῖς κατακοπτόμενον κατὰ τὸ σώμα, μὴ κεκτημένον μὴ ἀδελφὸν μὴ συνγενῆ μὴ
- 7 υίδν δυνάμενον ἄμα μοι συνπαθίν, ὡς λοιπὸν εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ τῆς σωτηρίας πνεῦμα δυστυχίν με. ὅθεν τὰς ἰκεσίας προσφέρω τῆ ὑμετέρᾳ ἐξουσίᾳ ὥστε ἐμὲ μὲν ἐλευθερωθῆναι
- 8 τὰς τοιαύτας λειτουργεί[α]ς, [τὸν] δὲ [πρω]τότυπον καταναγκάζεσθαι ἢ δι' ἐαυτοῦ ἢ διὰ οἰουδήποτε προσώπου τὴν τοιαύτην λειτουργίαν ἐξανύσαι, ἐμοῦ ἀποταξαμένου καὶ μὴ
- ο δυναμένου [μηδαμῶς ὑπομένιν τ]ὴν τοιαύτην ἀπαρέτητον καὶ φορτικωτάτην λειτουργίαν, ἵνα κάγὼ τούτου τυχὼν εὐχαριστήσω ταῖς ἀκλεινεῖς ἀκοαῖς τῆς ὑμετέρας
- 10 έξουσίας, μεγαλο[πρεπέστατε ήμῶν ἡγ]εμῶν κύριε. +
- 2.  $\ddot{v}$ μετερας Pap.; so in ll. 7 and 9. l. καθωσιωμένου. 3. επαγ [γειλ]αμενος Pap.  $\ddot{v}$ πομνησεως Pap. 4. αλλί Pap. 5.  $\ddot{v}$ πομενουσιν . . . αποκαθίσταν Pap. 7.  $\ddot{v}$ ον . . . .  $\ddot{v}$ ικεσιας . . .  $\ddot{v}$ μετερα Pap. 8. l.  $\dot{\tau}$ ης τοιαύτης. 9. l.  $\dot{d}$ παραίτητον.  $\ddot{v}$ να Pap. l.  $\dot{d}$ κλινέσι.
- 'From Flavius. The purity of your righteous judgement will surely pity me, an old man who has suffered a breach of covenant and mockery at the hands of Philoxenus, the devoted magistrianus. He gave me his word on oath, and promised that he would surely fulfil without any reminding every requirement for the office of riparius, providing for my support both servants and assistants and others whose duty it would be to undertake the guarding of the city; and not only so, but he promised that if anything extraordinary happened, he would himself make up the loss to those who suffered injury, and also that he would set right everything connected with this office. But all this he has evaded, paying no attention to my unfortunate self, who am daily suspended by ropes and have my body belaboured with blows, and possess no brother, no relative, no son to sympathize with me, so that at last the very breath of my life is in danger. Accordingly I make my entreaties to your highness that I should be released from so grievous an office, and that the original holder should be compelled to finish it either himself or through some other person, as I renounce

it, being unable to endure any longer an office so severe and onerous, in order that having gained my request I may bless the impartial ears of your highness, our most noble lord praeses.'

2. ἀσυνθηκεί is presumably an adverb from ἀσύνθηκος, a form occurring in Onesand.

Strateg. 1. 37. ἀσύνθηκα would have been more normal with καὶ χλεύην following.

μαγιστριανοῦ: the magistriani were the agentes in rebus in the service of the magister officiorum, and were employed as messengers or representatives in the provinces; cf. Cod. Theod. 6. 27, Cod. Just. 12. 20 De agentibus in rebus. καθωσιωμένος which = devotissimus, i.e. a true servant of the State, was the regular epithet of magistriani; cf. e. g. Cod. Just. 12. 21. 7 schola devotissimorum agentum in rebus, C. I. G. 3467. 7–8 καθωσιωμένο μαγμοτριανώ καὶ

ἐκδ(ἰκφ).

3. ριπαρίου: that the riparius, who first appears in the fourth century, was primarily a police official appears clearly from 1. 4, where the παραφυλακή τῆς πόλεως is mentioned as the sphere of duties of his assistants, and the other evidence is in accordance with this. In P. Amh. 146 a riparius issues to eirenarchs an order for arrest similar to those sent in earlier times by the strategus (e.g. P. Tebt. 290), decurion (64), or beneficiarius (65). Petitions to riparii concerning cases of assault are extant in P. Cairo 10269 and P. Leipzig 37, and in 897 they are found engaged in the search for offenders. Other references to them are P. Leipzig 49, where a riparius appears as surety for the appearance of a person, P. Leipzig 62. i. 34, where two riparii are found acting with a ὑποδέκτης χρυσοῦ τιρώνων in the delivery of gold to a χρυσώνης, C. P. R. 30. 52, where a ῥιπάριος τοῦ ἐνάτου οῖκου occurs in a papyrus of the sixth century, when the 'houses' of the great nobles play an important part in the administration of the country (cf. 133. 8), and P. Brit. Mus. 653. 17. They were sometimes officials of μητροπόλεις (e.g. P. Leipzig 49), sometimes of the nome (P. Leipzig 37 and 897), and are often found acting in pairs, e.g. 897, and P. Cairo 10269. The office, as 904 shows, was a burdensome λειτουργία.

5. ἀποκαθιστᾶν: this form occurs as early as Aristotle, Metaph. 11. 8. 12; cf. Diod. 1.

78, Act. Apost. 17. 15 καθιστώντες, &c.

8. [πρω]τότυπον: cf. 136. 11 όμολογῶ ἐγὰ ὁ πρωτότυπος, P. Strassb. 40. 25-8 μετ' ἐγγυητ[οῦ] . . ἀναδεχομέν(ου) . . . τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ πρωτοτύπου.

# (d) CONTRACTS

#### 905. MARRIAGE CONTRACT.

20.4 × 18 cm.

A. D. 170.

A short but interesting contract of marriage between two inhabitants of the Oxyrhynchite village Psobthis. The formula, as usual in Oxyrhynchus marriage-contracts, is of the protocol type, not that of a δμολογία as in the Fayûm; cf. 496. The dowry brought by the bride is briefly described, the obligation of the husband to maintain his wife adequately is emphasized in the stereotyped phraseology, and provision is made for the restoration of the dowry in case of a separation. An uncommon clause is added at the end, where the bridegroom's father appears as a consenting party to the deed and guarantor of the repayment of the dowry; and the opening formula is also remarkable; cf. l. I, note.

[......... 'Αντωνί] νου καὶ Φαυστείνας Σεβαστῶν.
[εξέδοτο Μηνόδωρο]ς "Ωρου μητ(ρὸς) Τακαλλίππου ἀπὸ κώμης Ψώβθεως
[τὴν αὐτοῦ θυγατ] έραν Θατρῆν μητρὸς Θατρῆτος 'Απολλωνίφ
['Ηρακλέους μητρὸ]ς Ταυσοράπιος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης πρὸς γάμου κοι5 [νωνίαν. ἡ δ' ἔκδοτ]ος φέρει τῷ ἀνδρὶ [εἰς φε]ρνὴν λόγου [χ]ρυσοθ μὲν κοινοῦ σταθμῷ

 $[O_{\xi}^{*}] = [O_{\xi}^{*}] =$ [καὶ ἔτι ἐν παρ]αφέρνοις ἱματίων σουβροκομαφόρτια δύο, [ξυ μέν . . . . . .]νον τὸ δὲ ἔτερον λευκόν. [[ονουν]] συμβιούτωσαν [οὖν άλλήλοις οἱ γ]αμοῦντες φυλάσσοντες τὰ τοῦ γάμου δίκαια, 10 [καὶ ὁ γαμῶν ἐπι]χορηγείτω τῆ γαμουμένη τὰ δέοντα κατὰ δύναμιν [τοῦ βίου. έ]αν δ[ε ά]παλλαγή γένητ[α]ι τέκνων όντων ή καὶ [μη γενομένων ἀποδότ]ω ὁ γαμῶν τὰ παράφερνα πάντα μέν δμ[α]  $τ[\hat{η}$   $\mathring{a}π]$ αλλαγ $\hat{η}$  την  $δ[\grave{\epsilon}]$  φερνην  $\mathring{\epsilon}$ ν ημέραις  $\mathring{\epsilon}$ ξήκοντα  $d[\phi', \tilde{\eta}]$ ς  $\dot{\epsilon}[\dot{\alpha}\nu, \dot{\eta}, \dot{\alpha}]$ παλλαγ $\dot{\eta}$  γένηται, τ $\dot{\eta}$ ς πρά $\dot{\epsilon}$ εως  $[[\alpha \nu]]$  οὕσης 15 τω έκδιδόν[τ]ι Μηνοδώρου παρά του γαμούντος και έκ τῶν ὑπαρχ $[\delta]$ ντων αὐτῷ πάντων. παρών  $\delta \hat{\epsilon}$  ὁ πάτηρ τοῦ γαμοῦντος  $H\rho[\alpha]$ κλης Μώρου μητ $(\rho \delta s)$   $A\pi[\delta \lambda] \lambda ωνίας άπδ της αὐτης κώμης$ εύδοκει τῷ [[τε]] γάμφ και ἐνγυᾶται είς ἔκτισιν την προκειμένην φερνήν. κυρία ή συνγραφη δισση γραφείσα πρός το έκατερον μέρος έχειν μοναχόν, και έπερωτη-20  $[\theta \in V]$ τες έαυτοῖς [[αλληλοις]] ώμολόγησαν. (ἔτους) ι Φαμενὼ $\theta$  ιη.

4. κ of κωμης corr. from π, and γ and μ of γαμου written above μ and γ which are crossed through.

5. [εις φε]ρνην λογου added above the line; l. φε]ρνης λόγου.

6. l. μνααῖου.

7. τματιών Pap. l. σουβρικομαφόρτια.

14. ο of ουσης corr. from τ.

15. l. Μηνοδώρφ.

17. ηρ[α]κλης . . . κωμης added above the line.

<sup>&</sup>quot;... Antoninus and Faustina, Augusti. Menodorus son of Horus and Tacallippus of the village of Psobthis has given for partnership of marriage Thatres, his daughter by Thatres, to Apollonius son of Heracles and Tausorapis. The bride brings to her husband in respect of dowry one mina's weight on the Oxyrhynchite standard of common gold, in kind, according to valuation, and in parapherna in clothing two outer veils, one ..., the other white. Let the husband and wife therefore live together observing the duties of marriage, and the husband shall supply the wife with necessaries in proportion to his means. If a separation takes place after the birth of children or before it, the husband shall restore all the superdowry at the time of separation, and the dowry in sixty days from the day on which the separation takes place; and Menodorus, the giver of the bride, shall have the right of execution upon the husband and upon all his property. The father of the husband, Heracles son of Morus and Apollonia, of the said village, being present assents to the

marriage, and is surety for the payment of the aforesaid dowry. This contract is valid, being written in duplicate in order that each party may have a copy; and in answer to the formal question they have declared to each other their consent. The 10th year, Phamenoth 18.'

1. It is very unlikely that this line is a date. There seems to be barely room for (ἔτους) ι (cf. l. 20) Αὐρηλίου 'Αντωνί]νου, even if ἔτους were written as a symbol; it is also noticeable that the month is not added (there being a blank space after Σεβαστῶν), and the date at the end makes another at the beginning quite superfluous. Moreover, the mention of the empress in a date would be very unusual, though possibly it might have been thought appropriate in a marriage-contract; cf. the coins in which Faustina is associated with Fecundilas, Fortuna muliebris, Laetitia, &c. These considerations suggest the probability that l. I contains some unfamiliar formula, e. g. τῆ τύχη 'Αντωνί]νου κ.τ.λ., with which might be compared the ἀγαθῆ τύχη common in wills. In any case, however, the mention of Φανστείνα Σεβαστή here appears to fix the year given in l. 20 as the 10th of Marcus Aurelius, for though the phrase ἐπερωτη[θέν]τες ὡμολόγησαν in ll. 19-20 suggests a later period (cf. note ad loc.), the fact that none of the parties to the contract is an Aurelius gives strong support to a date earlier than Caracalla. For Faustina cf. 502. 3-4, where a priest of Φανστίνα Σεβαστή occurs in the reign of Marcus.

δ δὲ Μηνόδωρ]ος is too long, and the natural subject of φέρει is the bride. We therefore suggest ἔκδοτ]ος, though that word does not apparently occur in the papyri; cf. however,

έκδιδόναι and έκδότης.

6. ['Οξυρυγχείτη]: cf. 496. 3 χρυσίο]υ σταθμῷ 'Οξυρυγχείτ[η μυαιαία πέντε. The insertion of γ in μυαγαίου exemplifies a common phenomenon; cf. P. Tebt. 26. 12, Mayser, Grammatik, pp. 167-8.

7. σουβρ(ι)κομαφόρτιου seems to be a new compound; cf. 921. 4 and B.G.U. 327. 7

σου(β)ρικοπάλλιον.

8. ]νον is the termination of some word like σανδύκινον οτ κροκώτινον.

10. έπι χορηγείτω: cf. e. g. 906. 6.

12-3. Cf. 603, where it is similarly provided that the  $\pi a \rho \acute{a} \phi \epsilon \rho \nu a$  were to be returned on demand, and the  $\phi \epsilon \rho \nu \acute{\rho}$  within sixty days. The latter term is also that fixed in 497. 6 and P. Gen. 21 (Archiv, III. p. 387); in Roman marriage-contracts thirty days is a commoner limit. At the beginning of l. 13 the space is rather broad for  $\ddot{a} \mu [a]$ , and perhaps  $\ddot{a} \mu [a \ a\dot{\nu}] r [\hat{p}]$ 

 $\langle \tau \hat{\eta} \rangle$  should be read.

16-8. On the analogy of this passage we would suggest that the signature which in 497. 22-4 follows those of the bridegroom and the bride's father is that of the bridegroom's father, who was perhaps made security, as here, for the repayment. Similarly in 906. 10 Isidorus, who is only a few years younger than the father of the wife, may well be the father of the husband. In P. Leipzig 27, which like 906 is an agreement for divorce, the husband is associated with a person who actually pays over the dowry on his behalf to the wife's father; but this fourth person is there unlikely to be the husband's father, since not only is no such relationship stated, but the husband was a freedman, who would not be expected to have an assignable father. Mitteis suggests that he was the banker, but that does not seem at all probable; we should prefer to suppose that he was more intimately concerned in the transaction, and had appeared in the original marriage-contract as the husband's guarantor.

19. This is a remarkably early example of the use in Egypt of the stipulatory formula, which only becomes common in the third century. In fact we are unable to refer to another instance from the second century apart from those in which Roman citizens are concerned, for in C. P. R. 22. 35, which is cited by Mitteis, Reichsrecht, p. 4863, ἐπερω]τηθεί σα is an

erroneous reading (Hunt, Gött. Gel. Anz., 1897, p. 462).

#### 906. DEED OF DIVORCE.

12.6 × 33.1 cm. Second or early third century.

The conclusion of a contract for divorce; cf. 266, P. Leipzig 27, C. P. R. I. 23, &c. The document is apparently called an  $\partial \pi o \chi \eta$ , referring to the repayment of the dowry; cf. note on l. 10. At the end are the names and descriptions of the principal parties to the contract, Horion who is no doubt the wife's father, Plutarche the wife, and a third person who is not the husband but may have been a surety for him; cf. 905. 16-8, note.

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]α . [· ·] · [
] · αλ[· · · · · · · · .]σο · [· ·] κ[αὶ] τὰ διὰ
                                          της αύτης συνγραφης έσταμίενα
   παρά\phi[\epsilon]ρ[va ὄντα \epsilon κ] δραχμών τεσσαράκοντα, οἱ δ\epsilon τρε\hat{i}ς καὶ μ\hat{\eta} \hat{\epsilon}νκαλε\hat{i}ν
                                                 άλλήλοις μηδέ ένκαλέσειν
   μηδε επελεύσεσθαι μήτε περί μηδενός των είς την συνβίωσιν του Διογένους
                                                      καὶ τῆς Πλουτάρχης
5 τεινόντων μηδέ περί άλλου μηδενός άπλως μέχρι της ένεστώσης ήμέρας. ό δέ
                                                                 Δ[ι]ογένης
   καὶ ἐπιχορηγή[σ]ει ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν τὰ [δ]έοντα τοῖς αὐτοῖς υίοῖς αὐτῶν παρ' αὐτῷ
                                                         διαιτωμέν[ο]ις άχρι
   ήλικίας. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ νῦν ἐξεῖναι τῷ Διογένει καὶ τῆ Πλουτάρχη ἐκάτερος
                                          αὐτῶν ἀρμόζεσ[θαι] ὡς ἐὰν αἰρῆ-
   ται γάμφ ανευθύνφ όντι, ή την έσομένην έφοδον άκυρον είναι, την δε δηλου-
                                                         μένην σ[υ]νγραφην
   κ[αὶ] τὴν [γ]ενομένην αὐτῆς διὰ τοῦ καταλογείου δημοσίωσιν [καὶ] μετάδοσιν
                                                 συνχωρούσει ἄκυρον είναι.
10 κυρία ή ἀποχή. 'Ωρίων ός (ἐτῶν) νζ ἄσημ(ος). Πλουτάρχη ὡς (ἐτῶν) κδ
            7. l. ἐκατέρφ.
                                        10. l. ws for os.
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'... and the parapherna fixed in the said contract, worth 40 drachmae. The three further agree that they neither make nor will make any claim or proceed against each other on any point connected with the union of Diogenes and Plutarche, or on any other subject whatever up to the present day. Diogenes shall henceforth provide the necessary means for the said sons, who shall live with him until they come of age; and henceforth it shall

be lawful for Diogenes and Plutarche, either of them, to marry as they choose without incurring liability, any act of aggression against them being invalid. The above-mentioned contract, and the registration of it through the record-office, and communication of it are acknowledged to be invalid. This receipt is valid. Horion, aged about 57, with no distinguishing mark. Plutarche, aged about 24, with no distinguishing mark. O.. Isidorus, aged about 48, with a scar on his right eyebrow.'

1-2. Cf. P. Leipz. 27. 20-3 "Ηρων δὲ ἀπέχιν παρὰ τοῦ Σωσᾶ τὰς διὰ τῆς συνγραφῆς φερνῆς ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς τρι[ακο]σίας κ[αὶ τὰ πα]ράφερνα πάντα. In marriage-contracts the repayment of the παράφερνα is generally provided for without any stipulation concerning their value, such as commonly occurs in connexion with the φερνή. In the marriage-contract of Diogenes and Plutarche, however, though ε[σ]ταμ[ενα and ὅντα εκ] are very uncertain, the value of the παράφερνα seem to have been stated.

7. έκατέρ[o]es cannot be read, nor δε for δε.

of an ἀποχή: cf. Lesquier, Rev. de Phil. 1906, p. 25.

9. διὰ τοῦ καταλογείου δημοσίωσιν apparently refers to the registration of deeds through the archidicastes in the Library of Hadrian and Nanaeum at Alexandria; cf. 719, P. Leipzig 10, and, for the latest discussion, P. Strassb. 29 introd. These deeds were, however, in all previously known instances χειρόγραφα, i. e. private notes of hand without the intervention of the agoranomus or other notarial official, whereas the document in the present case was a συγγραφή, i. e. the original marriage-contract of Diogenes and Plutarche. The extant marriage-contracts of the Roman period are all notarial συγγραφαί (cf. P. M. Meyer, Klio, VI. pp. 442 sqq.), and that a συγγραφή should have undergone δημοσίωσις at Alexandria is a new and surprising phenomenon. The only explanation which we can suggest is that the συγγραφή in question resembled that mentioned in 259. 11 in being ιδιόγραφος, i.e. that it was really a χειρόγραφον (cf. P. M. Meyer, op. cit., p. 447), which required to be sent to Alexandria to receive official δημοσίωσις. What is precisely meant by μετάδοσω here is also not quite clear, owing to our ignorance of the terms of the συγγραφή and the circumstances of its δημοσίωσις, but μετάδοσιν is likely to be connected with μεταδοθήτω which occurs in the instructions of the archidicastes quoted in the documents bearing upon the δημοσίωσις, e. g. 719. 4, B.G.U. 578. 7. μεταδοθήτω in the latter example is explained by Mitteis (Hermes, xxxii. p. 647) as the communication of the copy of the petition concerning δημοσίωσε to the defendant through the strategus', but this explanation does not very well suit the other cases where the δημοσίωσις is not preparatory to an action at law as in B. G. U. 578, but is only a precautionary step (cf. 719. introd.). Perhaps μετάδοσις means the official communication of the fact of δημοσίωσις to all concerned.

10. ἀποχή: the reading of the last three letters is uncertain, but an abbreviation of ἀπαλλαγή or ἀποζυγή is not admissible. The repayment of the dowry was the chief point in a contract concerning divorce; the formula of **266** and P. Brit, Mus. II. 178 is simply that

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#### 907. WILL OF HERMOGENES.

26.5 × 22.4 cm.

A. D. 276.

The following will is preserved on the verso of 412, a fragment from the Κεστοί of Julius Africanus. The testator, Aurelius Hermogenes, a president of the boule at Oxyrhynchus, divides a considerable real estate between his five children—three sons and two daughters—and his wife. Property of various

kinds is first apportioned to the sons, a special bequest being made to the eldest of them (ll. 7-11). Other property was similarly to be shared by the daughters, the elder of whom was married; the dowry bestowed on this elder daughter is confirmed, and provision made for the future marriage-portion of her sister (ll. 11-6, 24-5). To the wife is given the absolute ownership of some land hypothecated as security for her dowry. A guardian is appointed for the three younger children who were still under age, to act in the case of the sons until they attained their majority, in that of the daughter until her marriage; the wife of Hermogenes is associated in the guardianship, and a nephew is requested to give his assistance when required.

The chief point of interest in this will, which is not the original document but a copy taken after the original was opened (cf. l. 28 and note), lies in its adherence to Latin formulae. According to the express statement of l. 2 the deed was drawn up in Greek; yet it reproduces in a striking manner the phraseology of the will of Gaius Longinus Castor at Berlin (B. G. U. 326; cf. Mommsen, Sitzungsber. d. Pr. Akad. 1894, p, 47, Scialoja, Bull. dell' Inst. di dir. rom. vii, p. 2, &c.), which was translated from the Latin. In the recent monograph of Arangio-Ruiz, La successione testamentaria secondo i papiri greco-egizii, where the evidence is conveniently collected and fully discussed, it is remarked (pp. 277-9) how little difference the promulgation of the constitutio Antonina made to the testamentary formulae current in Egypt. Latin phrases and forms appear sporadically, but the few previously published Greek wills of the third and following centuries have been cast in the typically Greek shape. In the light of the present text this conclusion needs some modification. The preference here shown for Latin forms may be traceable in a greater or less degree to the high municipal position of the testator; but the influence of Roman law upon the formulae of Egyptian wills was evidently stronger than has hitherto been suspected.

The papyrus is dated on Pauni 7 (June 1) of the first year of the emperor Tacitus, and is said to have been opened in the following month Epeiph (June 25–July 24) of the 'same first year'. Aurelian seems to have been killed before March 25, 275, but since Tacitus was not chosen emperor till about September and his accession could not have been foreseen, it is evident that the date of the papyrus refers to the year 276. Tacitus only reigned six months, his death probably occurring early in April; that the news of it had not yet reached Oxyrhynchus by Epeiph is however not very remarkable, for there were considerable variations in the length of the periods which elapsed before changes in the imperial succession became generally known in Egypt: Commodus appears in the date of B. G. U. 515 more than five months after his death. Cf.

912. 40, note, and P. Strassburg 8. 17, where Pauni 14 of the first year of Tacitus occurs, and Preisigke's discussion in pp. 30 sqq.

The ends of the lines are missing throughout and the exact extent of the loss is not quite certain. Assuming that l. 6 corresponded verbally to B. G. U. 326. i. 15, the number of letters to be supplied in ll. 1-16 is about 35, in the remainder 2 or 3 less; and our restorations are made on this hypothesis. In one or two places a slightly longer supplement seems necessary, but not more than can be accounted for by a reasonable variation in the length of the lines and the size of the writing.

- Αὐρήλιοι Έρμεῖνος καὶ Πρείων καὶ Ἡρακλείδης καὶ Πτολεμαὶς καὶ Διδύμ[η, οἱ πέ]ντε τέκνα μου γλυκύτατα [ἐ]κ [τῆς συνούσης μοι 18 letters γυναι-
- κὸς Αὐρηλίας Ἰσιδώρας τῆς καὶ Πρείσκας ματρώνας στολάτας, αἰρέσει τῆ ὑποτεταγμένῃ ἐφ' οἶς ἔκαστος προσδ[.... κληρονόμοι μου ἔστωσαν, οἰ δὲ λοιποὶ
- 5 πάντες ἀποκληρόνομοί μου ἔστωσαν, προσερχέσθωσάν τε τῆ κληρονομία μου ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐκάστφ καταλιμ[πανομένοις ὁπόταν . . . . . . . . . . . ρασθαι
  - έαυτους έμου κληρονόμους είναι, ουτοί τε υπεύθυνοι έστωσαν διδόναι ποιήσαι παρασχέσθαι ταθτα πάντα [δσα έν ταύτη τῆ διαθήκη μου γεγραμμένα έστί,
  - τοῦτό τε τῆ π[ίστ]ει αὐτῶν παρακατατέθε(ι)μαι. Αὐρηλίοις Ἐρμείνφ καὶ 'Ωρείωνι καὶ Ἡρακλείδη τοῖς τρισί μου [υἰοῖς ὡς πρόκειται καταλείπω κοινῶς ἐξ ἴ-
  - σου ὑπὲρ τῆς κληρονομίας τῆς ἐμῆς δ ἔχω περὶ τὸ Ἰστρου τῶν κατὰ τὸ ἄνω Ἰσεῖον ἀμπελικὸν χωρίον καὶ σειτ[ικὰς ἀρούρας πάσας καὶ 16 letters
  - νυς καὶ χρηστήρια καὶ συνκυρούντα πάντα καὶ ας έχω περὶ Σεφω σειτικας άρούρας πάσας καὶ έν τῆ μητροπίδλει τὴν 28 letters
- 10 μου οἰκίαν καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῃ ἐνδομενείαν πᾶσαν, τῷ δὲ Ἑρμείνφ μόνφ κατ ἐξαίρετον ἃς ἔχω περὶ Σεψ κοινὰς πρὸς
  - σειτικάς άρούρας πάσας καὶ δοῦλόν μου δνόματι Φιλοδιόσκορον. Αὐρηλίαις Πτολεμαίδι καὶ Διδύμη ταῖς πρ[ογεγραμμέναις θυγατράσι μου . . . . . . . δίδω-

- μι καταλείπω καὶ αὐταῖς κοινῶς ἐξ ἴσου ὑπὲρ τῆς κληρονομίας τῆς ἐμῆς δ ἔχω κοινὸν πρὸς τὸν αὐτ[ὸν 24 letters ἀμπελικὸν
- χωρίον καὶ σειτικάς άρούρας πάσας καὶ προχρείας καὶ χρηστήρια καὶ συνκυροῦντα πάντα, τῆ δὲ Διδύμη [μόνη κατ' εξαίρετον 20 letters
- άλλὰ καὶ τῆ Πτολεμαίδι βεβαιῶ διὰ τούτου μου τοῦ βουλήματος ἡν φθάσας ἐπιδέδωκα αὐτῆ προῖκα ε[ 21 letters καὶ καταλείπω τὴν
- 15 δούλην ὀνόματι Εὔνοιαν, τὰ δὲ λοιπά μου δοῦλα σώματα τέσσαρα Διοσκουρίδην καὶ Σαβεῖνον καὶ Ἑρμ[. . . καὶ . . . . τοῖς προκειμένοις ἄρρεσι τοῖς
  - τρισὶ καὶ τῆ μιᾳ τῶν θηλειῶν, λέγω δη τῆ Διδύμη. Αὐρηλία Ἰσιδώρα τῆ καὶ Πρείσκα τῆ συνούση μοι [γυναικὶ 29 letters
  - πρεπόντως περί τὴν συμβίωσιν ἀναστραφείση καταλ[εί]πω κυριευτικῶς ἃς ἔχω κοινὰς πρὸς τὸν [αὐτὸν 22 letters περί . . .-
  - βιν σειτικάς άρούρας πάσας προυπαλλαγείσας αὐτῆ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πρὸς τὴν προσενεχθεῖσάν μοι ἐπ' αὐτῆ τ[. . . φερνήν. ἐπίτροπον δὲ ποιῶ τῶν προκειμέ-
  - νων άφηλίκων μου τέκνων τ[ριῶ]ν 'Ωρείωνος καὶ Ἡρακλείδου καὶ Διδύμης ἔως ἀν οἱ μὲν ἄρρ[ενες τῆς ἡλικίας γένωνται ἡ δὲ θήλεια
- 20 ἀνδρὶ γαμηθη Αὐρήλιον Δημήτριον [τοῦ] Διονυσοθέωνος, ἐπακολουθούσης πασι τοῖς τη ἐπιτροπεία διαφέρ[ουσι της προγεγραμμένης μου γυναικός
  - 'Ισιδώρας τῆς καὶ Πρείσκας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο [οὐ βο]ύλομαι ἄρχοντα ἡ ἀντάρχοντα
    ἡ ἔτερόν τινα παρεντιθέναι ἐαυτ[ὸν 29 letters ἐ-
  - πιτέλλω γὰρ καὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνεψιοῦ μο[υ Δι]δύμου εἶναι εὐσεβείας βοηθήσειν τῷ Δημητρίφ ἐν οἶς ἐὰν αὐτοῦ [δέηται 26 letters
  - Αὐρηλίος Διονυσάμμωνι φίλος μο[υ] καταλείπω δοθηναί τε βούλομαι κατ' έτος έφ' δν ζήσεται χρόνον ά[φ' ων έχω 26 letters
  - περὶ Μῷα σειτικῶν ἀρου[ρ]ῶν οἴνου μὲν ἄμα τρύγη κεράμια τριάκοντα καὶ πυροῦ μέτρο δεκάτο τῷ Παῦ[νι μηνὶ ἀρτάβας 14 letters τῇ Δι-
- 25 δύμη . ωρα . [.] . . . γενομεν . ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτῆς ἀργυρίου τάλαντα τέσσαρα, τὴν φροντίδα τ $[ 32 ext{ letters} ]$ 
  - κληρον[ο]μία. τὸ βούλημα ἐποίησα ἐν τῆ λαμπρῷ καὶ λαμπροτάτη 'Οξυρυγχειτῶν πόλει ᾳ (ἔτει) τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν [Μάρκου Κλαυδίου Τακίτου Παῦνι ζ.
  - (έτους) α Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Κλαυδίου Τακίτου Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ Παῦνι ζ. Αὐρή[λιος Έρμογένης ὁ καὶ Εὐδαίμων τὸ βούλημα πεποίη-
  - κα έπὶ [πᾶσ]ι τοί[ς] προκειμένοις.

έλύθη τοῦ αὐτοῦ α (ἔτους) Ἐπείφ.

3. πτολεμαις Pap.: so in ll. 11, 14. 4. ῖσιδωρας Pap.: so in l. 16. 6. ϋπευθυνοι Pap. 7. | αυρηλιοις Pap. 12, κ οf κοινον corr. from π. 18. προϋπαλλαγεισας Pap. 27. παϋνι Pap.

'Aurelius Hermogenes also called Eudaemon, exegetes, councillor and prytanis of the illustrious and most illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus, dictated the following will in the Greek language, in accordance with the permission. Aurelius Herminus, Aurelius Horion, Aurelius Heraclides, Aurelia Ptolemais and Aurelia Didyme, my five dearest children by my . . . wife Aurelia Isidora also called Prisca, a matron wearing the stola, shall be my heirs according to the disposition below written, and on the conditions on which each . . ., all other persons being disinherited; they shall proceed to my inheritance in accordance with the bequests made to each of them whenever they . . . themselves to be my heirs; they shall be responsible for giving, doing, and providing all this which is written in this my testament, and I confide this to their honour. To Aurelius Herminus, Aurelius Horion, and Aurelius Heraclides my three sons as aforesaid I bequeath jointly in equal shares on behalf of my inheritance the vineyard belonging to me near the village of (?) Istrus by the upper temple of Isis, and all the corn-land and . . . and utensils and all appurtenances, and all the corn-land belonging to me at Sepho, and in the metropolis my ... house and all the furniture in it; and to Herminus alone as his special property all the corn-land belonging to me at Sen . . . jointly with . . ., and my slave called Philodioscorus. To Aurelia Ptolemais and Aurelia Didyme my aforesaid daughters . . . I give and bequeath likewise jointly, and in equal shares on behalf of my inheritance, the vineyard belonging to me at . . . jointly with the said . . . with all the corn-land and the plant, utensils, and all appurtenances. To Didyme alone as her special property I bequeath . . . and I also confirm to Ptolemais by this my will the dowry . . . which I previously gave her, and I leave to her my slave named Eunoea; my remaining four slaves, Dioscurides and Sabinus and Herm . . . and . . ., I bequeath to the three sons and one of the daughters, to wit Didyme. To Aurelia Isidora also called Prisca, my wedded wife . . . who has conducted herself becomingly in our married life, I leave as her own property all the corn-land belonging to me at . . . bis jointly with the said . . ., which was previously mortgaged by me to her in security for the dowry brought to me with her . . . I appoint as guardian of my three children aforesaid who are under age, Horion, Heraclides, and Didyme, until the boys attain majority and the girl is married, Aurelius Demetrius son of Dionysotheon, with the concurrence, in all that pertains to the guardianship, of my aforesaid wife Isidora also called Prisca; and accordingly I do not wish any magistrate or deputy or any other person to intrude himself..., for I further enjoin it upon the piety of my nephew Didymus to assist Demetrius in any way that may be required of him. To my friend Aurelius Dionysammon I bequeath and I wish that there be given him during his lifetime from . . . and the cornland belonging to me at Moa thirty jars of wine at the vintage and . . . artabae of wheat by the tenth measure in the month of Pauni. (I direct that there be provided as dowry) for Didyme . . . by her brothers four talents of silver . . . This will was made by me in the illustrious and most illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus in the first year of our lord Marcus Claudius Tacitus, Pauni 7. The first year of the Emperor Caesar Marcus Claudius Tacitus Pius Felix Augustus, Pauni 7. I, Aurelius Hermogenes also called Eudaemon, have made this will with all the above provisions. Opened in the same first year, Epeiph.'

βούλημα: cf. ll. 14 and 26 below, and P. Leipzig 29. 7 Έλληνικοῦ βουλήματος.

<sup>2.</sup> Cf. 990 and P. Rainer 1702, 13 (Wien. Stud. ix. p. 241) γράμμασιν] Έλληνικοῖς ἀκολόνθως τῆ θεία [διατάξει. According to the older Roman law the use of the Latin language was essential in all legal transactions. The emperor who established the right to use Greek

is thought to have been Alexander Severus, to whose reign the Rainer papyrus belongs; whether the permission applied to other countries besides Egypt is disputed; cf. Arangio-Ruiz, op. cit., p. 266 sqq.

3. συνούσης μοι is restored from l. 16, and was probably followed by some epithet.

αδελφης καί would not fill the space.

4. ματρώνας στολάτας: cf. B. G. U. 860. I, P. Flor. 16. I. The stola was the mark of rank and dignity. αίρέσει = voluntati, a common term in connexion with wills. προσδ |is

a verb apparently meaning 'shares' or 'is endowed'.

For the supplement κληρονόμοι μου ἔστωσαν cf. B. G. U. 326. i. 6, where, as Schubart informs us, the fifth letter is almost certainly ι, and therefore something like [καὶ αὖται ἔστωσαν κληρο]νόμοι is probably to be restored. The construction of the rest of that line remains uncertain; μ[έρους], however, is not necessary (cf. e.g. ll. 7 and 12 of our papyrus) and possibly μ[όναι δ]έ μου κληρον[όμο] may be read (cf. P. Leipzig 29. 5 κληρονόμον σὲ μ[ό]ν[η]ν κατὰ πάντας τοὺς ν[ό]μους καθίστημι), though the repetition of κληρονόμοι is awkward. Or perhaps ]νομοι is part of some phrase with oi] νόμοι, for which cf. the passage of the Leipzig papyrus just quoted, and P. Brit. Mus. I. 77. 13-4 (Will of Abraham¹) ὡς ὑπὸ τῶν . . . νόμων διηγορευμένα.

4-5. ol δὲ λοιποὶ] . . . ἔστωσαν: cf. B. G. U. 326. i. 7, and the will published by de Ricci in Wessely's Stud. z. Paläographie I, p. 6, l. 24; the phrase corresponds to the Latin formula ceteri omnes exheredes sunlo (Gaius 2. 128). The papyrus proves that μου, not μοι which

Arangio-Ruiz wishes to read before corwoar (op. cil., pp 223, 276), is correct.

5. B. G. U. 326. i. 7-8 is on this analogy to be read προσεριχέσ [θωσάν τε τῆ κληρονομία] μου, which is now confirmed by Schubart. ἐπὶ . . . καταλιμ[πανομένοις is there replaced by ἐκάστη ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἰδίου μέρους, after which l. ὁπόταν (Schubart) for ἀπὸ τ[ῶ]ν. We accordingly read ὁπόταν in the corresponding position, the infinitive . . . ρασθαι, which is also adopted from the Berlin papyrus, perhaps depending on an intervening verb, e. g. φαίνηται. The ρ of ρασθαι, Schubart tells us, can be any letter having a long tail, i. e. ι, φ, or ψ, and it is preceded at an interval of three letters by a similar long stroke. ἀπογράψασθαι therefore does not seem suitable. Dareste proposed μετὰ τὸ ὁρᾶσθαι, and Gradenwitz suggests a connexion with cernere, but this is hardly convincing.

6-7. Cf. B. G. U. 326. i. 14-5, where ταῦτα (so Schubart) not αὐτά is no doubt to be read after παρασχέσθαι, as here. Schubart would write in the Berlin text πάντα [τὰ] ἐν... γεγραμμένα. εἶη. τῆ τε πίστει [τα]ὐτης (not [a]ὐτῆς) παρακατατίθομαι, but this absolute use of εἶη does not greatly commend itself, and the mood might be due to a sint in the original Latin. It therefore seems more satisfactory to have either ὅσα... γεγραμμένα ἐστί οτ τὰ... γεγραμμένα in the lacuna here. The corresponding Latin formulae are damnas esto dare facere praestare... fideique eius committo; cf. the will of Dasumius C. I. L. 1352. 116 and 125, the will of Hadoindus in Brissonius, de Formulis vii, ita ut ubicumque aliquid per hoc testamentum meum dedero legavero dareque iussero id ut detur fiat praestetur fidei tuae heres mea committo. &c.

- 7. Or perhaps [τέκνοις ἄρρεσι δίδωμι καταλείπω: cf. ll. 11-2. μου is by no means certain. 8. περὶ τὸ... Ἰσεῖον: it is not quite clear how these words should be constructed or even how some of them should be divided. Perhaps τὸ "Ιστρου, sc. ἐποίκιον, τῶν κατὰ τὸ ἄνω Ἰσ., sc. οἰκοπέδων, is the best interpretation; but the first τό may refer to Ἰσεῖον and "Ιστρου . . . ἄνω be descriptive of that name; cf. combinations like Ἰσεῖον Παγγᾶ (899. 7), Ἰσεῖον Τρύφωνος (719. 14).
  - 9. vs, which is clearly written, is puzzling. Some expression corresponding to

¹ We are surprised to see that Arangio-Ruiz, op. cit., p. 295, repeats the error of writing ἐφῶ in l. 51 of that papyrus. Evidently ἐφ᾽ φ᾽ should be read there as well as in ll. 28 and 60.

προχρείαs in l. 13 is expected. The lacuna at the end of the line was presumably occupied

with a description of the olkia.

10. The names of several Oxyrhynchite villages beginning with Σεν are known, Σενεκελεύ, Σενέπτα, Σενοκωλενώ, Σενοκωμις, Σεντώ. The following κοινάς πρός is indicated by l. 12 where τον αοτίον, if correct, implies a previous mention of a person with whom Hermogenes held property in common, and the end of l. 10 seems the most suitable place for the name to be given; cf. also l. 17.

11-2. δίδω]μι καταλείπω = do lego, as e.g. in C. I. L. 1352. 125; cf. B. G. U. 326. i. 18 [ή κ] αὶ δίδωμι καταλίπω, and ii. 17. The name to which τὸν αὐτ[όν refers probably occurred at

the end of l. 10; cf. the previous note.

14. Perhaps έ[ν άργυρίου ταλάντοις . . .: cf. l. 25.

16. The line may be completed e. g. εὐνοούση μοι (so 494. 9) καὶ κατὰ πάντα.

17. Perhaps περί Κορώ βιν (45. 9) or Θώσ βιν (614, &c.).

18. It was the usual practice in marriage contracts to give the wife a general claim against the husband's property for the repayment of her dowry, but in the present case the security seems to have been limited to a portion of the husband's estate which was formally mortgaged for this purpose. For ἐπ' αὐτῆ cf. e. g. 266. 9 προσηνέγκατο αὐτῷ ἐφ' ἐαυτῆ ἐν φερνή. τ οῦ γάμου might be supplied before φερνήν, but three or four letters would

be enough.

19. For ήλικίας γενέσθαι cf. e. g. 496. 12, 651; the age of 14 years is probably here meant, at which time a boy passed from the care of a tutor (enirpomos) to that of a curator (φροντιστήs). According to the provisions of some Oxyrhynchus wills (cf. 491. 9, 495. 10) έπίτροποι are appointed to act for minors up to the age of 20 or 25 years, but these cases are anterior to the constitutio Antonina, and considering the strong tendency of Hermogenes to use Roman formulae, it is safer to take ἐπίτροπος here in its technical Roman sense. A tutor but not a curator could be appointed by a Roman will. For the phrase ἐπίτροπον ποιεῖν cf. B. G. U. 326. ii. 17 ἐποίησα ἐπίτροπον τῆ ιδία πίστι. The analogy of the present passage, in which the tutor is assigned to the daughter as well as the sons, makes it clear that in that much discussed clause also (cf. Arangio-Ruiz, op. cit. pp. 232 sqq.) ἐπίτροπος means tiltor.

20. ἐπακολουθούσης: cf. 909. 4 ἀφηλίκων μήτηρ καὶ ἐπακολουθήτρια, and note.
21. ἄρχοντα ἡ ἀντάρχοντα: cf. e.g. C.I.G. 2222. 17 ἀ[ρ]χόντων ἡ ἀνταρχόντων. ἀντιcorresponds to the Latin pro-. But the intervention of a magistrate would according to Roman law be necessary when the sons required a curator; cf. 888. introd.

23. φίλφ μου is very doubtful; the name of Dionysammon's (?) father may be

given instead.

25. Possibly εν ώρα γάμου γενομένη, with δοθήναι βούλομαι before τη Διδύμη, but the reading would not be very satisfactory, and yevonev., if rightly deciphered, may also be constructed with ὑπό.

26. We suppose that there is a small dash after κληρον ο μία, followed by a short blank space; but the papyrus is damaged in this part, and a letter or two may have intervened before the supposed το. There is not room for Εὐσεβοῦς κ.τ.λ. at the end of this line. Perhaps Taxirov alone stood here, with the Roman month or a reference to the consuls; cf. B. G. U. 326. ii. 11-2.

28, ἐλύθη κ.τ.λ.: this entry, which is in the same hand and was evidently written at the same time as the rest of the text, indicates that the whole document is a copy made after the λύσις had taken place. Cf. B. G. U. 326. ii. 21 καὶ ἀνεγνώσθησαν τῆ αὐτῆ ἡμέρα ἐν ἡ καὶ ἡ διαθήκη ἐλύθη, and for λύεω in this connexion also 715. 19, B. G. U. 592. ii. 7, &c.

## 908. CONTRACT BETWEEN EUTHENIARCHS.

30.6 x 8.5 cm.

A. D. 199.

An agreement between Sarapion, who was either himself a eutheniarch at Oxyrhynchus or, more probably, the grandson of a person holding that office (cf. note on 1. 5), and five other eutheniarchs concerning the grinding of wheat for bread to be supplied to the city. The precise terms of the agreement are much obscured by the mutilation of the papyrus; the five eutheniarchs were however each to bear the expense of one factory, and Sarapion and his grandfather were apparently together made responsible for a sixth, the average daily output of each mill being fixed at 20 artabae. But the details are comparatively unimportant, and the value of the document lies mainly in the fresh information supplied regarding the office of gymnasiarch and eutheniarch. The eutheniarchs, who first appear towards the end of the second century, superintended the food supply of the capital towns; but they are not very often mentioned and their official rank is not yet clear (cf. P. Tebt. 397. 14-5, note). They are sometimes found holding another office simultaneously, e. g. that of exegetes; in the present case five eutheniarchs were gymnasiarchs. We here learn further that at Oxyrhynchus they formed a board of at least six; and ll. 18-21 indicate that these six held office for a period of a single month. Hence it would appear that the number for the year was twelve, and that they exercised their functions in alternate months in two sections of six. With regard to the number of the gymnasiarchs, of whom five are mentioned in ll. 6-15, this is the largest figure yet attested for Oxyrhynchus; but C. P. Herm. 57 (to which Wilcken called our attention) indicates the coexistence of at least ten gymnasiarchs at Hermopolis, and there may well have been ten or twelve or even more at Oxyrhynchus. At Athens at this period there were monthly as well as yearly gymnasiarchs, and the monthly office was sometimes held by more than one person (Boeckh, Staatshaushaltung, I. 548).

Σαραπίων ὁ καὶ 'Ωρείω[ν . . . ωνος διὰ τοῦ κατὰ πατ[έρα πάππου 'Απίωνος γυμνα[σ]ιαρχήσαντος τῆς 'Οξυρυγχειτῶν
5 πόλεως νυνεὶ εὐθηνιάρχης
τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως Τιβερίφ
Κλαυδίφ Διδύμφ καὶ ὡς χρημα-

τίζει των άπο του Διονυσείου καὶ της ίερας συνόδου ίερονειτο κών άτελών καὶ Θέωνι τώ [καὶ 'Αν]τιμάχφ καὶ Διονυσίφ τῷ καὶ [... κ]αὶ 'Αχιλλεῖ τῷ καὶ 'Ισιδώρω [έξη]γητεύσαντι καὶ 'Ωρείωνι  $[\tau \hat{\varphi} \ \kappa]$ al  $B \in \rho \in \nu \in \iota \kappa \iota$  av $\hat{\varphi} \in \xi \eta \gamma \eta$ -15 [τεύ]σαντι τοις ε γυμνασιάρ-[χαις] καὶ εὐθηνιάρχαις τῆς αὐτῆς ['Οξυ]ρυγχειτών πόλεως χ[αίρ]ειν. [συ]νεθέμην πρός ύμας νῦν [ε]  $\dot{\theta}$ ηνιαρχοῦντι  $\dot{\alpha}\pi[\dot{\delta}]$  λ] τοῦ  $\dot{\delta}$ ν-20 [τος] μηνός Παῦνι ἔως κθ τοῦ  $[\dot{\epsilon}]$ ξης μηνὸς  $\dot{E}$ πεὶ $\phi$  τοῦ ἐνεστῶ-[τος] ζ (ἔτους) ὥστε ὑφ' ἐκάστου ὑμῶν άρτοκοπείον έν άπαρτισθηναι [..] . ησιε . . τρεφόντων ύμῶν τὰ 25 [κ]τήνη χόρτφ τε καὶ κριθῆ ἐπὶ τῷ [ά]λήθειν τ[ά κτ]ήνη ήμερησίως καθ' εκαστον έρ[γ]αστήριον μέχρι πυρ[οῦ [ρηγ]ουντος τὰ ἐν ἐκάστφ ἐργαστηρί[φ 30 κ[τ]ήνη κατά τὸ σ[.] . [. .] . . λωκαμε [.] . [. . .] .  $\dot{v}\mu\hat{\omega}v$  . .  $\sigma_{\alpha\nu}\mu\alpha\sigma\nu\omega$ [. .] . [.] .  $\pi[\alpha$ -[ρ]έχειν εν έργαστή[ρ]ι[ν] τον . . [.... $[\cdot]$ νερπ( ) έμοῦ παρ[έ]χον[τ]ος τροφάς . . .  $[\mathring{a}]\lambda \mathring{\eta}\theta o \nu \tau a s \pi \rho \delta s \tau \delta \dots [\mathring{\epsilon} \rho \gamma] a \sigma \tau \mathring{\eta} \rho \iota o \nu \tau \mathring{a} [s]$ 35 ίσας ημερησίως υ[..... άρτάβας είκοσι, οὐκ ἐξόντος [οὐδενὶ] ἡμῶν  $[\pi]$ α[ρα-[βα]ίνειν τὰ προγεγραμμ[ένα. κ]ύρι[α] ταῦ[τ]α τὰ γράμματα έξασσὰ γραφέν[τα] πρὸς [τὸ έ]κάτερον ήμων έχειν μοναχόν. (έτους) ζ 40 Αὐτοκρατόρων Καισάρων Λουκίου Σεπτιμίου Σεουήρου Εὐσεβοῦς Περτίνα[κος Άραβικοῦ Άδιαβ[η]νικοῦ Παρθικοῦ Μεγίστου

καὶ Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου ἀντωνίνου Σεβαστῶν Παῦνι κη. (2nd hand) Σαραπίων (δ) καὶ 'Ωρεί[αν 45 δι' ἐμοῦ ἀπίωνος π[ά]ππου εὐδοκῶ πᾶσιν τοῖς προκειμένοις.

5. l. εὐθηνιάρχου (?). 9. ῖερας . . . ῖερονεικων Pap. 12. ῖσιδωρω Pap. 18. ῦμας Pap. 19. l. [ε]ὑθηνιαρχοῦντας. 20. παῦνι Pap. 22. ῦφ . . . ῦμων Pap. 35. ῖσας Pap. (?)

'Sarapion also called Horion, son of...on, through his paternal grandfather Apion, ex-gymnasiarch of Oxyrhynchus, at present eutheniarch of the said city, to Tiberius Claudius Didymus and however he is styled, a victor in the games and exempt from taxation, member of the Dionyseum and the sacred club, and to Theon also called Antimachus and Dionysius also called ... and Achilles also called Isidorus, ex-exegetes, and Horion also called Berenicianus, ex-exegetes, all five gymnasiarchs and eutheniarchs of the said city of Oxyrhynchus, greeting. I have made a compact with you being now eutheniarchs from the (30th?) of the present month Pauni till the 29th of the following month Epeiph in the current 7th year, that one bakery be fitted out by each of you... the animals being fed by you with grass and barley, on the understanding that they grind daily in each factory as much as 20 artabae of wheat... supplying the animals in each factory... to provide one factory, the fodder being provided by me, and we shall grind at (this) factory an equal amount daily, namely 20 artabae; and it shall be unlawful for any of us to transgress the aforesaid conditions. This contract, done in six copies in order that each of us may have one, is valid.' Date and signature of Sarapion.

I. Probably 'Ωρείωνος or 'Απίωνος.

5. It is not clear whether εἰθηνιάρχης refers to Sarapion or to Apion; in the former case the order is irregular, in the latter εἰθηνιάρχου should have been written. On the whole we prefer the second alternative, though why Sarapion appears in the business at all then becomes obscure, and his action must be supposed to depend upon a private arrangement between himself and his grandfather.

8-10. This Διονυσείον is more probably an Oxyrhynchite than an Alexandrian temple; cf. B. G. U. 1073, a notification from the boule of Oxyrhynchus to the record-office of the election of a person to the σύλλογος of a lepà σύνοδος, which entitled him to ἀτέλεια, and 1074, the statement of this individual's claim, which in l. 1 cites a rescript of Claudius Gothicus (cf. Wilcken, Archiv, IV. p. 564 and Viereck, Klio, VIII. p. 413) addressed τοῦς ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον Ιερονίκαις στεφανείταις. Α τόπος καλούμενος Διονύσου Τεχνιτῶν at Oxyrhynchus is mentioned in 171 (Part II, p. 208), and the impost in 917. 3 apparently called σπ(ονδη) Διον(ύσου) may in some way have benefited the Διονυσείου.

19. ἀπὸ [λ]: cf. l. 44, which shows that this contract was written on Pauni 28. 30 days would be a natural period.

24. [ik]  $\tau \eta s$  is not satisfactory, for though the doubtful  $\epsilon$  may be  $\sigma$ , the vestiges of the next letter do not seem to suit  $\eta$ ; a stroke below the line suggests rather  $\xi$  or  $\rho$ . With long moreover a diagreesis would be expected over the  $\epsilon$ .  $[\eta \mu \epsilon] \rho \eta \sigma i \omega s$  cannot be read.

28. Νοι έμοῦ Σαραπίωνυς.

30. There may be a letter at the end of the line after ε, e.g. ν, but a first person plural does not accord at all well with κατὰ τό. The traces do not suit δεδηλώκαμεν, and ἀνηλώκαμεν is unsatisfactory. π might be read in place of το.

31. Perhaps πâσαν. The doubtful μ may be λ or δ; ἄνδρας would be possible. ήμῶς τοῦς would assist [a]λήθοντας in l. 34, but the τ especially is difficult.

32. Perhaps τον Απίωνα.

33.  $\epsilon \rho$  is followed by the curved mark commonly used in abbreviations to represent  $\pi$ .  $\pi a \rho [\epsilon] \chi o \tau [\tau] o \epsilon$  is very doubtful.

38. éfacros is unknown to the lexica but is parallel to resparros, P. Amh. 107. 16, B. G. U. 817. 17. The word is also to be recognized in P. Strassb. 29. 46 where, as the facsimile shows, έξασση γραφίσα should be read for έξας συνγραφίσα.

#### 909. SALE OF ACACIA-TREES.

27.5 × 10.8 cm.

A. D. 225.

A contract for the sale of fourteen acacia-trees on the edge of a vineyard for 1200 drachmae, the purchase-money being devoted to the payment of arrears of taxes upon the vineyard.

> Αὐρήλιος Πτολλίων Πτολλίωνος ἀπ' 'Οξυρύγχων πόλεως επίτροπος άφηλίκων τέκνων Απολλωνίου τοῦ καὶ Διδύμου Όνησατος καὶ ή τῶν ἀφηλίκων μήτηρ καὶ ἐπακολου-5 θήτρια Αύρηλία Εύδαιμονίς Αντινόου τοῦ καὶ Ερμοῦ Αντινοίς χωρίς κυρίου χρηματίζουσα κατά 'Ρωμαίων έθη τέκνων δικαίφ Αὐρηλίοις Σερήνφ υίῷ Αὐρηλίου 'Αμμωνίου έξηγητεύσαντος της 'Οξυρυγ-10 χειτών πόλεως καὶ Σερήνφ Σερήνου καὶ Θεωνατι χρηματίζοντι μητρός Τααρμιύσιος καὶ Σωτηρίχφ Διδύμου άπ[δ – τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως χαίρειν. ὁμολογοῦμεν πεπρακέναι υμείν τοίς τέσσαρσι έξ ίσου 15 τὰς ούσας ἐπὶ χώματος ἀμπελ[ι]κοῦ κτήματος νεοφύτου των άφηλίκων περί κώμην Σενέπτα ακάνθας αριθμώ τελείας δεκατέσσαρας τειμής τής συμπεφωνημένης πρός άλλήλους άργυ-20 ρίου δραχμών χειλ[ί]ων διακοσίων, αι προσεχώρησαν είς συνωνήν πυροῦ χωρή-

σ[α]ντος ὑπὲρ μετρημάτων τῆς προκ[ειμένης άμπέλου χρόνων θεοῦ Κομόδο[υ έπὶ τῷ ὑμᾶς τὴν τῶν προκειμένων ἀκαν-25 θων αναβολην έξ [έ]πιρίζων καὶ άρσιν ταις ύμων δαπάναις ποιήσασθαι όπόταν αίρησθαι, έπάναγκον δε μέχρι τοῦ Μεσορή τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος δ (ἔτους), καὶ μετὰ τὴν τῶν ἀκανθῶν αναβολην καὶ άρσιν τον [κ]όσμον των τό-30 πων τὸ ἴσον ποιήσασθαι ήμας τε κατά τὸ ήμι[σ]υ καὶ ύμας τοὺς πεπρακότας κατά τὸ ἔτερο[ν ημισυ καθώς έπὶ τούτοις έστάθη, καὶ έπηρωτηθέντες ωμολογήσαμεν. κυρία ή πρασις δισσή γραφείσα. (έτους) δ Αύτοκράτορος Καίσαρ[ος 35 Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Σεουήρου Άλεξ[άνδρου Εὐσεβο]ῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ Τῦβι ιε.

and hand Αυρήλιος Πτολλίων Πτολλίωνος μετ' έπακολουθητρίας τή ς μητρός

8. vio Pap. 9. ευ of εξηγητευσαντος corr. from η. 14. ἴσου 7. текио<sup>—</sup> Рар. Pap. 21-2. o of  $\chi \omega \rho \eta \sigma [a] \rho \tau \sigma s$  corr. from a and s added above the line. 27. ], αἰρῆσθε, 28. των added above the line. 30. ioor Pap. 32. l. ἐπερωτηθέντες.

'Aurelius Ptollion son of Ptollion, of Oxyrhynchus, tutor of the children of Apollonius also called Didymus, son of Onesas, who are minors, and the mother of the minors, who gives her concurrence, Aurelia Eudaemonis daughter of Antinous also called Hermes, of Antinoopolis, acting without a guardian in accordance with Roman custom by the right of her children, to the Aurelii Serenus son of Aurelius Ammonius, formerly exegetes of Oxyrhynchus, and Serenus son of Serenus, and Theonas styled as having Taarmiusis as his mother, and Soterichus son of Didymus, of the said city, greeting. We acknowledge that we have sold to you four in equal shares the fourteen acacia-trees in good condition growing upon the embankment of the newly-planted vineyard belonging to the minors, at the price agreed upon between us of 1200 drachmae of silver, which sum was devoted to the purchase of wheat paid for the dues upon the aforesaid vineyard in the reign of the deified Commodus, on condition that you shall perform the complete uprooting and removal of the aforesaid acacia-trees at your own expense whenever you choose, but of necessity not later than Mesore of the present 4th year, and after the pulling up and removal of the acacia-trees the place shall be set in order in equal shares, half by us and the other half by you the buyers, as hereby agreed, and in answer to the formal question we have given our consent. This sale, of which there are two copies, is valid. The 4th year of the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Pius Felix Augustus, Tubi 15.' Signature of Aurelius Ptollion.

4. Cf. P. Leipzig 9. 6, where three ἀφήλικες send an ἀπογραφή through their mother as επακολουθήτρια, and 907. 20, where the concurrence (ἐπακολουθείν) of the mother in the acts of the guardian of minors is provided for by will.

15. For ἐκανθω in vineyards cf. P. Brit. Mus. 214. 13-5 (II. p. 162). The wood was used for boat-building (Hdt. ii. 96), and for various kinds of machinery (P. Brit. Mus. 1177. 177-220 = III. pp. 186-7), and gum arabic was obtained from it (Hdt. ii. 96).

20. The clause at προσεχώρησαν κ.τ.λ. takes the place of the usual acknowledgement of the purchase-price by the seller. Apparently the money in question had been paid direct to the sellers of the corn.

25. ἀναβολήν: this word is generally used for 'banking up', and the trees were ἐπὶ χώματος (l. 15); but the context shows that it must here be employed in the unusual sense of digging up or uprooting. ἐξ [ἐ]πιρίζων is very uncertain; ω[. can be read for εξ, but ω[s yields no sense, ω[s έ]πὶ ρητῶν being inadmissible. We suppose the sense of ἐπίρριζος, which apparently does not occur, to be similar to that of ἐπιρρίζιον which is read by editors in Diosc. 1. 10 ρίζα δὲ . . . πλάγια δὲ τὰ ἐπιρρίζια ἔχει, i.e. the smaller roots subsidiary to the main ones; for the form cf. ὑπόρριζος.



31.5 × 9 cm.

A. D. 197.

A lease of 5 arourae of land at Pakerke for four years, following the usual formula. In the first and third years of the lease the land was to be sown with wheat at a rent of 6 artabae per aroura, in the second and fourth years with green-stuffs at a rent of 32 drachmae per aroura; cf. e.g. P. Tebt. 377. Seven artabae of seed-corn were lent by the landlord for the first year's crop. Caracalla is called in the date formula emperor-designate on Nov. 4, 197, as in inscriptions and coins of that year; his tribunicia potestas began in the following January, and already by May, 198, he was placed on an equality with his father (C. I. L. viii. 2465); cf. 976, which was written 22 days later than 910, Caracalla being still emperor-designate, and 916, where he appears as full emperor in Pauni (May 26–June 24 A.D. 198).

['Εμίσ] θωσεν 'Ιερακ[ί]ων 'Ιερακίωνος ἀπ' 'Ο[ξυρύγχ]ων πόλεως ἀγορανομήσας τῆς αὐτῆς
[πόλεω]ς Τεῶτι Σαραπάμμωνος μητρός
[....]ατος καταγεινομένω ἐν κώμη Πα5 [κέρκη] ἀπηλιώτου τοπαρχίας εἰς ἔτη
[τέσσα] ρα ἀπό τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ς (ἔτους) τὰς
[ὑπαρχο] ὑσας αὐτῷ περὶ τὴν Πακέρκη ἀρού[ρας πέν] τε, ὅστε τῷ μὲν ἐνεστῶτι ς (ἔτει)
[καὶ η (ἔτει)] σπείραι πυρῷ ἐκφορίου κατ' ἔτος

- 10 [κατ' ά]ρουραν ἀνὰ πυροῦ ἀρτάβας ἔξ, τῷ δὲ [ἐξῆ]ς ζ (ἔτει) καὶ θ (ἔτει) ξυλαμῆσαι χλω-[ροῖς φό]ρου ὡσαύτως κατ' ἔτος κατ' ἄρου-[ραν ἀνὰ] δραχμὰς τριάκοντα δύο. ὁμο-[λογεῖ δὲ] ὁ μεμισθωμένος αὐτόθι
- 15 [ἐσχηκέναι] καὶ παραμεμετρῆσθαι παρὰ [τοῦ γεο]ύχου ἐν πρ[ο]χρεία εἰς σπέρμα [ὑπὲρ τῆ]ς γῆς μόνου τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους [πυροῦ ἀρ]τάβας ἐπτά, ὧν τὰς ἴσας ἐπά-[ναγκο]ν ἀποδώσει αὐτῷ ἄμα τοῖς τῆς
- 20 [ $\gamma$ η̂ς ἐκ]φορίοις τῷ Παῦνι μηνὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ [ἐνεστ]ῶτος ἔτου[ς] μέτρῳ ῷ παρείληφεν [ἀκίνδ]υνα πάντα [ $\pi$ ]αντὸς κινδύνου, [τῶν] τῆς  $\gamma$ η̂ς δη[μ]οσίων δντων πρὸς [τὸν  $\gamma$ εο]ῦχον, δν [ $\kappa$ ]αὶ κυριεύειν τῶν
- 25 [καρπ]ῶν ἔως τὰ κατ' ἔτος ὀφειλόμε-[να κο]μίσηται. ἐὰν δέ τις ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰσιόν-[τος ἔ]τους, ὁ μὴ ε[ἔ]η, ἄβροχος γένηται [παρα]δεχθήσετα[ι] τῷ μεμισθωμένῳ, [δς β]εβαιουμένη[ς] τῆς μισθώσεως
- 30 [ἀπο]δότω τὰ ἐκ[φ]όρια καὶ τοὺς φόρους [κα]τ' ἔτος μηνὶ [Π]αῦνι, τὸν δὲ πυρὸν [ἐ]φ' ἄλω τῆς Πακέρκη νέον καθαρὸν ἄδολον ἄκρειθον κεκοσκινευμένον μέτρφ τετραχοινείκφ παραλημ-
- 35 πτικῷ τοῦ γεούχου, τῆς μετρήσεως  $\gamma[\epsilon]$ ινομένης ὑπ[ὸ τῶν] παρ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἡ πρᾶξί]ς ἔ[σ]τω ἔκ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῷ πάντων, ἐπ[ὶ] τῷ τὸν αὐτὸν μεμισθωμένον παραδῶναι τὴν
- 40 γ[ην] τῷ ἐσχάτῳ ἐνιαυτῷ τεθρυοκοπημένην καὶ κα[θ]αρὰν ἀπὸ θρύου καὶ δείσης πάσης. κυρία ἡ μίσθωσις. (ἔτους) ς Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Λουκίου Σεπτιμίου Σεουήρου Εὐσεβοῦς Περτίνακος Σεβαστοῦ

45 Άραβικοῦ ᾿Αδιαβηνικοῦ καὶ Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου ᾿Αντωνείνου Καίσαρος ἀποδεδειγμένου Αὐτοκράτορος ᾿Αθὺρ η. (2nd hand) Τεῶς Σαραπάμμωνος μεμίσθωμαι ἐπὶ τὰ τέσσαρα ἔτη τὴν γῆν ἐκφορί50 ου καὶ φόρου κ[α]τ' ἄρουραν κατ' ἔτος τῆς μὲν ἐν π[υ]ρῷ διετίας ἀνὰ πυροῦ ἀρτάβας ἔξ, [τ]ῆς δὲ ἐν χλωροῖς ἀνὰ δραχμὰς τριάκοντα δύο, καὶ ἔσχον τὰς τῶν σπερμάτων τοροῦ ἀρτάβας [ἐπ]τὰ καὶ ἀποδώσω πάντα ὡ[ς π]ρ[όκειτα]ι. Πτολεμαῖος Διονυσίου ἔγραψα [ὑπὲρ] αὐτοῦ μὴ εἰδ[ότος γράμματα.

1. τερακ[ι]ων τερ. Pap. 14. ο before μεμισθ. over an erasure. 18. τσας Pap. 26. τσιον[τος Pap. 37. ϋπαρχοντων Pap.

'Hieracion son of Hieracion, of Oxyrhynchus, ex-agoranomus of the said city, has leased to Teos son of Sarapammon, his mother being . . . as, inhabiting the village of Pakerke in the eastern toparchy, for four years dating from the present 6th year, the 5 arourae which he owns at Pakerke, on condition that in the present 6th year and in the 8th year Teos shall sow them with wheat at the annual rent of 6 artabae of wheat per aroura, and in the following 7th and 9th years he shall cultivate them with green-stuffs at the annual rent likewise of 32 drachmae per aroura. The lessee acknowledges that he has on the spot received and had measured to him from the landlord as a loan for seed on account of the land, for the present year only, 7 artabae of wheat, of which he shall be compelled to repay an equal amount to the lessor together with the rent in kind in the month Pauni of the said present year, by the same measure as that by which he received it, guaranteed completely against all risks, the taxes upon the land being payable by the landlord, who shall further retain the ownership of the produce until he recovers his annual dues. If after the coming year (which heaven forbid!) any part be unirrigated, an allowance shall be made to the lessee, who when the lease is guaranteed shall pay the rent in kind and money annually in the month of Pauni, the wheat at the threshing-floor of Pakerke, new, pure, unadulterated, unmixed with barley, and sifted, according to the 4-choenix receiving measure of the landlord, the measuring being done by his agents; and he shall have the right of execution upon both the lessee and all his property, and the said lessee shall deliver the land in the last year with all the rushes cut, and free from rushes and dirt of all kinds. This lease is valid.' Date and signature of the lessee.

30. τὰ ἐκ[φ]όρια καὶ τοὺς φόρους: for the distinction cf. P. Tebt. 377. 23-7, note.

## 911. LEASE OF A HOUSE.

11.1 × 7.2 cm.

A.D. 233 or 265.

This contract for the lease of part of a house at Oxyrhynchus follows so far as it goes the ordinary formula (cf. e. g. 502); the chief point of interest in it is the mention of a special appointment of a ὑπογραφεύς or subscriber to act on behalf of the lessee, whose sight was affected; cf. note on ll. 6 sqq. The papyrus was written in the third century in the 13th year of an emperor who must be Severus Alexander or Gallienus.

'Εμίσθωσεν Αὐρήλιος Δημήτριος ό καὶ [Z]ωίλος ἀρχιερατεύσας έξηγητης βίο υλευτης της 'Οξυρυγχειτών πόλεως Αὐρηλίφ Θεογένι Θεογένους 5 τοῦ Θεογένους ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεω[ς άσθενι τὰς όψις μετ' ὑπογραφέως τοῦ συνχωρηθέντος αὐτῷ ἐκ τ[ῶν ύπομνημάτων της στρατηγίας Αὐρη[λίο]υ Διονυ[σ]ίου τοῦ καὶ Άμμωνίο[υ 10 έπὶ χρ[ό]νον έτη δύο έτι ἀπὸ α Θὼθ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ιγ (ἔτους) ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῷ ἐν τῆ αὐτῆ ᾿Οξυρύγχω[ν πόλε.  $[\dot{\epsilon}]\pi'$  άμφόδου  $\Delta \rho$ όμου Θοήριδος ημισυ μέρος οἰκίας καὶ αἰθρίου ὑφ' ην 15 κατάγιον καὶ αὐλης καὶ τῶν ταύτης χρηστηρίων [π]άντων κοινης π[ρός [.... το[....]...[.]ον κατὰ το[.....

2. [ζ]ωϊλος Pap. 6. μετ' Pap. 1. μεθ'. 8. ϋπομνηματων Pap. 11. ϋπαρχοντων Pap. 14. ϋφ Pap.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;Aurelius Demetrius also called Zoilus, ex-chief priest, exegetes and councillor of Oxyrhynchus, has leased to Aurelius Theogenes son of Theogenes, of the said city, who has weak sight, and is acting with the subscriber who has been appointed for him in accordance with the memoranda of the office of the strategus, namely Aurelius Dionysius also called Ammonius, for a period of two years from Thoth 1 of the present 13th year, of his property at the said city of Oxyrhynchus in the quarter of the Square of Thoëris, a half share of a house and yard, beneath which is a cellar, and court, and all the appurtenances, being held by me in common with . . .'

6-8. An appointment of a *ὑπογραφεύs* by the strategus seems to be quite novel, and shows the *ὑπογραφεύs* in a somewhat new light. This term is frequently used in contracts to designate the person who signs on behalf of an illiterate party to an agreement, but *per se* has no other concern with the business in hand; there is no reason to suppose that ordinary 'subscribers' of this kind required any official recognition. A man with defective sight would naturally need in his business transactions the services of such a ὑπογραφεύs, but the latter would not be expected to have the prominence here accorded him, or to be specially appointed by the strategus. On the other hand if the physical disabilities of Theogenes had been such as to debar him from acting on his own account, his representative should have been termed κηδεμών or φροντιστίς, not ὑπογραφεύs. The position of this officially constituted ὑπογραφεύs appears to lie somewhere between that of the *curator mente capti* and the normal 'subscriber'.

## 912. LEASE OF A CELLAR.

#### 26.8 x 7.9 cm.

A. D. 235.

A lease of an underground chamber in a house together with the space above the *exhedra*, at an annual rental of 60 drachmae; cf. 502, the phraseology of which is closely similar, and B. G. U. 253. The date in l. 40 appears to show that the death of Alexander Severus and the accession of Maximinus occurred some days earlier in the year 235 than has been generally supposed; cf. the note ad loc.

'Εμίσθωσεν Αὐρηλία Βησοῦς Σαραπίωνος μητρός Σαραπιάδος άπ' 'Οξυρύγχων πόλεως μετά συνεστώτος Αύρηλίου 5 Θέωνος τοῦ καὶ ᾿Ασκληπιάδου Αὐρηλίφ Πατύτι Πανούριος \_ ἀπὸ Μερμέρθων ἐπ' ἐνιαυτὸν ένα ἀπὸ α Θωθ τοῦ εἰσιόντος β (έτους) 🤇 ἀφ' ቭς καὶ αὐτὴ ἔχει ἐμ μισθώσει 10 παρά Αὐρηλ(ίου) Ίσιδώρου Χαιρήμονος έπ' άμφόδου Νότου Κρηπείδος οίκίας τὸ ἐνὸν κατάγειον καὶ τὸν έπάνω της έξέδρας τόπον ένοικίου τοῦ ἔτους ἀργυρίου δραχμῶν 15 εξήκοντα. βεβαιουμένης δε της μισθώσεως χράσθω ὁ μεμι-

νον παραδότω τοὺς μισθουμένους αὐτῆ ώς πρόκειται 25 τόπους καθαρούς άπὸ κοπρίων καὶ πάσης ἀκαθαρσίας ὡς ἐὰν παραλάβη καὶ τὰς ἐφεστώσας τοίς τόποις θύρας καὶ κλείδας, ή άποτεισάτω οδ έὰν μή πα-30 ραδῷ τὴν ἀξίαν τειμὴν δ δ' [ἐὰ]ν προσοφιλέση ἀπό τοῦ ἐνοικίου μεθ' ἡμιολίας, γεινομένης της πράξεως παρά τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων 35 αὐτῷ πάντων. κυρία ἡ μίσθωσις, καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ώμολόγησεν. (έτους) α Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Γαίου Ιουλίου Οὐήρου

σθωμένος τοῖς μισθουμένοις αὐτῷ τόποις ἐπὶ τὸν χρόνον ἀκωλύτως, καὶ ἀποδότω τὸ ἐνοί20 κιον ἐν δόσεσι δυσὶ τοῦ ἔτους δι' ἐξαμήνου τὸ ἥμισυ ἀνυπερθέτως. μετὰ δὲ τὸν χρό-

Μαξιμείνου Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς 40 [Σεβα(στοῦ) Φαμε]νῶθ ᾳ. (2nd hand) Αὐρηλία [Βησοῦς μ]εμίσθωκα ὡς πρ[ό-[κειται . . . . . . ] . . . . .

7. ενιαυτό Pap. 14. δραχμῶ Pap. 21. ανῦπερθετως Pap. 24. l. αὐτῷ. 30. [εἄ] Pap. 32. μεθ' Pap. 34. υπαρχοντῶ Pap.

'Aurelia Besous, daughter of Sarapion and Sarapias, of Oxyrhynchus, acting with Aurelius Theon also called Asclepiades, has leased to Aurelius Patus son of Panouris, from Mermertha, for one year from Thoth 1 of the coming 2nd year out of the house which she herself holds on lease from Aurelius Isidorus son of Chaeremon in the South Quay quarter, the cellar within it and the space above the hall at the rent of 60 drachmae of silver for the year. When the lease is guaranteed the lessee shall use the parts leased to him throughout the period without hindrance, and shall pay the rent in two instalments in the year, half the sum at intervals of 6 months, without any delay. And at the end of the period he shall deliver the parts leased to him as aforesaid free from filth and dirt of every kind, in the condition in which he receives them, with the existing doors and keys, or shall forfeit a sum equivalent to what he fails to deliver, and for arrears of rent one and a half times the original amount, the lessor having the right of execution upon both his person and all his property. This lease is valid, and in answer to the formal question he gave his consent. The 1st year of the Emperor Caesar Gaius Julius Verus Maximinus Pius Felix Augustus, Phamenoth 1.' Signature of Aurelia Besous.

4. μετὰ συνεστῶτος: the precise legal significance of this phrase, which is found in several papyri of the period subsequent to the constitutio Antonina, is somewhat obscure. That it is not equivalent to μετὰ κυρίου is quite clear from e.g. C. P. R. I. 9. 2 (χωρὶς κυρίου χρηματιζούση... συνεστῶτός σοι Αὐρηλίου Εὐδαίμονος: cf. P. Leipzig 4. 8 and P. Strassb. 29. 29), where there is a direct opposition between κύριος and συνεστῶς. Wenger, in his most recent discussion of the subject, Gött. gel. Anz. 1907, p. 293, proposes to find an explanation in the distinction between Reichsrecht and Volksrecht; where the former no longer required a κύριος the latter retained him in the form of a συνεστῶς: cf. P. Leipzig 28. 4 μετὰ συνεστῶτος οῦ ἐκο[ῦσ]α ἐμαυτῆ παρήνεγκα. συμπαρών is sometimes used as a synonym for συνεστώς; cf. P. Leipzig 3. i. 2 and 29. 3, 20.

40. Φαμε νωθ α: this is a remarkable date, since Alexander Severus is supposed to have been killed about Feb. 10, and that the accession of Maximinus should have been known at Oxyrhynchus so soon after as Feb. 25 is incredible. If Φαμε νωθ α here is correct, the death of Alexander must be put back somewhat earlier; a date from about Jan. 10–20 is the latest that would be expected. On the other hand some days of January in this year must be allowed to Alexander in order to account for coins on which is marked the 14th year of his tribunicia potestas, which would date from Jan. 1. The problem is further complicated by a papyrus from the Heracleopolite nome translated by Wessely in Führer Pap. Erz. Rainer No. 249, which is dated in Pharmouthi of the 14th year of Alexander; that is to say, the writer of that document continued to reckon the year by Alexander at least 30 days after another writer, at a place further south, had adopted the new reckoning

by Maximinus. The discrepancy, however, is less striking than that between B. G. U. 784 which is dated by Pertinax on April 2, 193, and B. G. U. 515 which is still dated by Commodus on June 2 of the same year, both documents coming from the Fayûm. It seems that the scribes were not very prompt in adapting themselves to the altered conditions, and that force of habit sometimes led careless persons to go on using a superseded formula; cf. 907. introd.

With regard to the reading, the numeral  $\alpha$  might perhaps be  $\epsilon$ , but that makes hardly any difference. It is a little surprising that there is nothing to be seen of the abbreviation of  $\Sigma\epsilon\beta\alpha(\sigma\tau\circ\hat{\nu})$ , for the papyrus is broken only slightly above the line of the letters. [ $\Sigma\epsilon\beta\alpha\sigma\tau\circ\hat{\nu}$ ]  $\Theta\omega\theta$  might well be read, but Thoth 1 of a first year is an impossible date, since according to the Egyptian reckoning Thoth 1 always began a new regnal year. There is no doubt either about the number of the year in 1. 37, which is also guaranteed by 1. 8, or that ].  $\omega\theta$  a was written at the same time as the rest of the date.  $\Theta\omega\theta$  a might possibly be explained as an inadvertence of the scribe caused by a reminiscence of 1. 8; but this cannot be regarded as a satisfactory hypothesis.

41. πρόκειται may of course have been abbreviated.

## 913. LEASE OF LAND.

31.7 × 23.5 cm.

A. D. 442.

A lease of 9 acres of land for apparently three years (cf. note on l. 8), at the rent of half the produce, the landlord being responsible for taxes and the tenants providing seed.

['Υπατείας Φ]λαουίων Εὐδοξίου κ[αὶ] Διοσκόρου τῶν λαμπρ(οτάτων) Φαῶφι ιη.

άνυπερ[θέτ]ως, τῶν τῆς γῆς δημοσίων ὅντων πρὸς σὲ
τὴν γεοῦχ[ον·] ἐπάναγκες δὲ ἡμᾶς ἐξ ἀλληλεγγύης παρασχεῖν
τὸ ἥμισ[υ μ]έρος τῶν καρπῶν ἐν τῷ δέοντι καιρῷ ἀνυπερθέτως
20 καὶ τὴν ἀν[αβο]λὴν τῶν {ν}ἀ⟨ρ⟩ουρῶν ποιήσασθαι. κυρία ἡ μίσθωσις
δισσὴ γρ[αφεῖ]σα κα[ὶ] ἐπερ(ωτηθέντες) ὡμ[ολ]ογήσαμεν. (2nd hand) Αὐρήλειο(ι) Άρμιύσιον υίδν

Παδιδύμ $\{\iota\}$ ου κ[a]ὶ [Tάορ] θυγάτηρ Κάστορος οἱ προγεγραμμένοι μεμισθώμεθα τὴν

γην καὶ ἀποδώσ[ομ]εν έξ ἀλληλεγγύης τὸ ήμισυ μέρο[s] τῶν περιγιγνομένον καρπον

καὶ συμφωνι ἡμ[ιν πάν]τα τὰ ἐγγεγραμμένα ὡς πρόκιται. Φλ(αούιος Σαραπίων 'Ωρίωνος ἀξιωθεὶς

25 έγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶ[ν πα]ρόντων γράμματα μὴ εἰδότων.

(1st hand)  $\rho$  di emu . . . . . !h . .

On the verso vestiges of an endorsement.

3. δανιηλιου over an erasure. 5. α of αρμισσιου corr. from ο. ύιου Pap. 7. αλλη-λεγ'γυης Pap. 8. τιδικτιονος Pap. 17. ανύπερ[θετ]ως Pap. 19. ανϋπερθετως Pap. 21. l. Άρμισσιος υίος. 23. l. περιγιγνομένων καρπών.

'In the consulship of Flavius Eudox:us and Flavius Dioscorus the most illustrious, Phaophi 18. To ... daughter of of Daniel, of excellent memory, president of the council in the illustrious and most illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus, from Aurelius Harmiusius son of Padidymus and Aurelia Taor daughter of Castor, . . . from the village of Ptochis in the said nome. We desire of our own free will to lease upon our mutual security from the present year until the sowing of the 13th indiction, out of the land belonging to you in the fields of our village, 9 arourae of corn-land or thereabouts, on condition that we sow them with any crops we please on the basis of half shares in the resulting produce, the terms being that we shall pay to you the landlord in place of rent the half of the produce in good faith, and that we the lessees in return for the labour bestowed on the cultivation and the seed sown by us in the land shall keep the other half, with no delay, the taxes upon the land being due from you the landlord; and it shall be obligatory upon us on our mutual security to pay the half of the produce at the proper season with no delay, and to perform the banking up of the land. This lease, of which there are two copies, is valid, and in answer to the formal question we have given our assent.' Signatures of the lessees written for them by Flavius Sarapion.

4. [προπολιτευο]μένου: cf. 67. 2, C. P. R. I. 19. 1, P. Leipzig 37. 3. The title probably means president of the decuriones (πολιτευόμενοι); cf. Mitteis, C. P. R. I. pp. 61–2.

6. [Geom/] is awkward and raises doubts whether the fragment containing these letters and loa aupy in 1.5 is after all rightly placed here; the hand, however, though not certainly identical, is very similar, the fibres of the papyrus correspond rather well, and the verso, which contains vestiges of an endorsement in the right position, is also suitable. A title

referring to Κάστορος would be apposite, but ]θεσμ[ suggests nothing likely. The name Εμθεσμος occurs in 70. 6, and possibly this may be read here as the patronymic of Castor, τοῦ being omitted, though in the case of the other persons concerned grandfathers' names are not added, and there would barely be room for [Er].

8. For τωs σποράs cf. B. G. U. 586. 10 πρὸς μόνην τὴν τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους σποράν. ἀπὸ] σποράς is suggested by e.g. P. Tebt. 378. 9; but a difficulty would then arise concerning the number of the indiction, which should in that case be the 11th, not the 13th, and τως has the further advantage of defining the term of the lease.

11. There is not room in the lacuna for ois car. The rent of one half the produce was

fairly common in the Oxyrhynchite nome; cf. 103, 277, 729.

14. For μ[ετὰ καλῆ]ς (οτ ἀγαθῆ]ς) πίσ[τ]εως cf. e. g. P. Leipzig 28. 21.

20. The corrupt word ναουρών is more probably for ἀρουρών, as Wilcken suggests, than e.g. for νεουργών οτ νεώρων (cf. Theophrast. C. Pl. 3. 13. 3 διὰ τὸ νεουργών τε εἶναι τὴν γῆν καὶ ἀκάρπωτον, and Photius νέωρον νέον).

## 914. ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF A DEBT.

17·1 × 11·6 cm.

л. р. 486.

A promissory note for the payment of two solidi of gold, due in consequence of a purchase of dye. The goods had already been delivered to the purchaser, who in the present document undertakes to pay the money for them two months later.

15 [σοι γι]γνομένης π[α]ρά τε έμοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρ- <math>[χόντ]ων μοι πάντων ὑποκειμένων τῆ

[ἐκτί]σει τοῦδε τοῦ χρέους ἐνεχύρου λόγφ [καὶ ὑπο]θήκης δικαίφ. κύριον τὸ γραμμάτιον [δισσὸ]ν γραφὲ[ν] κ[αὶ] ἐ[περωτηθεὶς ὁμολόγησα.

On the verso

20 γρ(αμμάτιον) 'Απφοῦτος υἱοῦ 'Αρεώτου ἀπὸ τῆς λαμπρᾶς 'Οξυ[ρυγχιτῶν πόλεως.

- 1. ϋπατειαν φλαουῖου Pap. 2. ῖνδικ(τίονος) Pap. 3. l. ᾿Απφοῦς. υῖος Pap. 5. l. Δανιηλίου. 14. ανϋπερθετως Pap. 15. ῦπαρ[χοντ]ων Pap. 20. υἰου Pap.
- 'The year after the consulship of Flavius Theodoric the most illustrious, Mecheir 5, the 9th indiction. Aurelius Apphous son of Hareous and Cyria, coming from the city of Oxyrhynchus, to Aurelius Serenus son of Daniel, of the said city, greeting. I acknowledge that I owe as a debt to you, of the price of various dyes which I have bought from you and removed in accordance with the agreement between us, two solidi of gold, total 2 solidi of gold; and the two solidi of gold I will of necessity repay to you free of all risk in the month Pharmouthi of the current 162nd = the 131st year and the present 9th indiction with no delay, and you shall have the right of execution upon me and all my property, which is mortgaged for the repayment of this debt, as security and lawful pledge. This bond, which is written in duplicate, is valid, and in answer to the formal question I have given my consent, (Endorsed) Deed of Apphous son of Hareotes, of the illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus.'
- I. There is an inconsistency in the statements of date, for the year after the consulship of Theodoric was A. D. 485, whereas the dates by the indiction in l. 2 and by the Oxyrhynchite eras in l. 13 combine to fix the year as 486. The letters & are broken, but satisfactory enough, and & cannot be read; there would indeed be room for one or two more letters in the lacuna, but with a chrism and an enlarged initial letter the space would be sufficiently accounted for. The scribe therefore seems to have made a mistake; cf. 183 and 140, in which the eighth year after the consulship of Basilius appears where the ninth would be expected.
  - 3. 'Apeouros: in the endorsement on the back the father's name is given as 'Apeorou.
  - 9. For [σύμφ]ωνα cf. e.g. P. Strassb. 40. 13.
  - 10. The supplement is a trifle long for the lacuna.
  - 13. On the Oxyrhynchite eras cf. 125. introd.
  - 17-8. Cf. 136. 41 and P. Amh. 151. 19.

## 915. RECEIPT FOR LEAD AND TIN.

6 x 30.4 cm.

A. D. 572.

A receipt for lead and tin supplied by a lead-worker for repairing the pipes of a bath. The papyrus was found rolled up with four similar receipts issued to the same lead-worker, which are described in 1000-1003. The writing is in each case across the fibres. 915 alone is dated by the two Oxyrhynchite eras.

+ 'Εδόθ(ησαν) δ(ιὰ) 'Απολλώ μολιβουργ(οῦ) Γεωργίφ παιδὶ εἰς κόλλησιν τῶν σωλήνων

τοῦ λουτρ(οῦ) τοῦ προαστί(ου) Φαῶφι κ ἰνδ(ικτίονος) ς μολήδου λίτρ(αι) δώδεκα καὶ κασιδηρίου λίτρ(αι) τρῖς,

γί(νονται) μολήδ(ου) λί(τραι) ιβ καὶ κασιδ(ηρίου) λί(τραι) γ μ(όναι). (2nd hand) γί(νονται) μολ(ύβδου) λί(τραι) δώδεκα καὶ κασιδηρ(ίου) λί(τραι) τρῖς μ(όναι).

(1st hand) (έτους) σμθ καὶ σιη Φαῶφι κ ἰνδ(ικτίονος) έκτ[ης.

Ι. Ι. μολυβδουργ(οῦ).

2. l. μολύβδου . . . κασσιτερίου: so in l. 3.

'Provided by Apollos, lead-worker, for Georgius, servant, for soldering the pipes of the bath in the suburb on Phaophi 20 of the 6th indiction, twelve pounds of lead and three pounds of tin, total 12 lbs. lead and 3 lbs. tin only. Total 12 lbs. lead and 3 lbs. tin only. The 249th which = the 218th year, Phaophi 20, 6th indiction.'

# (e) TAXATION

## 916. TAX-RECEIPT.

16.3 × 19.4 cm.

A. D. 198.

A receipt for a series of payments on account of a tax of which the name is abbreviated as  $\eta$  or  $\eta^+$  and the precise nature is still a matter of uncertainty. This impost is known from two other published texts, B. G. U. 572. 5 and 10, and P. Tebt. 500, in both instances occurring along with the  $\nu\alpha\nu\beta\iota\nu\nu$  and other imposts on land. Wilcken (Ost. I. p. 1741) interprets it as meaning  $\delta\gamma\delta\delta\eta$ . The present text shows that it was calculated upon the aroura, and the mention of the praefect's instructions concerning it suggests that it was a special levy rather than a regular tax. The sums paid are rather high, amounting to 640 drachmae within two months (Il. 12-9), but it is not clear whether the individual to whom the receipt is issued was the tax-collector or the tax-payer. Caracalla appears as full emperor in Pauni of the 6th year (May 26-June 24 of A.D. 198); cf. 910. introd.

"Ετους 5 Λουκίου Σεπτιμί[ου Σεουήρου Εὐσεβοθς Περτίνακ[ος Σεβαστοθ 'Άρ(α)βικοθ 'Άδιαβηνικ[οθ Παρθικοῦ Μεγίστου καὶ Αὐτοκρ[άτο]ρος
5 Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου 'Αντω[νί]νου
Σεβαστοῦ Παῦνι. διεγράφη Πασίωνι
[κ]αὶ μετόχ(οις) δημ(οσίοις) τραπ(εζίταις) 'Οξ(υρυγχίτου) [λ]όγ(ου) ης
τῆς κελ(ε)υ-

σθείσης κατ' ἄρουρα[ν ἀν]ενεχθηναι ἀκολούθως τοις γρα[φεί]σι ὑπὸ Αἰμιλί[ο]υ

- 10 Σατουρνίνου τοῦ λα[μ]προτάτου ἡγεμ[όνος]
  Τιβέριος Κλούδιος Γέμεινος ὁ κ[αὶ]
  Γαιίων δραχ(μὰς) διακοσί[α]ς, γί(νονται) (δραχμαὶ) σ. Πασίω[ν]
  βασιλικ(ὸς) τραπ(εζίτης) σεσημ(είωμαι).
  καὶ τῆ ις τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνὸς ὁμ(οίως) ὁ αὐτὸς δρα(χμὰ)ς
- 15 τριακοσίας τεσσεράκον $[\tau]$ α, γί[vονται] (δραχμαὶ) τμ. Πασίων βασιλικ[ds] τραπ[e][iτηs] σεσημ[e][ωμαι].

and hand καὶ τῆ ια τοῦ Ἐπεὶφ ὁμοί(ως) λόγ(ου)  $\eta^+$  δραχμὰς ἐκατόν, / (δραχμαὶ) ρ. Zωίλ(ος) ὑ[π]η[ρ]ἔ(της) σεσημ(είωμαι).

20 καὶ τῆ κδ τοῦ Φαῶφι ὁμ(οίως) [λόγ(ου) η+ δραχμὰς [δ]:[ακοσ]:[α]ς, [ / (δραχμαὶ) σ.

3.  $\beta$  of ap $\beta$ ukov written through an  $\alpha$ .
6. l. diéypa $\psi$ e.
11. os of kdoudios corr l. Kdaúdios.
17.  $\nu$  of tov and first  $\epsilon$  of eneuth corr.
20.  $\delta$  of kd corr.

'The sixth year of Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Augustus Arabicu Adiabenicus Parthicus Maximus and of the emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninu Augustus, Pauni. Paid to Pasion and his associates, public bankers of the Oxyrhynchite nome, on account of the tax of  $\frac{1}{6}$  (?) ordered to be paid upon the aroura in accordance with the edict of his excellency the praefect Aemilius Saturninus, by Tiberius Claudius Geminu also called Gaiion (?) two hundred drachmae, total 2co dr. Signed by me, Pasion, publi banker.' Records of other instalments follow.

9. On the praesecture of Aemilius Saturninus cf. 899. 10, note.

11-2. The name  $\Gamma al\omega \nu$  occurs in P. Brit. Mus. II. 258. 130-1, &c., and the repetition of the  $\iota$  here was perhaps a clerical error. The initial letter is uncertain, and might be mear for  $\sigma$  or possibly  $\epsilon$ , and  $\epsilon$  could also be read in place of a. In any case a second name seems here more likely than e. g. of  $\pi(i\rho)$  (for  $i\pi i\rho$ )  $i\gamma \gamma \alpha i \{i\} \omega \nu$ , for though the interchange of a and  $\nu$  is common enough, to postulate it in a doubtful passage is not very satisfactory. There would too only just be room for the abbreviation of  $\pi$  and  $\epsilon \gamma$  in the lacuna.

## 917. TAXING-MEMORANDUM.

5 x 9.8 cm. Late second or early third century.

A memorandum extracted from the day-book of a collector of money-taxes, summarizing payments under various heads. Of the imposts mentioned two, the ναύβιον (1. 2) and επαρούριον (1. 3), are familiar. The tax of 1/6 (1. 2) is not often met with in Roman times, but a ἔκτη τεμαχῶν occurs in P. Brit. Mus. III. 1171. 72 and a έκτη levied upon παράδεισοι apparently in P. Tebt. 343. 69, where we supposed that it was connected with the Ptolemaic tax of 1 of the produce for ἀπόμοιρα upon vineyards and gardens, in spite of the fact that the ἀπόμοιρα is known to have been sometimes calculated in Roman times upon the acreage of land. That the έκτη here too means the ἀπόμοιρα is very likely, especially as the latter is found in 653, where several of the taxes mentioned in 917 occur; the name ext, however, may be a mere survival and not necessarily imply that the tax was actually  $\frac{1}{6}$  of the produce. The tax  $va() \phi o()$  (l. 2) is known from 653, where we resolved the abbreviations doubtfully as  $\nu\alpha(\hat{\nu}\lambda o\nu)$   $\phi_0(\rho\tau \ell\omega\nu)$ .  $va(\hat{v}\lambda ov)$  is on the whole more probable than  $va(\hat{v}\beta iov)$ ; but  $\phi o(\rho \tau i\omega v)$  is unsatisfactory, and φο(ρέτρου) is more likely than φό(ρου) though να(ύλου) φο(ρέτρου) is a somewhat tautologous expression; φοινίκων or φοινικώνος, however, would more naturally be abbreviated for ). The remaining impost, abbreviated  $\sigma\pi$  ( )  $\delta\iota\upsilon\upsilon$  ( ) (1.3), we connect with  $\sigma\pi\upsilon\upsilon\delta(\dot{\eta})$  in 653, and regard it as levied nominally for a libation to Dionysus; cf. σπονδή as a tax in P. Tebt. 347. 2. There may well be a connexion between this tax and the Διονυσείον at Oxyrhynchus, which perhaps benefited by the proceeds; cf. 908. 8-10, note.

Two other similar memoranda by the same tax-collector are described in 981-2. One of these has only the beginnings of lines; the other, which is complete, mentions besides ἐπαρο(ύριον) a tax called πηχ(ισμοῦ) περισ(τερώνων), for which 47 dr. 1 ob. 2 chal. are paid. πηχισμοῦ by itself appears as an impost in P. Brit. Mus. II. 1171. 73, where 7½ dr. are paid for it, and 400 drachmae are entered for ἐπιβολ(ῆs) πηχισμοῦ in P. Brit. Mus. III. 1157. 111, 600 dr. in l. 113, and 400 dr. for πηχ(ισμοῦ) οἰκοπ(ἐδων) in l. 152. The editors suggest that the charges for πηχισμός were for measuring areas, but remark that the amounts paid are high; possibly the impost was levied upon the areas measured, not on behalf of the measuring. That the impost γεωμετρίας means land-tax, not a tax for measuring, was maintained by Wilcken (Ost. I. pp. 173-6), but the evidence subsequently discovered does not support that view; cf. P. Tebt. I. p. 39. There is, however, somewhat less difficulty in referring the term πηχισμός than γεωμετρία to an area measured, and we are disposed to regard the πηχισμός περιστερώνων

as a tax upon pigeon-houses levied according to their size. In Ptolemaic times there was a tax upon them called  $\tau\rho i\tau\eta$   $\pi\epsilon\rho i\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho \omega\nu\omega\nu$  (i. e.  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the profits; cf. P. Tebt. 84. 9, note), but this is not known to have survived into Roman times, and the  $\pi\eta\chi i\sigma\mu \delta s$   $\pi\epsilon\rho i\sigma\tau$ . may have taken its place. The 4th year, in which 917 and 981 are written (982 is dated in the 3rd year), more probably refers to the reign of Septimius Severus than to that of Marcus Aurelius, Elagabalus, or Severus Alexander.

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' E\xi ἐφη(μερίδος) ' Aπίωνος πρά(κτορος) ἀργ(υρικῶν) Ταλαώ. 
να(υβίου) καὶ <math>\varsigma' καὶ να(ύλου) φο(ρέτρου?) τοῦ ἐνεστ(ῶτος) δ (ἔτους) (δραχμαὶ) 
κβ (ἡμιωβέλιον), 
ἐπαρο(υρίου) (δραχμαὶ) ρθ χ(αλκοῖ) \gamma, σπ(ονδῆς) \Deltaιον(ύσου?) (δραχμαὶ) η 
(τετρώβολον) χ(αλκοῦς) \alpha, 
/ (δραχμαὶ) ρλθ (πεντώβολον). δόσις (δραχμαὶ) ρλθ ὀβ(ολοὶ) \varsigma, 
5 / (δραχμαὶ) ἐκατὸν τριάκοντα ἐννέα ὀβολ(οὶ) \varsigma. 
(ἔτους) δ Παῦνι \epsilon.
```

## 2. $\beta$ of $\kappa\beta$ corr. from $\delta$ .

'From the day-book of Apion, collector of money-taxes at Talao. For naubion and the tax of  $\frac{1}{6}$  and freight by water for the present 4th year 22 dr.  $\frac{1}{2}$  ob., for land-tax 109 dr. 3 chalci, for a libation to Dionysus (?) 8 dr. 4 ob. 1 chal. Total 139 dr. 5 ob. Paid 139 dr. 6 ob. Total one hundred and thirty-nine dr. 6 obols. The 4th year, Pauni 5.'

- 3.  $\sigma\pi(\sigma r \delta \hat{\eta} s)$ : the first letter might possibly be  $\epsilon$ , but  $\sigma$  is a more suitable reading and is confirmed by 653; cf. introd.
- 4. The sum actually paid is 1 obol in excess of what was due; similarly in 981 the 8601s exceeds the previous total by nearly 2 obols.

### 918. LAND-SURVEY.

Height 21.2 cm.

Second century.

The verso of this long papyrus contains the text of the new Greek historian (842), and a short description of the document on the recto was given in Part V, pp. 110-1. This is a very elaborate survey-register of Crown land at a village in the south-west of the Arsinoite nome near Ibion Argaei, which is mentioned e.g. in v. 17. The plots leased to separate cultivators are arranged in  $\sigma\phi\rho\alpha\gamma$  of varying sizes which have a double system of numbering. One set of numbers refers to the order in which they occur in the present list, beginning with the 1st  $\sigma\phi\rho\alpha\gamma$  and ending, so for as the papyrus goes, with the 12th; the other set of numbers refers to some more extensive register, of which the  $\sigma\phi\rho\alpha\gamma$  here

described formed a part. In only two cases are the figures of the second set preserved, the 1st and 2nd  $\sigma\phi\rho\alpha\gamma\hat{\iota}\delta\epsilon$ s of the present list corresponding to the 17th and 18th of the other; and it is not unlikely that there was a difference of 16 between the two sets of numbers throughout. From these numbered  $\sigma\phi\rho\alpha\gamma\hat{\iota}\delta\epsilon$ s must be distinguished the use of the term  $\sigma\phi\rho\alpha\gamma$ s in 918 to denote the individual plots; cf. ii. 16, note.

The normal scheme of the survey is as follows. First comes a description of a particular σφραγίς as a whole,—its geographical relation to the preceding σφραγίς, its number on both systems, its size, the rents yielded by it, and its adjacent areas. Where as the result of flooding or other cause in former years (ranging from the 3rd to the 12th of an unnamed emperor) the rents were no longer paid or had been reduced, or the land had changed its category (e. g. χερσάλμυρος which had become pasture land), information is added on these points, there being several references to earlier surveys. The general account of each σφραγίς closes with the words ων τὸ κατακ( ) (cf. ii. 13, note), referring to the following description of the individual plots into which it was subdivided. These more detailed entries give the geographical position of each plot (in the first entry the arourae are defined as ἀρχόμεναι, in the later ones as ἐχόμεναι), the name of the lessee or cultivator, the size and rent of the plot, the adjacent areas, and the addition made to the rent as the result of a reassessment. Where the land was not paying the normal rent or had undergone changes, the details already summarized in the general account of the σφραγίς are repeated in reference to the particular cultivators, e. g. in Col. xi.

The papyrus is divided into four sections separated by gaps, and as the writing on the recto and verso runs in opposite directions, D, the last section of the historical work containing Cols. xi-xxi, is the first of the land-survey, comprising Cols. i-viii. Col. i, which is much mutilated, is in a different hand from the rest, and is apparently the concluding part of a summary of the succeeding columns. It is concerned chiefly with land καθ' "δατος (cf. Cols. ix-xv), and ends γίνο(νται) καθ' ὕδατος (ἄρουραι) ψκηΔίς ΚβΕδ'. ὧν ἡ ποσεία. In Col. ii begins the detailed list of σφραγίδες. Lines 1-2 indicate the point from which the survey starts, and ll. 3-7 apparently define the position of certain arourae,  $22\frac{5}{8}$  in number, which stand in some obscure relationship to the 1st  $\sigma\phi\rho\alpha\gamma$ is. The general description of that σφραγίς occupies Il. 8-13, and the details concerning the two sets of cultivators of the 916 arourae comprised in it fill ii. 1-iii. 2. In iii. 3 begins the general description of the 2nd σφραγίς, which contained 10 arourae, the details following in iii. 11-v. 14. The 3rd σφραγίς (v. 15-21) contained only 2 arourae situated in a hollow which seems to have been formerly dry but was now flooded, and as no rent or cultivators were assigned to it only the general description was required. The account of the 4th σφραγίς (vi. 1-8) is incomplete, but the number of the arourae in it (8, including  $\frac{1}{18}$  aroura for a canal) is preserved. It was divided among three sets of cultivators who owned respectively  $4\frac{1}{16}$ , 2, and  $1\frac{1}{15}$  arourae. vi. 19-vii. 1 contains the description of what is clearly the 5th  $\sigma\phi\rho\alpha\gamma$ s, though the number is for some reason omitted. It comprised  $5\frac{1}{32}$  arourae, but only  $4\frac{1}{32}$  are accounted for in vii. 2-11, so that either  $5\frac{1}{32}$  is an error for  $4\frac{1}{32}$  or an entry has been left out. vii. 12–18 gives the description of the 6th  $\sigma\phi\rho\alpha\gamma ls$ , which contained 30  $_{18}^{-5}$  arourae, and the details concerning the several plots followed in Col. viii, of which only a few letters from the beginnings of lines are preserved, section D breaking off at this point. So far the land in question, with the exception of that in the 2nd σφραγίς, had been in good condition. The rents up to this point range with one exception from  $6\frac{1}{4}$  artabae per aroura down to  $4\frac{37}{48}$ , this being the commonest rate; cf. P. Brit. Mus. II. 267, where the rents of Crown land near Lake Moeris range from 7 to 23 artabae per aroura,  $4\frac{27}{40}$  art. being the most frequent. The exception occurs in the description of the 6th  $\sigma\phi\rho\alpha\gamma$ s, where the 30.5 arourae pay at the rate of (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαs) δ κ'ξ'ρ'ξ', i. e.  $4\frac{1}{20}$   $\frac{1}{60}$   $\frac{1}{160}$ , or  $4\frac{7}{96}$  art., a fraction which could not be expressed without departing from the ordinary series of fractions of the artaba  $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{2}$ , &c. In every instance an addition to the rents had been recently made of amounts ranging from  $\frac{1}{12}$  to I artaba, and in one case (iii. I-2) the rent had been twice raised. The case is different when we turn to the later columns of the survey on the recto of sections C, B, and A. These are chiefly concerned with land which had been flooded, and was therefore unproductive except where it had been reclaimed for pastures. A, containing the ends of lines of Col. xiii, Col. xiv, which is incomplete, and Col. xv, of which the ends of lines are lost, deals with the 11th and 12th σφραγίδες; but to which σφραγίς C (parts of 12 lines from Col. ix) and B (containing a portion of Col. x, Col. xi, which is fairly well preserved, and a few letters from the beginnings of lines of Col. xii) refer is not indicated, and the relative order of these three sections would be quite doubtful apart from the text on the verso. If we are right in regarding A as the first section of the historical work (cf. Part V, pp. 114-5), it is the last of the survey, and C and B must belong to the σφραγίδεs intervening between the 6th and 11th; but it remains uncertain whether C comes between D and B or between B and A; cf. Part V, pp. 113-4. Col. ix, so far as can be judged from its scanty remains, deals with land similar to that described in Col. xi, various ἀναμετρήσεις (cf. xi. 5) being mentioned. Nothing can be made of Col. x, but Col. xi. 1-9 gives the conclusion of a general description of a new σφραγίς, which had been flooded, the entries concerning the individual holdings following in ll. 10 sqq. Owing to the loss of the beginning and the uncertainty of the construction of the various relative clauses which are piled one upon another the details are not clear, but various categories of land καθ' ΰδατος are distinguishable: (1) in l. 2 that on which rent continued for a time at any rate to be exacted, ὧν τὰ [ἐ]κφόρια διεστάλ(η). (2) in 11. 3 and 13 land of which the rent had been reduced and which subsequently had been converted into pasture land, (3) in l. 21 land  $\partial \nu \partial \pi \circ \chi \hat{\eta}$ , a category frequently mentioned also in Cols, xiii-xiv, and apparently implying land upon which the collection of the rents (in xi. 21 4 artabae to the aroura) had been suspended indefinitely; cf. P. Tebt. 336. 13-5 and 337. 2, notes. Col. xii, as we have said, is represented only by a few letters, and Col. xiii, with which section A begins, has only ends of lines. Both this column and Col. xiv give part of a detailed list of entries referring to what must be the 11th σφραγίς, since the account of the 12th σφραγίς begins at the top of Col. xv. Of the five entries in Col. xiii two are concerned with land  $\partial v \partial \pi \circ \chi \hat{\eta}$ , two with land in another category, the arourae being called ἐναφει(μέναι), a term which occurs in P. Tebt. II. 325. 5; cf. note ad loc. The land had presumably been placed in this class because it had been flooded, but to judge by P. Tebt. 325 ἐναφει(μένη) γη was capable of being cultivated, though at only a nominal rent. Col. xiv contains five more entries concerning lands placed ἐν ἐποχη in the 8th year. Rents at the rate of 44 and 15 artabae to the aroura are mentioned (the latter being exceptionally low, cf. p. 274), but if our interpretation of  $\frac{\partial \pi}{\partial x} = \frac{\partial \pi}{\partial x} = \frac{\partial \pi}{\partial x}$  is correct these represent only the rents paid before the land went out of cultivation. Col. xv begins with a description of the 12th σφραγίς, which occupies ll. 1-12. Lines 3-11 summarize in a manner similar to xi. 1-5 the changes which had taken place in the character of the land since the 4th year as the result of various ἐπισκέψεις, but owing to the loss of the ends no connected sense is obtainable. The oppayls seems to have consisted largely of χερσάλ(μυρος) which had been converted into νομαί at different periods, and, since  $30\frac{23}{32}$  arourae are mentioned in 1.6, to have been more extensive than usual. Lines 13-21 give the first three entries concerning individual holdings. In one of these the land had become καθ' δδατος in the 12th year, but the remark is added ἀποκατεστάθ(η) τω ένεστωτίωτι] (έτει) [, showing that it had been reclaimed in the year in which the survey was written. Since no years later than the 12th are mentioned elsewhere in the papyrus, the ἐνεστὸς ἔτος is likely to have been very soon after the 12th, and may even be the 13th. The handwriting proves that the survey belongs to the second century, and most probably to the reign of Antoninus or Marcus Aurelius. We print Cols. ii. 1-iii. 16, v. 15-21, xi and xiii, which afford good specimens of the whole. The parts omitted mainly consist of repetitions of the same formulae or are too much damaged to be intelligible.

Two other land-surveys of the Roman period exhibit a classification of land

by numbered σφραγίδες, P. Fay. 339 and P. Bruxell. I (Mayence and de Ricci, Musée Belge, 1904, pp. 101 sqq.). P. Fay. 339 is a mere fragment, but the accounts of the 11th and 12th  $\sigma\phi\rho\alpha\gamma$ ides are for the most part preserved; the text of the entry concerning the 12th  $\sigma\phi\rho\alpha\gamma$  is quoted in our publication, that of the 11th follows the same formula. The geographical situation of each σφραγίς, its size, rent, cultivator, and surroundings are given; but the areas are much smaller than in 918, being only I and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  arourae in the two cases, and the term  $\sigma\phi\rho\alpha\gamma$ is seems to be used to denote a plot of ground belonging to a single lessee rather than a group of such plots; cf. ii. 16, note. On the other hand in the Brussels papyrus, which though reputed to come from Dimeh is on account of the proper names more likely to have been discovered at Hermopolis and to refer to land in the Hermopolite, not the Arsinoite, nome, the σφραγίδες are much larger than those in 918, one of them containing over 635 arourae. Ιδιωτική as well as βασιλική γη is included in them, and the land-tax upon the former is added to receipts from rents of the latter, whereas in 918 private land, though frequently mentioned among the γείτονες, is not included in the survey. The Brussels survey, of which the extant portions cover the 6th to the 10th  $\sigma\phi\rho\alpha\gamma$  is moreover on a much less elaborate scale than 918, and does not enter into any details concerning individual cultivators of Crown land.

## Col. ii.

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2nd hand [ἀρχομέν]ων ἀπὸ νότ[ου . . . . . .]ους φοι(νικῶνος) ἐν ἢπείρῳ [. . . .]λουμ(ένῳ) [. . . . .] ἸΩριγένους ἀπ[. . . . . . .] ἐξ ἀπηλ(ιώτου) διώρυχος) Τεκ-[νάνις κα]λουμ(ένης) μεθ΄ (ἢν) γύης [. . . . . .] κβ\angleη΄ διατίν[ο(υσαι)] ἐπὶ 5 νότ(ον). γ[ί(τονες)] νότ(ον) τῶν τῆς [. . . . . . 'Α]μυνταροῦτο[ς τ]ῆς ᾿Αμύν[το]ν, βορρᾶ διῶρυξ [. . . . . . .] ἀπηλ(ιώτου) Τασαταβοῦτος [τ]ῆς ᾿Οννώφ[ρ]εως σι(τοφόρος), [λιβὸ(ς) διῶρυ]ξ μεθ΄ (ἢν) ὁδό(ς). [α] σφρα(γὶς) ἢ ἐστ(ι) ιζ σφρα(γὶς) ε[. . . . . .] · ἐνειλ( ) καὶ καμπ(ύλη ?) σπόρῳ (ἄρουραι) θι΄ς΄ ὧν ἀ(νὰ) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) 5δ΄ (ἄρουραι) β [καὶ ἀ(νὰ) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) γύη(ος), βορρᾶ βασιλ(ικὴ) γῆ ἤπιρο(ς) διὰ γεωργ(ῶν) ᾿Αγχορίμφεω[ς] ᾽Οννώφρεως κα[ὶ Πατύνιος
```

 $\kappa\lambda\hat{\eta}\rho(os)$ , [

 $^{\sigma}$ Ηρωνο(s) καὶ μετόχ(ου), ἀπηλ(ιώτου) ἐδ(άφη) Θεαβήσεως τῆς  $\Pi$ ε[σούρεως,

λιβὸ(s) Τεκνάνις λεγομ(ένη) διῶρυξ μεθ' (ἡν) δδός. ὧν [τὸ κατακ( )· ἀρχόμ(εναι) ἀπὸ νότ(ου) [...] . εὐς ᾿Αμήους τοῦ Σοκονώπ(ιος) καὶ [.... ᾿Αμήους τοῦ Πατύνεως ἐξ ἀλληλ(εγγύης) ἀ(νὰ) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) δδ'μ΄η΄ (ἄρουραι) εδ'η΄ίς΄.

γί(τονες) νότ(ου) διῶρυξ, βορρ $\hat{\alpha}$  ἡ ἐχο(μένη) σφρ $\alpha$ (γίς),  $d\pi$ ηλ(ιώτου) κατοικ(ικὰ) ἐδ(άφη), λι(βὸς)

διῶρυξ. καὶ προσωρίσ $\theta(\eta)$  ἄλλο κατὰ (ἄρουραν) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) β΄. βορρ $\hat{\alpha}$  ἐχ $\delta\mu$ (εναι) ἐγ $\beta$ (αίνουσαι) ἀπηλ(ιώτου) ἀγχορίμ $\phi$ εως 'Ονν $\phi$ φρεως τοῦ

Δείου καὶ Ἰσίωνο(s) Πανεφρέμμεως καὶ Πατύνις "Ηρων[ο(s) τοῦ "Ηρωνο(s) ἐξ ἀλληλ(εγγύης) (ἄρουραι) γ $\angle$ δ΄ ὧν ἀ(νὰ) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) 5δ΄ (ἄρουραι) β, καὶ ἀ(νὰ) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) δ $\angle$ δ΄ μ΄ η΄ (ἄρουρα) α $\angle$ δ΄,  $\angle$  αὶ π(ροκείμεναι), ἐν αἶς κοίλωμ(α) καθ΄ ὕδ(ατος). γί(τονες) νότ(ου) ἡ ἐπάνω σφρα(γὶς) καὶ ἐπί τι μ(έρος) ἰδι(ωτικὰ) ἐδ(άφη) Θεαβήσεως Πεσούρεως, βορρᾶ βασιλ(ικὴ) γῆ ἡπειρος διὰ γεωργ(ῶν) ᾿Αγχορ[ί]μ(φεως) ᾿Οννώ(φρεως) καὶ Πατύνι[ο(s)

5. ντ of αμυνταρουτοίς corr.
 6. Final o of τασαταβουτος corr. from η.

## Col. iii.

λιβὸς διῶ[ρυ]ξ. [καὶ προσωρίσ $\theta(\eta)$  ἄλ]λο κατὰ (ἄρουραν) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης)  $\angle$ .

 ${}^\sigma H$ ρωνο(s) καὶ μετόχ(ου), ἀπ(ηλιώτου)  $\Theta$ εα $\beta$ ήσεως  $\Pi$ εσούρεως

 $ι\beta$  (ἔτει) (ἄρουραι)  $\beta$  του . [. . . προσωρί] $\sigma[\theta(\eta)]$  άλλο κατὰ (ἄρουραν) (πυροῦ ἀρτά $\beta\eta$ s) δ΄.

5  $\sigma\pi(\delta\rho\phi)$  (ἄρουραι) ιη΄ ἀ(νὰ) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας)  $\epsilon\delta'$  [(ἄρουρα) α ἀ(νὰ)  $(\pi υροῦ ἀρτάβας) <math>\delta \angle \delta' \mu' \eta'$ ] (ἄρουραι)  $\theta\eta'$ ,  $\nearrow$  αἰ  $\pi$ (ροκείμεναι).

15

 $\gamma$ ί(τονες) νότ(ου) διῶ(ρυξ) Tεκ[νάνις λε]γομ(ένη) μεθ' ( $\eta$ ν) δδό(ς), βορρᾶ βασιλ(ικ $\eta$ )

 $\gamma \hat{\eta}$  ἤπειρο(s) διὰ [ $\gamma \epsilon \omega \rho \gamma (\hat{\omega} \nu)$ ] 'Οννώφρεως τοῦ "Ωρου καὶ 'Απολλωνίου τ[οῦ Πανε]φρέμμεως, λιβὸς Τααμείους

] .  $\mu\omega($  )  $l\delta\iota\omega(\tau\iota\kappa\dot{\alpha})$   $\ell\delta(\dot{\alpha}\phi\eta)$  της 'Αρμιέω[ς καὶ] ἐπί τι μέρος ἡ προκ(ειμένη) βασιλ(ικὴ) γῆ, ἀπηλ(ιώτου) διῶρυξ. ὧν τὸ κατακ( )·

άρχόμ(εναι) λιβός Βενια[.. ος Άγχ]ορίμφεως τ[οῦ

'Αγχορίμφεως καὶ [Πατύνιο(s)] "Ηρωνο(s) τοῦ N[εστνήφεως εξ άλληλ(εγγύης) ά(νὰ) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) δ $\angle$ δ' μ΄ η΄ [(ἄρουραι) . . γί(τονες)] νότ(ου) Tεκνά[νις

λεγομ(ένη) διῶρυξ, βορρᾶ [βασιλ(ικὴ) γῆ ἤ]πειρο(s) διὰ γεω[ργ(ῶν), ἀπηλ(ιώτου) ἡ ἐχο(μένη) σφρα(γίs), λιβ[ὸ(s) . . . . . καὶ προσωρί[σθ(η) ἄλλο

κατὰ (ἄρουραν) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβηs) ∠δ'.
7 more lines.

#### Col. v.

#### 14 lines.

15 νότ(ου) καὶ ἀπηλ(ιώτου),  $\int$  ἀνὰ  $\mu$ (έσον) οὔσης διώρυχο(ς) καὶ ἰκανοῦ διαστήματ(ος),

 $\gamma$  σφρα(γὶς) χέρσο(υ) ἐν κοιλ(ώματι) καθ' ὕδ(ατος) (ἄρουραι)  $\beta$ .  $\gamma$ ί(τονες) νότ(ου) διῶρυξ

Φαγήους λεγο(μένη) μεθ' (ἡν) συνώρ(ια) 'Ιβιῶνο(ς) 'Αργαίου, βορρα 'Απολλωνίας τῆς Σαραπίωνος κλῆρο(ς) κατοικ(ικὸς) ἀνὰ μ(έσον) οὔσης διώ(ρυγος) καὶ 'Ηρακλείδου τοῦ 'Απολλωνίο(υ) κλῆρο(ς), 20 ἀπηλ(ιώτου) ὁδὸ(ς) δημοσί(α) ἐν ἡ ἄφεσις λιθίνη, λιβὸς ἡ ἐχομ(ένη) Φακήους λεγομ(ένη) διῶρυξ.

17. l. συνόρ(ιa). 21. ε of εχομ(<math>ενη) corr.

### Col. xi.

- πρεσ(βυτέρων) της κά(μης)] (ἄρουραι) ιη $\angle$ δ΄, ὧν τὰ ἐκφό(ρια) τῷ δ (ἔτει) ήλασσ[ώθ(η)] διὰ τὸ καθ' ὕδ(ατος)
- [γεγο(νέναι), άλωνείας] (ἄρουρα) α ά(νὰ) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) δδ΄, ὧν εἰσιν αὶ ἐκ τῆς [γε]νομ(ένης) τῷ ια (ἔτει)
- [τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ] ἀναμ[ετρή]σεως εὐρεθ(εῖσαι) ἀντὶ καθ' ὕδ(ατος) νομῶν (ἄρουραι)  $\varsigma$ [ $\angle$ ]δ'
- [....]  $\gamma \ell(\tau o \nu \epsilon s) \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \ \delta \lambda(\omega \nu) \ \nu \delta \tau(o \upsilon) \ \delta \ell \hat{\omega} \rho \upsilon \xi \ \mu \epsilon \theta' \ (\hat{\eta} \nu) \ \hat{\eta} \ \hat{\epsilon} \xi \hat{\eta} s$   $\sigma \phi \rho \alpha(\gamma \ell s),$
- [βορρα ἰδιω(τικὰ)] ἐδ(άφη), ἀπηλ(ιώτου) διῶρυξ μεθ' (ἡν) βασιλ(ικὴ)  $\gamma \hat{\eta} \ \, \mathring{\eta} \pi(\epsilon ιροs) \ \, \delta \iota(\grave{\alpha}) \ \, \gamma \epsilon \omega \rho \gamma(\hat{\omega} \nu) \ \, \kappa \alpha \grave{\iota} \ \, \tau ο \hat{\upsilon} \ \, \pi \rho \grave{\delta} s \ \, \nu \delta \tau (o \upsilon)$
- [μέρους ...] $\gamma()$  ή σφρα $(\gamma(s), λιβὸ(s) διῶ(ρυξ)$  καὶ ἐπ[ί] τι μ(έρος) iδιωτ(ικὰ) ἐδ(άφη).
  - $\delta \nu \ [\tau \delta] \ \kappa \alpha [\tau \alpha] \kappa ()$
- το ἀρχόμ(εναι) νότ(ου) χ[ορ]τονομῶν ἐμφό(ρων) (ἄρουραι) ιδ $\angle$ η΄ξ΄ δ΄. γί(τονες) νότ(ου) διῶρυξ,
  - [βο]ρρα πρότ(ερον) μεμισθ(ωμένη) ή έχο(μένη) ι . [. .]μ( ), άπη-  $\lambda$ (ιώτου) καὶ  $\lambda$ ιβ[δ]ς διῶρυξ.
  - $\beta$ [ορ]ρ $\hat{a}$  έχόμ(εναι) μ[εμι]σ $\theta$ (ωμέναι)  $\dot{\gamma}$  (ἔτει) ὑπὸ 'Α[.]απέους "Ηρωνο(ς) καὶ τῶν λοιπ(ῶν) πρεσ $\beta$ (υτέρων)
    - $[\tau]\hat{\eta}$ ς κ $[\acute{\omega}\mu\eta$ ς] (ἄρουραι) λ[...]δ' αἰ οὖσ(αι) καθ' ὕδ(ατος), ὧν τὰ  $\dot{\epsilon}$ κ $[\phi \delta(\rho\iota\alpha)]$  τ $\hat{\varphi}$  δ (ἔτει)  $\dot{\eta}$ λασσώθ $(\eta)$ ,
    - $\mathring{\omega}_{r}$  εί $[\sigma_{l}r$   $\alpha_{l}$  έκ] τ $\mathring{\eta}$ ς γενο(μένης) τ $\mathring{\varphi}$   $l\alpha$  (ἔτει) τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἀναμετρήσεως
- - $[\gamma \ell(\tau o \nu \epsilon s) \nu \delta \tau(o \nu) \dot{\eta} \dot{\epsilon} \pi \dot{\alpha}] \nu \omega [\sigma] \phi \rho \alpha(\gamma i s), \beta o \rho \rho \hat{\alpha} \kappa \lambda \hat{\eta}[\rho(o s)] \kappa(\alpha \tau) o \iota(\kappa \iota \kappa \dot{o} s)$   $[\kappa \alpha \dot{\epsilon}] \pi \dot{\ell} \tau \iota \mu \dot{\epsilon} \rho o(s) \dot{\alpha} \lambda \omega \nu \dot{\epsilon} \dot{\ell}[\alpha] s$
  - [....,  $d\pi$ ]ηλ(ιώτου) διῶρυξ καὶ κ[ατοι]κ(ικὰ) ἐδ(άφη) [καὶ] εἰσαγ(ωγός), λιβὸ(ς) διῶρυξ.
  - [βορρ] $\hat{a}$  καὶ ἀπηλ(ιώτου) ἐχομ(ένη) διὰ γεω[ργ( $\hat{\omega}$ ν) . . . . . . . ά]λωνείας (ἄρουρα) α ἀ(νὰ) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) δ[δ.'
    - [γί(τονες)] νότ(ου) ἡ ἐπάνω σφ[ρ]a(γίς), [βορρ $\hat{a}$  καὶ ἀπηλ(ιώτου) δ]ιῶρυξ, λιβὸ(ς) ἡ ἐπ(άνω) σφ[ρa(γίς).
- 20 [βορρ] $\hat{a}$  έχδμ(εναι) έγβ(αίνουσαι) λιβδ(s) X[a]ιρήμον[ος 'Αγχο]ρίμφεως τοῦ 'Οννώ(φρεως) καὶ 'Αγχο(ρίμφεως)

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"Ωρου ἀ(νὰ) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) δ \epsilon \bar{\gamma} κωθ . [.....] . [.] . . . \gamma \epsilon \omega [\rho(\gamma)] αἰ οὖσ(αι) ἐν ἐποχ\hat{y} ἀπὸ [ . (ἔτους)] διὰ τὸ καθ' ὕδ(ατος) [\gamma \epsilon]\gamma o(\nu \epsilon \nu a \iota)
```

1. ε of ετ[ corr. from a. The fractions after δδ have a horizontal stroke above them; similarly in l. 10 and xiii. 1 and 16.

#### Col. xiii.

```
[ 27 letters (ἀρουραι) . ]δ'η'ξ'δ' ὧν ἀ(νὰ (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) δδ'
    [ 28
                                          \dot{\epsilon}]\nu \dot{\epsilon}\pi o \chi \hat{\eta} \tau \epsilon \tau a \gamma \mu (\dot{\epsilon} \nu a \iota)
    [τ\hat{\varphi} . (ἔτει) διὰ τὸ καθ' ὕδ(ατος) γεγο(νέναι). γί(τονες) νότ(ου) καὶ
                                                           βο ρρά καὶ λιβὸς διῶ(ρυξ),
    [ἀπηλ(ιώτου) 25 letters]
 5 [ 23 letters
                                  καὶ με]τόχ(ων) (ἄρουραι) γωδ', αἱ οὖσ(αι)
        29
                                                      γί(τονες) νότ(ου) καὶ βορρα
        29
                                           ] τοῦ πρὸς νότ(ον) μέρους
        29
        28
                                          \tau]\hat{\varphi} δ (ἔτει) ἐναφει(μέναι) διὰ τὸ
                               \gamma i(\tau o \nu \epsilon s)] \nu \delta \tau (o \nu) \beta a \sigma \iota \lambda (\iota \kappa \dot{\eta}) \gamma \hat{\eta} a i \gamma \iota (a \lambda \hat{\iota} \tau \iota s),
        26
10
                     24 letters
    [βορρᾶ
        28 letters
                                          τ]φ δ (έτει) έναφει(μέναι) διά τδ
                                          \gamma]i(\tau o \nu \epsilon s) \nu \delta \tau (o v) \Pi \epsilon \lambda \omega \rho o s
        27
         26
                                          δι]ώρυξ, ἀπηλ(ιώτου) ἐτέρα
15 [διῶρυξ, \lambda \iota(\beta \delta s) 20 letters]
         23 letters
                                           ]. [....]s (dpoupai) a\delta'\eta'i'\varsigma'\xi'\delta', \delta\nu
                                           \int ai \pi(\rho \circ \kappa \in l\mu \in \nu \alpha i).
                                                                                    καὶ ἐν ἐποχ(\hat{\eta})
     23
                                                                                          ἐτάγ(ησαν)
     [τ\hat{\varphi} . (ἔτει) διὰ τὸ καθ' ὕδ(ατος) γεγο(νέναι). γί(τονες) ν<math>δ]τ(ου) καὶ
                                                     βορρα καὶ λι(βὸς) μεμισθ(ωμέν)
```

ii. 2. Probably not καζλουμ(ένφ), for there is hardly room for a proper name, even if an #πειρος was likely to bear one.

4. μεθ (ήν): the abbreviation μεθ() occurs frequently in this survey, always following the description of one of the γείτονες, but is nowhere written out. It is clearly different from ἀνὰ μέσον which occurs in a corresponding position, e.g. in v. 18, and is, we think, contrasted with it, meaning 'beyond' as opposed to 'between'; cf. v. 17, where μεθ() συνώρ(ω) 'Ιβίωνο(ς) 'Αργαίου must mean that the boundary between the lands of Ibion and the village with which

918 is concerned lay beyond the canal which was the south yeiror of the 3rd oppayis.  $\mu\epsilon\theta(\delta\rho\iota\sigma\nu)$  would hardly give the required sense, and would have been probably abbreviated μεθορ(), and μεθ' (ἡν) (or δν or δ) is practically certain. In B.G.U. 571. 9-10, where Wilcken reads ἀπὸ χίρσο(υ) ὑπολ(όγου) (ἄρουρα) α ης γί(τονες) βο(ρρα) ὑδρ(αγωγὸς) μέθορος, λιβὸς χέρσος, νότου ὑδρ(αγωγὸς) μέθ(ορος) εδ(), ἀπηλ(ιώτου) κ.τ.λ., we propose μεθ' (ὁν) ὅρος, . . . μεθ' ( $\delta \nu$ )  $\dot{\epsilon}\delta(\dot{a}\phi\eta)$ .

 $\kappa \beta \angle \eta'$ : the interpretation of these figures, which seem to give the total of the arourae described in ll. 3-7, is uncertain, for they have a line above them such as is found elsewhere in the papyrus above a series of fractions, e.g. xi. 10, but not above numerals referring to arourae. The relationship of ll. 3-7 to ll. 1-2 and 8 sqq. is very obscure, but regarded as

fractions the figures are still more difficult.

8. [a] σφρα(γίs): the restoration of the missing figure is certain, not only from the position of the entry at the beginning of the list (cf. iii. 4) but from Col. vi, where a σφρα(γίε) η έστ(ι) ιζ σ φρα(γίε) occurs in connexion with the south γείτων of the 4th σφραγίε.

ενειλ() is perhaps for έν είλ(υμένη): ίλύω meaning to cover with slime is quoted by Hesychius. ἐνειλ(ημμένη) and ἐνειλ(ημένη) are unsatisfactory. σπόρφ is to be connected with (apovpai), not with the preceding words; cf. iii. 5.

12. μετόχ(ου) is more probable than μετόχ(ων) here and in l. 24, since Ἰσίων Πανεφρέμμεως

(l. 19) seems to be meant.

13. Τεκνάνις λεγομ(ένη) διώρυξ: neither this canal nor that called Φαγήους (v. 17), or Φακήους (v. 21), was known previously. For ων [τὸ κατακ( ) cf. iii. 10, xi. 9. The abbreviation κατακ() perhaps stands for κατά κεφαλήν, which is used e.g. in Arist. Pol. 2. 10. 7 in the sense of κατ ἄνδρα. Cf. P. Tebt. 343. 5 and 88, where ἀκεφάλο(ν) in a survey-list apparently

means 'nondescript', 'unclassified

16. βορρα ή ἐχο(μένη) σφρα(γίε) means not the 2nd or any other σφραγίε adjoining the 1st, but the plot described in ll. 18 sqq.; cf. l. 21, where νότ(ου) ή ἐπάνω σφρα(γίε) refers back to the plot described in ll. 14-7, both plots being comprised in the 1st σφραγίε. Similarly in iii. 15 ἀπηλ(ιώτου) ή ἐχο(μένη) σφρα(γίε) corresponds to λιβὸς ή ἐπάν[ω σφρα(γίε) in the γείτονες of the next plot described; cf. also xi. 16 and 19, where ή ἐπάνω σφραγίς refers in each case to the preceding holding. This, the ordinary use of σφραγίε, which occurs throughout 918 in describing the yeiroves of the individual holdings to express the separate parcels, must be distinguished from its use to denote the larger areas which had numbers, and contained several σφραγίδεs in the narrower sense. Where, as e. g. in xi. 6, ή έξης or ή ἐπάνω σφρα(γίs) occurs in the description of a numbered σφραγίs as a whole, it refers to another numbered σφραγίε, not to an individual holding.

18. For eys(aivovous) cf. P. Tebt. 84. 91 and note.

iii. 3. For the occurrence of an angular sign before ἀνὰ μέσον cf. P. Tebt. 86. 32. In v. I it takes the shape of a wavy line.

5.  $\sigma\pi(\delta\rho\varphi)$ : cf. ii. 8, where  $\sigma\pi\delta\rho\varphi$  is written out. The missing figure of the arourae assessed at  $5\frac{1}{4}$  artabae is supplied by the arithmetic  $(10\frac{1}{8} = 1 + 9\frac{1}{8})$ , and confirmed by the details concerning the 2nd  $\sigma \phi_{payls}$  given in iii. 17-v. 14, since two mentions of  $\frac{1}{2}$  aroura at that rate occur. The rate at which the  $9\frac{1}{8}$  arourae were assessed (437 artabae) is restored from 1. 13, &c.

11-2. The restorations of the proper names are derived from an entry in Col. iv, where I aroura belonging to these three persons is described. Berid mos is not improbable, but there is no likelihood of a connexion between this name, which ought to be Graeco-

Egyptian, and Benjamin.

v. 17. Though the ω of συνώρ(ια) is for the most part lost in a lacuna, this spelling is confirmed by συνώρ(ια) 'Iβ. 'Aργ. which occurs in Col. vii.

21. ἐχομ(ἐνη) is superfluous and should be omitted, or perhaps altered to προκειμένη, since the canals called Φαγήουs (l. 17) and Φακήουs are obviously identical.

xi. 1. In the fractions of the aroura after  $\frac{1}{18}$  we should expect  $\frac{1}{32}$   $\frac{1}{64}$ ;  $\lambda\beta$  can be read, but the two following letters are irreconcilable with  $\xi\delta$ . The following a may be for  $d(r\dot{a})$ , but the sign for  $\pi\nu\rho\rho\bar{\nu}$   $d\rho\tau\dot{a}\beta as$  would not fill the lacuna. At the end of the line er[. is

perhaps  $\epsilon \tau [\dot{a} \gamma (\eta \sigma a \nu), sc. \dot{\epsilon} \nu \dot{\epsilon} \pi o \chi \hat{\eta}; cf. xiii. 17.$ 

2-5. The punctuation of these lines is not clear, and to what figure & in each case refers is uncertain. The land 'leased in the 3rd year' (l. 2) corresponds to that described in ll. 12-3, the 1 aroura in l. 4 to that in l. 18, and the 6½ arourae in l. 5 to the 6½ arourae in l. 15. The 18½ arourae in l. 3 would be expected to correspond to the figure in l. 13, but the vestiges following (ἀρουραι) there suit λ, not ι.

9.  $\eta$  before  $\sigma\phi\rho\sigma(\gamma is)$  is probably  $\dot{\eta}$ , not the number of the  $\sigma\phi\rho\sigma\gamma is$ , since there is no

stroke above it such as occurs with the numbers of the opposites elsewhere.

11.  $\dot{\eta}$   $\dot{\epsilon}\chi o(\mu \dot{\epsilon} \nu \eta)$  clearly refers to the land described in ll. 12-7; the following word is not  $\sigma \phi \rho \sigma(\gamma i \epsilon)$ , and to read  $\iota \beta$  [ $\sigma \phi \rho \sigma(\gamma i \epsilon)$ ] is unsatisfactory, for the individual holdings comprised in the numbered  $\sigma \phi \rho \sigma \gamma i \partial \epsilon$  do not themselves have numbers; cf. ii. 16, note. Moreover after  $\iota$ ..[..] is a horizontal line indicating  $\mu$ , or merely a mark of abbreviation, but not occurring in the abbreviation of  $\sigma \phi \rho \sigma \gamma i \epsilon$  elsewhere in the papyrus.

21. It is not clear whether  $\epsilon \bar{\gamma}$  means  $5\frac{1}{3}$  (arourae) or is an abbreviated word.  $\frac{1}{3}$  is not a common fraction of the aroura, but occurs in Rev. Laws lx. 23. It is not possible to read

 $\angle$  for  $\epsilon$  and connect the fractions with the preceding  $\delta$ .

#### 919. ADVANCE OF DUES ON A FREIGHT.

14.5 × 10.3 cm.

A. D. 182?

Memorandum of an advance of 160 drachmae to a ship's captain for customsdues to be paid at Memphis on a cargo of olives and honey. The 22nd year in which the document is dated probably refers to the reign of Commodus.

Κβ (ἔτους) Παῦνι κζ
ἐκ λόγ(ου) κλή(ρου?) Ἰουλ(ίου) Σαραπ(ίωνος).
Καλλέα κυβερνήτ(η) εἰς τέλη
Μέμφεως τῶν ἐμ[β]ληθέντ(ων)
5 αὐτῶι ἐλαίας Προσωπ(ιτῶν) ο
κομισθ(έντων) ἀπ' ἸΑρσινοείτ(ου) καὶ
μόνη Κλαυδία Ἰσιδώρα
μέλιτος κερα(μίων) ζ καὶ σεβειτίων κ ὧν λόγο(ν)
10 δώσει (δραχμαὶ) ρξ.
δό(τω) λόγ(ον) Σαραπ(ίωνι) (δραχμῶν) ρξ.
4. θ οι εμββηθεντ(ων) corr. from τ.

'The 22nd year, Pauni 27, on account of the holding (?) of Julius Sarapion. Paid to Calleas, pilot, for the taxes of Memphis upon his freight of 90 Prosopite measures of olives carried from the Arsinoite nome, and 7 jars and 20 boxes of honey for Claudia Isidora solely, 160 drachmae, of which he shall render an account.

Let him render an account to Sarapion of 160 drachmae.'

2. κλή(ρου) is not quite satisfactory, but κλη(ρουόμου) or -ων is unlikely owing to 1. 11, where a Sarapion is apparently mentioned whom it is natural to identify with the Julius Sarapion here.

3-4. The τέλη Μέμφεως are analogous to the duty called λιμένος Μέμφεως in Fayûm customs-receipts, e.g. P. Fay. 69, 72, &c.; cf. P. Brit. Mus. III. 1107 and Preisigke's recent discussion of this tax in P. Strassb. 1. p. 50. In P. Hibeh 110. 24, of the third century B. c.,

only a small sum for γραμματικόν was paid at Memphis upon a freight of corn.

- 5. We suppose Προσωπ(ίτης) to be a measure deriving its name from the Prosopite nome, like the <sup>'</sup>Οξυρυχίτης (P. Brit. Mus. III. 1170. verso 79, &c.) from Oxyrhynchus. Προσωπ(ίτιδος) might also be read in agreement with ἐλαίας (cf. e. g. 116. 11 μέτρον 'Ομβειτικοῦ φοίνικο(ς)), in which case the measure is not specified; but apart from that small difficulty it is unlikely that olives from the Prosopite nome in the Delta would be taken to Memphis via the Fayûm. The figure at the end of the line is doubtful; it is more like q than ε, but does not greatly resemble either. A figure of some kind however seems essential.
- 8. σεβειτίω»: cf. P. Par. 10. 22 σεβίτιον γυναικείον. The word is supposed to be a diminutive of σεβίς, which according to Hesychius =  $\pi v \xi$ is.
  - 11. Σαραπ(ίωνι): the letters are damaged but fairly secure.

# (f) ACCOUNTS

#### 920. ACCOUNT OF FOOD.

13.9 × 13.8 cm.

Late second or early third century.

A short list of various articles, largely comestibles, with the prices paid for them. This is written on the verso of another money account of which parts of two columns remain, the beginnings and ends of lines respectively being lost. The items in the second column are dated in Phamenoth and Pharmouthi of the 21st year of an emperor whom from the handwriting we should suppose to be Antoninus or Commodus; the document on the verso, which is in a different hand, is unlikely to be very much later.

Διζύφων (ἀρτάβη) α (δραχμαί) κ (δυόβολοι),
σινάπεως μ(έτρα?) ζ (δραχμαί) ις,
πλατακίων (δραχμαί) κδ (ὀβολός),
λεπτῶν (δραχμαί) η,
5 σαλώτια (δραχμαί) β (δυόβολοι),

έλεαι	(δραχμαί) ιθ (δυόβολοι),
πλατακίων	(δραχμαί) μη,
στρουτ(οῦ) μεγάλ(ου)	(δραχμαὶ) η,
σφαι[ρ]ίων	(δραχμαί) κδ,
ο πλατακίων	(δραχμαϊ) νς,
σφαιρίων	(δραχμαί) νβ,
is λόγ(ον) ἀραβῷ(νοs) στρουτ(οῦ)	(δραχμαί) ιβ [
<b>ρ</b> ΄οῶν	$(δραχμαὶ)$ $\epsilon$ [

- 1. διζύφων Ραρ. 3. First a of πλατακιών corr. 6. l. ἐλαῖαι. 8. l. στρουθ(οῦ); so in l. 12.
- 1. διζύφων: cf. Anth. Pal. ix. 503 Οὐκ ἀλόγως εν διζύφοις δύναμίν τινα θείαν είναι έφην. χθες γουν δίζυφον εν χρονίφ ηπιάλφ κάμνοντι τεταρταίφ περιήψα, και γένονεν ταχέως, οία κρότων, ύγιής. διζύφοις and δίζυφον have been commonly rejected (διζύθοις Erasm., ζιζύφοις (cf. Geop. x. 44 ζίζυφα εἰς οἰνόμελι φυλάττεται) Bapt. Pius, &c., ζωυφίοις Toup, 'genuina vox nondum reperta ' Stadtmüller), but are now confirmed by the papyrus. Δίζυφον is apparently another form of ζίζυφον, the fruit of the zizyphus or jujube-tree; cf. e.g. Pliny, H.N. 15. 14. § 47.

2.  $\mu(\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho a)$ : or perhaps  $\dot{\mu}(\acute{\epsilon}\tau\iota a)$ : the abbreviation consists of a  $\mu$  with a small  $\acute{\epsilon}$  written above and somewhat to the right of it.

- 3. πλατάκιον is a (new) diminutive of πλάταξ, which, according to Athen. 309 a, was an Alexandrian name of the fish κορακίνος.
- 4. For λεπτών cf. P. Strassb. 40. 48 τὰ έξ ἔθους διδόμενα λεπτά...; what exactly is meant is not clear.

5. σαλώτια: the word is unknown.

- 8. στρουθός μέγας or μεγάλη means an ostrich, but ostriches can hardly have been purchased for 8 drachmae. Perhaps this was a part payment; cf. l. 12, where 12 drachmae are paid as earnest money for στρουτ(οῦ). In P. Leipzig 97. xxviii. 18 and 20, xxix. 19 and 21 occur entries of an artaba els τὰ στρουθών.
- 9. opapia are probably sweetmeats, so called from their shape; cf. Vita MS. S. Simeonis Sali σιλίγνια και σφαιρία και όψάρια.

## 921. INVENTORY OF PROPERTY.

34.3 X 14.4 cm.

· Third century.

A list of various articles, chiefly of dress; cf. 109, 741, P. Tebt. 406, P. Gen. 80, &c. The list is on the verso of a lengthy third-century account, of which the beginnings of lines are lost throughout, mostly concerning measurements of buildings, &c., and mentioning different kinds of πήχεις—ἀπλοῖ, καμαρωτικοί (or -ωτοί), and  $\hat{\epsilon}\mu\beta\alpha\delta\circ\ell$ : e.g.  $\hat{\epsilon}\pi\hat{\iota}$   $\tau\delta$ ]  $\alpha(\hat{\nu}\tau\delta)$   $\hat{\alpha}\pi\lambda\circ\hat{\iota}$   $\pi\hat{\eta}\chi(\hat{\epsilon}\iota\hat{s})$   $\chi\pi\theta\angle\varsigma'\iota'\beta'$ ,  $\hat{\omega}\nu$  καμαρωτικο $\hat{\iota}$  |  $\sigma\nu\delta$ ,  $\circ\hat{\iota}$ ] λοι $\pi(ol)$   $\pi \eta \chi(\epsilon \iota s)$  υκε $\mathcal{L}_{5}$ 'ίβ'.  $\pi \eta \chi \epsilon \iota s$  καμαρωτικοί are not otherwise attested; the form έμβαδοί for έμβαδικοί occurs in Heron, De Mensuris, p. 314. Mention is made of πήγματος γουβεναρίων ἐρικίνων, συμψελίων, and καινῶν πλακίων. At the bottom is an entry concerning κ]εράμια, followed by the signature Αὐρήλιο[s] Σαρᾶς ἐσημ(ειωσάμην), part of a date, and . . .] ἐπιδέδωκα.

	Τὰ ἀποκίμενα παρὰ ἀρσινόη	ν·		έπικάρσιον καινδν	α,
	περιβολάδια έρεᾶ	γ,	15	σινδόνια σκιωτά	β,
	στρώματα σ. ικιανα	γ,		κολόβια τριβακὰ	δ,
	σουρικοπάλλιον	α,		άναβολάδια	γ,
5	ίμάτιον λευκόν	α,		βαλανάριον	α,
	κολόβια σμάλλεα	δ,		σινδόνιον παχύ	α,
	μαφόρτιον λευκόν	α,	20	κερπικάρια τριβακ(ὰ)	β,
	κερπίκαρια έρεα Καλλέ(ου)	β		σινδόνιν Κυνοπολ(ίτου) τριβ(ακόν)	α,
	καὶ λινᾶ,			Άφροδίτη,	
10	περίζωμα	α,		ξέσται β,	
	σαβανοφακιάριον μει(κρόν)	α,		καὶ ἐν τῷ πυρ{ι}γίσκῳ	
	σανανοφακιάρι(ον) Θαήσι(os)	α,	25	μύστρα,	
	<b>ἄλλο τριβακ</b> δυ	α,		πίπερας.	

- 8. καλλε(ου) inserted later: the final letter has a stroke above it.

  12. l. σαβανοφακιάρι(ου).

  16. δ written through γ.

  24. κω ο πυριγισκω above the line.
- 'Articles deposited with Arsinoë:—3 woollen wraps, 3... coverings, 1 outer cloak, 1 white mantle, 4 woollen (?) shirts, 1 white veil, 2 woollen pillows belonging to Calleas, and some linen ones, 1 girdle, 1 small face-cloth, 1 face-cloth belonging to Thaësis, 1 ditto, worn, 1 new cross-band, 2 cambrics with shaded stripes, 4 worn shirts, 3 shawls, 1 bathing-bag (?), 1 thick cambric, 2 worn pillows, 1 Cynopolite cambric, worn, an Aphrodite, 2 cups; and in the casket some spoons, some pepper.'
  - 3.  $\sigma$ . ikiawa is perhaps a geographical adjective; the first letter may be a.
  - 4. σουρικοπάλλιον: usually spelled σουβρικοπάλλιον; cf. B. G. U. 327. 7, C. P. R. I. p. 124.
- 6. σμάλλεα is possibly to be connected with μαλλός: cf. the collateral forms μαρίλη σμαρίλη, μάραγνα σμάραγνα, &c.; but there seems to be no other trace of the spelling with an initial σ in the case of μαλλός.
- 8. κερπικάρια = cervicalia; the word is found in the form κερβικάρια in a similar list published by Wessely in C. P. R. I. p. 125, and in B. G. U. 814. 11. We interpret Καλλέ(ου) as a proper name on the analogy of Θαήσι(ος) in l. 12.
  - 11. σαβανοφακιάριον is a new compound. σαβάνιον occurs in P. Gen. 80. 4.
- 14. ἐπικάρσιον: cf. C. P. R. I. 21. 19 σουδάριον [ἐπικ]άρσιον and 27. 9 παλλίολον γλοι[ὸν ἐπ]ικάρσιον.
- 15. σκιωτά: cf. Arrian, *Peripl. Mar. Rubr.* p. 13 ζώναι σκιωταί, explained to be variegated girdles. σικιωτεν in P. Tebt. 413. 11 is perhaps for σκιωτόν.
- 17. ἀναβολάδια occur also in 109. 9. How they differed from περιβολάδια is not clear.
- 18.  $\beta a \lambda a m a \rho i o \nu$  is apparently novel; the word may mean a towel or perhaps a bag carried by a person going to the bath like  $\pi \rho \delta s$   $\beta a \lambda a \nu \hat{s} o \nu$  in 903. 29.

24.  $\pi \nu \rho \gamma i \sigma \kappa \phi$  seems to be the word intended, though there is something between the  $\rho$  and  $\gamma$ . The surface of the papyrus was faulty here, and this may have disconcerted the writer.

26. πίπεραs is apparently a form of πέπερις: cf. Alex. Trall. 1. p. 67 πιπερόγαρον for πεπερόγαρον.

#### 922. ACCOUNT OF HORSES.

31.1 × 21.7 cm.

Late sixth or early seventh century.

This document contains particulars concerning a number of horses and other  $\zeta\hat{\varphi}\alpha$ , how they had been disposed of, changes effected by sale and purchase, and losses through decease. The use to which these animals were put is not stated, but some of them may well have been employed in the  $\partial\xi\hat{\nu}s$   $\partial\rho\partial\mu\sigma s$  (cf. 900. 6, note), or perhaps the  $\partial\eta\mu\partial\sigma\iota\sigma s$   $\kappa\ell\rho\kappa\sigma s$  (145. 2). The popularity of horse-racing at this period seems to have led to the introduction of foreign breeds and variation of qualities; one of the horses here enumerated came from Constantinople (l. 15), and several unknown technical terms or epithets occur.

The sheet of papyrus is so made up that the recto of a strip added along one side coincides with the verso of the remainder, and on this surface, which is thus mostly verso, the account is written. On the back at a distance from each other are two semi-effaced and illegible lines in which we can discover no connexion with the main document.

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+ Τὰ δύο ἱππάρια "Ασκλου ἐδόθη εἰς τὸν ἱππικ(όν).

τὸ ἱππάριν "Ωφεως ἐδόθ(η) εἰς τὸ ἄνω στάβλον.

τὸ ἱππάριν τοῦ ἄρχο(ντος) ἐδόθ(η) εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ στάβλον.

τὸ ἱππάρ(ιον) Σπανίας ἐδόθ(η) εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ στάβλον.

5 τὸ ἱππάρ(ιον) τοῦ ᾿Αρσινοίτου ἐδόθ(η) εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ στάβλον.

τὸ μικρὸν λευκὸν ἱππάριν ἐδόθ(η) εἰς τὸν ἱππικ(όν).

Πατρίκιον καὶ τὸν μικρὸν γεράτην δεδώκαμεν

ὑπὲρ τοῦ πυρροῦ ἵππου τοῦ ἄνω στάβλου.

τὸ λευκὸν φοράδιν καὶ πέλατον δεδώκαμεν

ὁπὲρ τοῦ ἀποθανόντος μικροῦ ἵππου.

τὸν κέντινον πεπράκαμεν καὶ ἡγοράσαμεν

τὸν μικρὸν μελανὸν τὸν ἐν τῷ στάβλφ.

τὸν ἵππον τὸν λεγόμενον Πλὲβ πεπράκαμεν

ὑπὲρ τριῶν νομισμάτων καὶ ταῦτα ἔχει ὁ κύριος Φιλόξενο(ς).
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15 τὸ ἱππάριν Κωνσταντίνου πόλεως πεπράκαμεν ὑπὲρ [νο(μισμάτων)] γ καὶ ταῦτα ἔχει ὁ κύριος Φιλόξενος.

τὰ  $\beta$  ζ $\hat{\varphi}$ [α τ] $\hat{\eta}$ ς 'Hρακλέους καὶ τὸ ζ $\hat{\varphi}$ ον Οὐρεει $\hat{\eta}$ βτ πεπρά[κ]αμεν ὑπ(ὲρ) νο(μισμάτων) ε $\beta$ ΄ καὶ ταῦτα ἐδό $\theta$ ( $\eta$ ) τ $\hat{\varphi}$  αὐτ $\hat{\varphi}$ .

 $\overline{\tau \delta}$  ζ $\hat{\varphi}$ ον το $[\hat{v}]$  ἄρχο(ντος) καὶ τὸ τοῦ ὑδροφόρου καὶ ὁμουργὸς  $\hat{a}$ παίθαναν.

τὸ φοράδιν τὸ ἀποθανὼν ὑποκάτω Μηνᾶ μειζοτέρ(ου). ἡγοράσθη ἀπὸ "Ωφεως ζῷα τρία νο(μισμάτων) ηγ΄, καὶ ἀπὸ Παλλώσεως ἄλλο ζῷον νο(μισμάτων) γ.

and hand ήπέθανεν ή δνοθήλ(εια) των Καρανεωτών.

25 τὴν ἄλλην ὀνοθήλιαν τῶν αὐτῶν Καραν $\epsilon$ ωτῶν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀπὸ  $\Lambda$ ουκίου

καὶ τὴν μικρὰν ἐπώλυσα καὶ ἔλαβα τέσσαρα νο(μίσματα) ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν.

1. δῦο Pap. ἔπ'παρια Pap.; so in ll. 2–6, 15. ἔπ'πικ(ον) Pap.; so in l. 6. 5. αρσινοῖτου Pap. 7. π of πατρικιον corr. (?). 8. ἔπερ Pap.; so in ll. 10, 14, 16, and 26. ἔπ'που Pap.; so in ll. 10, 13. 17. Above the last 5 letters of συρεειηβτ there is a horizontal stroke. 19. ὕδροφορου Pap. 20. l. ἀπέθανον. 21. l. ἀποθανόν. ϋποκατω Pap. 24. l. ἀπέθανεν. 25. την in both cases corr. from η, and final ν of αλλην and ονοθηλιαν inserted. 26. l. ἐπώλησα.

'The two horses from Asclou were delivered to the groom. The horse from Ophis was delivered to the upper stable. The horse of the magistrate was delivered to the same stable. The horse from Spania was delivered to the same stable. The horse from the Arsinoite nome was delivered to the same stable. The small white horse was delivered to the groom. I gave Patricius (?) and the small... for the bay horse of the upper stable. I gave the white mare and the... for the small horse which died. I sold the... and bought the small black one which is in the stable. I sold the horse called Pleb for 3 solidi, which the revered Philoxenus has. I sold the two asses (?) from Constantinople for 3 solidi, which the revered Philoxenus has. I sold the two asses (?) from Heracleopolis and the ass from Oureeiebt for  $5\frac{2}{3}$  solidi, which were paid to the same. The ass of the magistrate and that of the water-carrier and its mate are dead. The mare which died belonged to Menas the official. Three asses were bought from Ophis for  $8\frac{1}{3}$  solidi, and another from Pallosis for 3 solidi. The she-ass of the Karaneots is dead. The other she-ass of the said Karaneots and that belonging to the people from Lucii and the small one I sold, and received 4 solidi for them.'

1. "Ασκλου on the analogy of "Ωφεως, Σπανίας (which occurred in 190), &c., should be a place-name.

7. Πατρίκιον here appears to be a proper name rather than a title. The paragraphus after l. 6 indicates that iππικ(όν) ends the sentence (cf. l. 1), so that Patricius does not refer to the groom. Perhaps the name of a horse is meant; cf. l. 13 and note. γεράτην may possibly mean 'aged'; cf. the late form γερατία. The τ might be read as γ.

9. πέλατον: or πελαγον, which is no easier. For φοράδι(ο)ν cf. Hesych. φοράδες al βήλειαι ἵπποι.

11. réptivos is an unknown word.

13. ἵππον τὸν λεγόμενον Πλέβ: cf. 140. 22 ζώου τοῦ λεγομένου Περισσοῦ. Ις Πλέβ con-

nected with plebeius (cf. Harpinion in l. 7 and note)?

17. ζφα in this context more probably signifies asses or mules than oxen (cf. P. Amh. 146. 3 βοϊκά ζφα). In P. Amh. 150. 23-4 χόρ(του) ξηρ(οῦ) πεφορτ(ισ)μένα ζφα πεντήκοντα asses are likely to be meant; cf. 140. 22 τοῦ ἐμοῦ ζφου in a contract concerning a στάβλον. According to Sophocles' Lex. ζφον was not used of horses.

19. δμουργός does not seem to occur elsewhere, but δμοεργής and δμοεργία are attested in

late writers. δμουργοῦ was perhaps intended.

24-5. Καρανεωτών is not likely to mean natives of Karanis in the Fayûm, though cf. l. 5 Αρσινοίτου. There may well have been a village called Καράνεια nearer to Oxyrhynchus.

# (g) PRAYERS

#### 923. PETITION TO A PAGAN DEITY.

20.1 × 8.4 cm.

Late second or early third century.

A petition addressed to the deity of some Oxyrhynchite temple, perhaps Sarapis, apparently with a view to prevent the departure of a certain person to Alexandria for purposes of sacrifice, and to cause him to sacrifice at the Oxyrhynchite Sarapeum instead; but owing to the incompleteness of the first six lines, where the construction is uncertain, the precise object of the prayer is obscure; cf. 1. 6, note. Similar petitions or questions addressed to Graeco-Egyptian deities are extant in P. Fay. 137-8, B. G. U. 229-30, Wessely, Script. Gr. Spec. no. 26, and P. Brit. Mus. 1267 d (Archiv, IV. p. 559); cf. also 925. The papyrus is broken at the top, but it is not certain that any lines are missing.

[....]. ιω μεγαλ[.....
[.....].. σε 'Απιων[....
τ...[.]ι... νη 'Εξάκων . [...
[....]. τισαι αὐτοῖς ὅστε

5 [......]ιεις αὐτοῖς τὸν
μ[....]ν δν εἴασαν εἰς
θυσίαν σοῦ τοῦ κυρίου μὴ
κατενέγκαι εἰς 'Αλεξάνδρειαν, ἐπεὶ κατ' ἄγνοιαν

10 τῶν φροντίδων αὐ-

τῶν ἠργάσατο, ἀλλὰ ἔτερον ἀντ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐκεῖνον θῦσαι ἐν τῷ ἐν 'Οξυρυγχείτη Ζαραπείφ. τοῦτο ἡμεῖν
15 δός.

1. Perhaps μεγάλ[φ, for which cf. e.g. P. Fay. 137 beginning Σοκωρνωκουνὶ θεῶι με(γά)λ(ωι) μεγάλωι. Line 1 here may be the beginning of the petition, but [τφ κυ]ρίφ (cf. P. Fay. 138. 1 κύριοι Διόσκουροι) is unsuitable; the traces of the letter before the supposed ι rather suggest γ οτ τ.

2. The letter before  $\sigma_{\epsilon}$  may be  $\iota$ ,  $\nu$ , or  $\nu$ .

3. Unless Εξάκων is nominative, the following letter must be τ, which is possible.

4. Possibly [χρημ]ατίσαι.

5. Jees seems to be the termination of a future verb, though this does not yield

a satisfactory construction.  $\nu$  or  $\pi$  can be read in place of  $\iota$ .

6. Possibly  $\mu[\delta\sigma\chi_0]\nu$ , in which case exceiver in 1. 12 is the object, not the subject, of  $\delta\tilde{\nu}\sigma\alpha\iota$ . But it seems hardly likely that the petition should be merely concerned with the place where a calf was to be sacrificed, and the question whether a person was to make a journey was frequently asked of an oracle; cf. P. Fay. 137–8 and P. Tebt. 284. 2 sqq., and for a Christian parallel 925. We prefer therefore to suppose that  $\tau \delta \nu \mu[...]\nu$  is a personal name or description.

8. κατενέγκαι: less probably κατενέγκη.

#### 924. GNOSTIC CHARM.

9 x 7.6 cm.

Fourth century.

A charm for warding off fever, similar to B. G. U. 956 (edited with a commentary by Wilcken in *Archiv*, I. pp. 420-7) and P. Tebt. 275, but Christian instead of pagan; cf. B. G. U. 954-5. The Deity is not addressed under any particular name at the beginning, but the essentially Gnostic character of the charm is shown at the end by the mystical symbols and the occurrence of the title Abrasax, a common Gnostic name of the Supreme Being.

σου πρώτον καὶ κατά την πίσ-10 τιν αὐτῆς ὅτι δούλη ἐστὶν τοῦ  $\theta(\epsilon o)$ ῦ τοῦ ζῶντος, καὶ ῖνα τὸ ὄνομά σου ή διὰ παντὸς  $\{\eta\}$   $\delta \in \delta \circ \xi \alpha \sigma \mu \in \nu[o\nu.]$ 

On the verso

'Aρί $\langle \alpha \rangle$ s.

2. 1. 'Αρίαν . . . της έφημερινής. υ of επιημερινου corr. from σ. 3-4. Ι. της καθημερινής . . . της νυκτερινής. 16. l. ayıov.

'Verily guard and protect Aria from ague by day and quotidian ague and ague by night and slight fever and ... All this thou wilt graciously do in accordance with thy will first and with her faith, since she is a servant of the living God, and in order that thy name may be glorified for ever.'

1. η μήν: cf. B. G. U. 229. 3 and 230. 3 η μέν σοθήσωι (sic).

2. επιημερινόs is contrasted with νυκτερινός (l. 4), καθημερινός with e. g. τριταΐος; cf.

P. Tebt. 275. 21, &c.

6. Above the  $\tau$  of  $\lambda \epsilon \pi \tau \sigma \nu$  is what looks like a  $\pi$ , but in any case seems to be superfluous. The line cannot have proceeded καὶ ἀπὸ ἐπα|φῆς, for though ἐπαφή is coupled with lepà νόσος in contracts relating to the purchase of slaves, who are guaranteed to be αναπόριφοι πλην lepās νόσου και ἐπαφης (e.g. in 98. 19), the term does not signify a disease, as will shortly be demonstrated by Prof. Kübler.

7-8.  $[\pi]$  of  $\xi$  is very doubtful, for the writer elsewhere divides words between two lines correctly, and the supposed  $\rho$  might be  $\iota$ ,  $\tau$ , or  $\phi$ , while of the supposed  $\alpha$  only the

slightest vestige remains.

10-11. Cf. B. G. U. 954. 8 έμου του δούλου σου; δούλος του θεού του ζώντος occurs in

Daniel (Theodot.) 6. 20.

15-7.  $\overline{v}$  and  $\overline{\chi}\overline{v}$  are written larger than the rest. The use of the vowels is very common in magical formulae, but it is curious that here they are six, not seven in number, e being omitted, unless indeed it was written to the left of α or η, where the edge of the papyrus is damaged.

## 925. CHRISTIAN PRAYER.

5.6 × 9.6 cm.

Fifth or sixth century.

This prayer is a Christian counterpart of the pagan petitions to the oracle of which 928 is a specimen. The writer asks whether it was the divine will that he should make a certain journey and whether success would attend him. Presumably this prayer was to be deposited in some church, just as the similar pagan documents were left in the temples; cf. P. Fay. 137. introd. It is written in a clear cursive of the fifth or sixth century.

+ O θ(εδ)ς δ παντοκράτωρ δ άγιος δ άληθινδς φιλάνθρωπος καὶ δημιουργός δ π(ατ)ηρ τοῦ κ(υρίο)υ (καὶ) σω(τη)ρ(ο)ς ημῶν Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ φανέρωσον μοι την 5 παρὰ σοὶ ἀλήθιαν εἰ βούλη με ἀπελθεῖν εἰς Χιοὺτ ἢ εὐρίσκω σε σὺν ἐμοὶ πράττοντα (καὶ) εὐμενῆν. γένσιτο, qθ.

'O God almighty, holy, true, and merciful, Creator, Father of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, reveal to me thy truth, whether it be thy will that I go to Chiout, and whether I shall find thee aiding me and gracious. So be it; Amen.'

1-4. Cf. B. G. U. 954. 1-3.

7.  $q\theta$  is the common symbol for  $d\mu\eta\nu$ , 99 being the sum of the numerical equivalents of the letters.

# (A) PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE

926. INVITATION TO DINNER.

2.9 X 4.9 cm.

Third century.

This and the following papyrus (927) are further examples of the formal invitations to feasts of which we have previously published examples from Oxyrhynchus (110-1, 524, 747) and the Fayûm (P. Fay. 132), but which curiously enough have not yet appeared in other collections. The occasion of the party in the present case was the ἐπίκρισις of the person in whose name the invitation was issued, i. e. his admission to the privileged class who were wholly or in part exempt from the poll-tax; cf. P. Oxy. II. pp. 217 sqq. The normal age of candidates for ἐπίκρισις was about 13 years, since on reaching

14 they became liable to the tax; the formality thus heralded the attainment of puberty and the entry upon the duties of a citizen. This invitation is peculiar in having upon the back what seems to be an address, which former instances have lacked; the address, however, is in a different hand and doubtfully deciphered, and possibly it is not really connected with the note on the recto.

Καλεί σε 'Ηραθέων δειπνήσαι είς την έπίκρισιν αύτοῦ ἐν τῆ οἰκία αὐτ[ο]ῦ αὔριον ήτις 5 ἐστὶν ε ἀπὸ ὥρ(ας) [θ.]

On the verso

and hand Χαιλαμώνι 'Ηλασίου.

#### 6. l. Χαιράμμωνι (?).

- 'Heratheon invites you to dine with him, on the occasion of his examination, at his house to-morrow, the 5th, at the 9th hour.'
  - 5. The abbreviation of  $\delta \rho \alpha s$  consists of an  $\omega$  through which a  $\rho$  is drawn.

#### 927. Invitation to a Wedding.

3.2 × 6.2 cm.

Third century.

A formal invitation to a wedding, by which no doubt a feast in celebration of the wedding is to be understood; cf. 926. introd., and 111, 747, and P. Fay. 132, which are also invitations to wedding feasts. The writing is on the verso of a strip cut from two documents which have been gummed together; one of these apparently mentioned the emperor Alexander Severus, so that the invitation may be referred to the middle or latter part of the third century.

Καλί σαι Έρως είς γάμους ήτις έστὶν αύριον κθ ἀπὸ ώρας θ.

1. l. σε. 2-3. l. αύριον ήτις έστίν: cf. e. g. 926. 4-5.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;Eros invites you to a wedding to-morrow the 29th at the 9th hour.'

## 928. LETTER OF LUCIUS.

10.2 × 7.3 cm.

Second or third century.

In this kindly letter written by Lucius to Apolinarius, who is addressed as 'brother', the latter is warned of a plot against a girl who had lost her protector, and is asked to be friend her. The writing is across the fibres of the papyrus.

Ασυκιος Απολιναρίωι τωι άδελφωι χαίρειν. έπὶ Ζωπύρου τελευτήσαντος τῆ Ταΐδι τοῦ Άμφιθαλέος είσὶν οί 5 έπεδρεύοντες, ώμείλησας δέ μοί ποτε περὶ τούτου, φανερόν σοι ποιώ ίνα έαν δοκιμάσης ποιήσης πρίν προλημφθηναι οὐδε γάρ ὁ τοῦ 10 Σεβαστείνου μητέρα έχει. έαν ταρείχια σεαυτφ ποιη[ς] κάμοὶ κεράμιον πέμ-Ψ[ο]ν. τὰ παιδία παρ' έμοῦ καὶ 'Ισιδωρίωνος προσαγόρε[υ]ε. έρρωσθαί σε εύχομαι. 15

## On the verso

## 'Απολιναρίωι.

4. l. Θαίδι. 5. l. έφεδρεύοντες. 7. τνα Pap. 9. τ of του written over something else. 14. τσιδωρωνος Pap.

'Lucius to Apolinarius his brother, greeting. Since now that Zopyrus is dead there are persons making designs upon Thai's daughter of Amphithales, and you once had a conversation with me on this subject, I therefore inform you, in order that if you think fit you may act before she is entrapped; for the son (?) of Sebastinus has no mother either. If you are making pickled fish for yourself send me a jar too. Greet the children from me and Isidorion. I pray for your health. (Addressed) To Apolinarius.'

3. The use of the article with the proper names in ll. 3–4 is unusual, but neither  $\tau \eta \{\tau\} \theta i \delta t$  nor  $\tau \hat{\eta}$  must can be read for  $\tau \hat{\eta}$  Tails.

9. It is difficult to avoid reading  $\delta$  before  $\tau \circ \hat{v}$ , though the sentence then seems irrelevant. Without  $\delta$ , the subject of  $\delta_{\chi e i}$  is Thars.

#### 929. LETTER OF NICANOR.

 $34.5 \times 9.8$  cm. Late second or third century.

The verso had already been once used, and has been cleaned to make way for Nicanor's epistle. The original document began with a date of the 21st year of Commodus (A. D. 180), but beyond this only a few isolated letters are legible.

Νεικάνωρ Νιννάρφ τῶι ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν.
εἰδώς σου τὸ [σ]πουδεον
τὸ πρὸς πάντας καὶ
5 νῦν ἐν τοῦτό με ὑπηρετήσεις. καλῶς ποιήσεις ἀπαιτήσας Τιθόιν τὸν ναυτικὸν δύμα
καροίνου χιτῶνος
10 ἐν ῷ λίνον καὶ λέντιον τριβακόν, καὶ ἔριᾳ,

έν ῷ λίνον καὶ λέντιον τριβακόν, καὶ ἔριᾳ,
ταῦτα δὲ πάντα συνενῆι εἰς τὸν χιτῶνα τὸν καροῖνον
καὶ ἐσφραγίσθη

On the recto

25 Νιννάρφ οἰκονόμφ Άπίωνος στρα(τηγού) and hand π(αρά) Νεικάνορος.

2. χαιρεί Pap. 3. l. [σ]πουδαίον. 5. l. μοι. 12. l. συνενήν. εις . . . κα|ροινον above ll. 13-4.

γῆ λευκῆ, καὶ σὺν τού15 τφ ἄλλα δύματα πάντα, ὡς εἶναι ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ
ἀριθμῷ ἔξ, ἀποκαταστῆσαί μοι εἰς ᾿Οξυρυγχείτην
ἐξ ὧν ἔσχον τὰ προκεί20 μενα πάντα. διὸ γράφω
σοι, ἀδελφέ, ἵν᾽ εἰ ἀλλότριά
ἐστιν ἴδης, ἐρεῖς δέ μοι ἐν
τάχει περὶ τούτου.
ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὕχομ(αι).

'Nicanor to Ninnarus his brother, greeting. Knowing your goodness to all, I ask you now to do me this one service. Please demand from Titho's the sailor a garment consisting of a brown tunic, inside which was a linen cloth, a worn towel, and some wool. All these were inside the brown tunic, and it was sealed with white clay, and with it send back to me all the other garments, making the total number six, to the Oxyrhynchite nome whence I obtained all the aforesaid articles. I write therefore to you, brother, to see if they are in some one else's possession. Please tell me at once about this. I pray for your health. (Addressed) To Ninnarus steward of Apion, strategus (?), from Nicanor.'

5. ἐν τοῦτο: or perhaps ἐν τούτ(φ), but there is no other case of the confusion of o and ω in this letter.

8. δύμα for ἔνδυμα is apparently novel.

9. καροίνου seems to be for καρυίνου, 'nut-brown'; cf. Theophr. de Sensu 78 καρύίνου χρωμα έκ χλωροῦ καὶ κυανοειδοῦς.

12. συνενή: this form is the converse of the common use of ήν for ή, e.g. P. Tebt.

317. 19-20 ἐφ' ὧν ϵ[à]ν . . . ἦν.

- 17. dποκαταστήσαs, continuing the construction of dπαιτήσαs in l. 7, would have been more regular.
  - 19. έξ ων makes a bad concord with 'Οξυρυγχείτην.

25. στρα(τηγοῦ) is very doubtful.

#### 980. LETTER TO PTOLEMAEUS FROM HIS MOTHER.

15 × 9.2 cm.

Second or third century.

An interesting letter from a mother to her son, whose teacher ( $\kappa \alpha \theta \eta \gamma \eta \tau \eta s$ ) had just left him, and who was now in the charge of his  $\pi \alpha i \delta \alpha \gamma \omega \gamma \delta s$ . The writer with evident anxiety urges him to find another teacher.

[.....]υ μή δκνι μοι [γ]ράφειν καὶ περὶ δυν έ- [ὰ]ν χρείαν ἔχης. ἐντεῦ- θεν ἐλοιπήθην ἐπιγνοῦ- 5 σα παρὰ τῆς θυγατρὸς τοῦ καθηγητοῦ ἡμῶν Διογένους καταπεπλευ- κέναι αὐτόν ἡμερίμνουν γὰρ περὶ αὐτοῦ εἰδυῖα δ- 10 τι κατὰ δύν[α]μιν μέλλει σοι προσέχειν. ἐμέλησε δέ μοι πέμψαι καὶ πυθέ-

- 15 σκεις. καὶ ἔλεγεν τὸ ζῆτα, ἐμαρτύρει δὲ πολλὰ περὶ τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ σου. ὅστε οὖν, τέκνον, μελησάτω σοί τε καὶ τῷ παιδανογοῷ σου καθήκοντι καθηγητῆ σε παραβάλλειν. ἀσπάζονταί σε πολλὰ αἱ ἀδελφαί σου καὶ τὰ ἀβάσκαντα παιδία Θεωνίδος
- 25 και οι ημετεροι παντες κατ' δνομα. άσπασαι τον

σθαι περί της ύγίας σου καί έπιγνωναι τί άναγεινώτειμιώτατον παιδαγωγόν σου "Ερωτα.

In the left-hand margin

] . 
$$\tau \alpha \iota \delta$$
 . .  $\epsilon \rho \rho [...]$  . . .  $[...]$   $A\theta \partial \rho \kappa [.]$ 

On the verso

30 | Πτολεμαίφ υίωι.

## 4. l. έλυπήθην.

- '... do not hesitate to write to me about anything which you require. It grieved me to learn from the daughter of our teacher Diogenes that he had sailed, for I had no anxiety about him, knowing that he intended to look after you to the best of his ability. I took care to send and ask about your health and learn what you are reading; he said that it was the sixth book and testified at length concerning your attendant. So my son, I urge both you and your attendant to take care that you go to a suitable teacher. Many salutations are sent to you by your sisters and Theonis' children, whom the evil eye shall not harm, and by all our friends by name. Salute your esteemed attendant Eros... (Addressed)... to her son Ptolemaeus.'
- 3. ἐντεῦθεν, whether meaning 'forthwith' (e. g. P. Tebt. 378. 11 ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἔσχον) or 'therefore', is more probably to be connected with ελυπήθην than with the preceding sentence.
- 15. The subject of ελεγεν is the καθηγητής; his daughter could hardly have given this information. rò ζητα no doubt refers to Homer, and is therefore likely to denote the sixth rather than the seventh book, the Homeric books being commonly numbered by letters not figures; cf. notes on 852. Fr. 25, and 858. iii. 3-5.
  23. ἀβάσκαντα: cf. e. g. P. Fay. 126. 10 τὸ ἀβάσκαντον αὐτῆς παιδίον.

28. There is a blank space after "Epora, which indicates that this is the name of the παιδαγωγός, not the imperative of έρωτᾶν to be constructed with what follows in the margin.

29. If the letters  $\epsilon\rho\rho$  are right they no doubt belong to  $\epsilon\rho\rho\omega\sigma_0$  or  $\epsilon\rho\rho\omega\sigma_0$ , but the succeeding vestiges present difficulties. The letter next after the lacuna may be  $\theta$  or a, but neither  $\epsilon \rho \rho [\hat{\omega}\sigma]\theta a \text{ nor } \epsilon \rho \rho [\hat{\omega}\sigma]\theta(a)$   $\epsilon \delta \chi(o\mu a)$  suits, the plural  $\epsilon \rho \rho \omega \sigma \theta(\epsilon)$  is unlikely, and there is not room for έρρ ωσθαι.

#### 931. LETTER OF THEOPOMPUS TO A STRATEGUS.

Chicago.

22.9 × 10.2 cm.

Second century.

A respectful letter to a strategus of the upper Sebennyte nome (cf. l. 15, note) from a friend, accompanying the present of an ounce of purple. The fact that in 1. 8 the praefect is called κράτιστος not λαμπρότατος indicates that the letter was written before the close of the second century, and the early occurrence of the formula ἐρρῶσθαί σε... εθχομαι, which is here combined with ἔρρωσο, is noticeable; cf. 287. vi. 35, note. The papyrus was briefly described in Part I. 163.

Θεόπομπος Σαραπίωνι τῶι τιμι[ω]τάτωι χαίρειν. ώς ήθέλησας, κύριε, την οὐγκίαν τῆς πορφύρα[ς] ἔπεμ-5 ψα διὰ τοῦ κομίσαντος [τ]ὸ ἀπὸ σοῦ ἐπιστόλιον φύλακος δοθησόμενον είς την ξενίαν τηι μεικρά σε γάρ τωι κρατίστωι ηγεμόνι άκολουθείν έστοχασάμην.

> έρρωσθαί σε, κύριέ μου, σὺν τῆι κρατίστηι άδελφηι και τηι Κυρίλλη εύχομαι.

> > **ἔρρω**(σο). Φαῶφι ι€.

On the verso

01

15 Σαραπίωνι στρατηγώι Σεβεννύτου άνω τόπων π(αρά) Θεοπόμπου φίλου.

8. τηι μεικρα above the line.

6. 1. δοθησομένην.

'Theopompus to his most esteemed Sarapion, greeting. As you wished, sir, I have sent by the guard who brought the letter from you the ounce of purple to be presented at the entertainment to the little one; for I guessed that you were in attendance upon his excellency the praefect. I pray for the health of you, sir, with your excellent sister and Cyrilla. Good-bye. Phaophi 15. (Addressed) To Sarapion, strategus of the upper toparchy of the Sebennyte nome, from his friend Theopompus.'

8. The μκρά who receives presents at the ξενία (cf. Archiv, IV. p. 539) is more likely to be a youthful daughter of the praefect than of Sarapion, especially as  $\gamma i \rho$  in 1. 8 suggests that ll. 8-9 are closely connected with the preceding sentence.

15. στρατηγώι Σεβεννύτου ἄνω τόπων: usually a strategus had a whole nome under his jurisdiction, but the Arsinoite nome had two strategi for the three μερίδες. That the Sebennyte nome was in the Roman period divided for administrative purposes into two distinct halves, the upper and the lower, with Sebennytus and Pachnamounis as their respective μητροπόλεις, was already known from Ptol. Geogr. iv. 5. 21 and 23.

#### 982. LETTER OF THAÏS.

9.6 × 12 cm.

Late second century.

A letter from a woman to a relative or friend, giving him various instructions about the payment of dues and other matters relating to agriculture. The sentences are loosely constructed and the meaning in consequence not always transparent.

Θαὶς Τιγρίφ τῶι ἰδίφ χαίρειν.
ἔγραψα ᾿Απολιναρίφ ἵνα γένηται ἐν τῆ
Πέτνη ἵνα μ[ε]τρήσηι. ἐρῖ σοι δὲ ᾿Απολινάρις
πῶς τὰ θέματα καὶ τὰ δημόσια· τὸ ὄνο5 μα δ ἀν αὐτός σοι εἴπη. ἀν ἔρχη ἄφες ἀρτάβας ἔξ ἰς τοὺς σάκκους σφραγίσας λαχανοσπέρμου ἵνα πρόχιροι ὧσι, καὶ ἐὰν
δύνη ἀναβῆναι ἵνα ἐπιγνοῖς τὸν ὄνον.
ἀσπάζεταί σε Σαραποδώρα κ(αὶ) Σαβῖνος. τὰ
το χοιρίδια χωρὶς μοῦ μὴ πώλι.
ἔρρωσο.

1. θαῖς . . . τοιω Pap. 2. των Pap.; so in ll. 3, 7, and 8. 7. εα Pap. 8. ονο Pap. 9. κ' Pap.

'That's to her own Tigrius, greeting. I wrote to Apolinarius to come to Petne for the measuring. Apolinarius will tell you how the deposits and public dues stand: the name will be that which he will tell you himself. If you come, take out six artabae of vegetable-seed, sealing it in the sacks in order that they may be ready, and if you can go up to find out the ass, do so. Sarapodora and Sabinus salute you. Do not sell the young pigs without me. Good-bye.

3. It appears from 88. 4 and elsewhere that  $\Pi \acute{\epsilon} \tau \eta$  is indeclinable.

4-5. The construction and punctuation of these two lines are not clear. Apparently a verb is to be understood with  $\pi \acute{\omega} s$ , and  $\delta \acute{a} \kappa \kappa \tau \lambda \lambda$  is the predicate of  $\tau \delta \acute{\sigma} \nu \mu \mu a$ . After the  $\alpha$  of  $\delta \eta \mu \delta \sigma \iota a$  above a hole in the papyrus there is a mark which might be taken for the top of a  $\sigma$ , but to suppose that  $\sigma$  was written e.g. for  $(\epsilon l)s$  does not seem likely, and the mark in question is more probably accidental, or denotes a pause. The 'name' was presumably that of the person to whom the measuring specially related.

#### 933. LETTER OF DIOGENES.

Width 9.2 cm.

Late second century.

A letter to Apolinarius, a πρεσβευτής, from a friend, chiefly concerning a little girl who probably was Apolinarius' daughter and had been commended to the care of his correspondent.

Χαίροις, κύριέ μου Άπολινάριε, παρὰ Διογένους φίλου. τυχὼν [τ]οῦ πρὸς σ[ε] γει- 5 νομένο[υ] ἢδιστά σε ἀσ πάζομ[αι] εὐχόμενος πᾶσι το[ις θεο]ις πε[ρὶ τ]η[ς [σ]ω[τηρίας σου] κ[... about 3 lines lost [....]ρ[...τὴν με γ[ά]λην ἐορτὴν ἢξα. περὶ τῆς μικρᾶς ἐγενά- 15 μην ἄχρις ἀν καταπλεύ-

ση καὶ πάντα αὐτῆ
ὑπῆρκται ὅστε ἐπανελθόντα σε μαρτυρηθη. καὶ περὶ τοῦ οἶκου
20 ἀμέριμνος γείνου ὡς
σοῦ παρόντος. διεπεμψάμην τῆ μικρῷ τὸ
ἐπιστό[λ]ιον, ἐποίησα
δὲ καὶ τὸν νυκτοστρά25 τηγον φ[ύ]λακα κοιμᾶσθαι πρὸς τῆ οἰκίᾳ. ἄσπασ[αι] Πλου[τ]ογένην τὸν φίλον.
ἐρρ[ῶ]σθ(αί) σε εὕχο(μαι), κύριε.

In the left-hand margin

έάν σοι άβαρὲς  $\hat{\eta}$  [πεύθου] παρὰ Άντινόου εἰ ἡγόρασεν τῷ παιδίῳ σου 30 τὸ φαιλόνιον, εἰ δ[ὲ μὴ ἀγό]ρασον.

#### On the verso

 $^{\prime}$ Απολιναρίωι  $\beta$  . . αντ( ) πρεσβευτ $\hat{\eta}$  π(αρά) Διογένους δθονιακοῦ.

18. l. μαρτυρήσειν.

23. επιστο[λ]ιον Pap.

'Greeting, my good Apolinarius, from your friend Diogenes. Having met with a man who is going to you I greet you most kindly, praying to all the gods for your preservation. . . . I came to the great festival. With regard to the little girl, I was there until she sailed, and everything was provided for her so that when you come back you will bear me witness. Have no more anxiety about your household than you would if you were present. I sent the letter to the little girl and made the night-strategus sleep on guard at the house. Salute my friend Plutogenes. I pray for your health, sir. If it is no trouble to you inquire of

Antinous whether he bought the cloak for your child, and if not, buy it. (Addressed) To Apolinarius, . . . legate, from Diogenes, linen-merchant.'

1. For the optative in place of the more usual infinitive cf. e.g. 526. 1, P. Tebt. 417. 1.

8. The size of the gap below this line is estimated by the apparent length of the lacunae in ll. 29-30, which are written along the left-hand margin.

13. The late agrist \$\overline{\psi}\_a\rightarrow \text{ccurs e. g. in Pausan. 2. 11. 5 \$\overline{\psi}\_b\rightarrow \text{as.}}

14-5. Apparently παρ' αὐτῆ is to be understood with ἐγενάμην, and ἄχρις ἄν καταπλεύση is for ἄχρις κατέπλευσε; but possibly an adjective meaning 'careful', 'sollicitous,' has been accidentally omitted after μκρᾶς.

24. ενκτοστράτηγοι occur at Hermopolis, e. g. P. Leipzig 39. 3, 40. iii. 16 (late fourth century) and were probably established in other large provincial towns of Egypt, as they were in those of Asia Minor (Hirschfeld, Sitsungsber. Berl. Akad. 1891, p. 868); cf. the ενκτερικός στρατηγός of Alexandria. Their existence at Oxyrhynchus, however, cannot be inferred from the present passage, since it is uncertain where the letter was written. The office is described as a munus personale in Dig. 50. 4. 18. 12. It is somewhat surprising to find the ενκτοστράτηγος himself mounting guard over a particular house, especially as it seems from 1. 33 that the writer Diogenes was a person in a private station; his correspondent, however, was a man of some importance.

30. φαιλόνιον: the transposition of λ and v is common in this word; cf. P. Fay. 347,

2 Ep. Tim. 4. 13 φελόνην.

- 31. The letters  $\beta$ .. are close to the name 'Apolipapiwi, while art' ), which is written smaller, is separated by a wide space both from  $\beta$ .. and  $\pi \rho \epsilon \sigma \beta \epsilon \upsilon \tau \hat{\eta}$ . Bould  $(\epsilon \upsilon \tau \hat{\eta})$  'Art  $(\iota \upsilon \sigma \epsilon \omega \upsilon \tau \hat{\eta})$  is a possible reading, but too doubtful to insert in the text. For  $\pi \rho \epsilon \sigma \beta \epsilon \upsilon \tau \hat{\eta}$  cf. 33. iii. If  $\pi \rho \epsilon [\sigma] \beta \epsilon \upsilon \tau \hat{\eta} \nu$  'Ale  $\xi a \upsilon \delta \rho \epsilon \omega \nu$ , B. G. U. 932. 2  $\pi \rho \epsilon \sigma \beta \epsilon \upsilon \tau [\sigma \hat{\upsilon} \tau \hat{\omega} \nu]$   $\beta a \rho \beta \hat{\alpha} \rho \omega \nu$ : an error for  $\pi \rho \epsilon \sigma \beta \hat{\upsilon} \tau \eta$  is unlikely.
- 33. δθονιακοῦ: cf. C. I. G. 3582. 2 Αλλίου 'Αγαθόποδος δθονιακοῦ. Boeckh regards δθονιακοῦ as a proper name, but the word is, we think, more probably a title both there and in our papyrus.

## 934. LETTER OF AURELIUS STEPHANUS.

14 × 14.3 cm.

Third century.

A letter concerning purchases of yokes and manure, and other domestic matters.

Αὐρήλιος Στέφανος Αὐρηλίφ Χαιρήμονι
τῷ ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν.
ἐξιόντος μου εἰς ᾿Αλεξάνδριαν μετεβαλόμην τῷ σχοινιοπλόκφ Πετοβάστει πα5 ρόντος Ἡρακλήου εἰς τιμὴν ζευκτηρίων
δραχμὰς ἐξήκοντα, καὶ εἰς τιμὴν κ[6]πρου
ἐν Χύσει παρόντος Κοπρέως (δραχμὰς) μ, καὶ τῆ Καλῆ ὥστε Κοπρεῖ ὰς εἶχον μετὰ χεῖρας τὰς

(δραχμάς) μη. μη οὖν ἀμελήσης τοῦ βαλεῖν την
10 κόπρον. συνεφώνησα γὰρ (ἀρτάβας) κε (δραχμῶν) ρ παρόντος Κοπρέως. δώσεις οὖν τὰς λοιπὰς (δραχμὰς) ιβ. μη
ἀμελήσης παραβαλεῖν ἐκεῖ καὶ τῷ γυναικὶ ἔως ἀν παραγένωμαι καὶ χάριν τῶν
ποτισμῶν. εὖρον τὸν Αἰθιοπῶν καὶ κα15 λῶς αὐτῷ ἐστιν. ἄσπασαι τοὺς ἡμῶν πάντας. ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὕχομ(αι).

On the verso

Aὐρηλ(ί $\varphi )$  Xαιρήμονι  $\pi ($ αρ $\grave{a})$  Aὐρηλ(ίου)  $\Sigma \tau \epsilon \varphi \acute{a}$ νου.

## 5. Second η of ηρακληου corr. from ου.

'Aurelius Stephanus to Aurelius Chaeremon, his brother, greeting. As I was setting forth for Alexandria I paid to the rope-weaver Petobastis in the presence of Heracleus as the price of yokes 60 drachmae, and as the price of manure at Chusis in the presence of Kopreus 40 drachmae, and to Kale for Kopreus the 48 drachmae which I had with me. Do not fail therefore to throw the manure on the land. I agreed to pay 100 drachmae for 25 artabae, in the presence of Kopreus; you will therefore give him the remaining 12 drachmae. Do not fail to go there, both to help my wife until I return, and for the sake of the irrigation. I found Aethiopas and it is well with him. Salute all our friends. I pray for your health. (Addressed) To Aurelius Chaeremon from Aurelius Stephanus.'

- 5. ζευκτηρίων: ζευκτήρια apparently in connexion with a water-wheel (the yokes of the oxen which drew it?) occur in P. Flor. 16. 26.
- 7. ἐν Χύσει: for the village of this name cf. 899. 6. ἐν χύσει, 'in a heap,' referring to the κόπρος is less likely, even if the κόπρος in the present case consisted of sifted nitrous earth (sebakh), which Wilcken (Archiv, II. pp. 308-12) supposes to have been used in Roman times, as now, for purposes of fertilization. For the name Καλή cf. B. G. U. 839. 1.
  - 10. An infinitive is omitted after συνεφώνησα, e. g. λαβείν οτ ωνείσθαι.
- 12. For παραβάλλεω in the sense of going to a place cf. 930. 20–1 καθήκοντι καθηγητή σε παραβάλλεω, 937. 10 παραβάλης πρὸς τή πλατεία, and B. G. U. 824. 14 παράβαλε ἐκεῖ.

## 985. LETTER OF SERENUS.

31.5 × 8.8 cm.

Third century.

A letter from a man to his brother, chiefly concerned with the health of various members of the family. On the recto, perhaps in the same hand, are remains of two columns of a list of persons, many of them women, the names being either in the nominative or dative case, followed in some instances at any rate by amounts in artabae. One entry is  $\Theta a \eta \sigma \epsilon \iota \gamma \nu \nu a (\iota \kappa \iota)$  ' $\Lambda \tau \rho \hat{\eta}(\tau o s) \nu i(o \hat{v}) \beta a \lambda a \nu i$ ,

another " $\Omega \rho \varphi$  Αὔκτου [, while towards the end of Col. ii is the heading  $\lambda a \chi [a\nu] o \pi (\hat{\omega} \lambda a\iota)$   $\delta \mu o l(\omega s)$  with a note below the next entry  $\delta \iota \dot{a} \phi o (\rho o \nu)$   $\beta$  (ἔτους) (ἀρτάβης) δ΄. [. The names  $\Pi \rho [\epsilon \iota] \sigma \kappa \iota \lambda \lambda a$  and  $K u \kappa \hat{\eta} \tau (o s, gen.)$  also occur. The document appears to be a taxing-list of some kind.

 $\Sigma \epsilon \rho \hat{\eta} \nu o \Delta \iota o \gamma \epsilon \nu [\epsilon] \iota$ τῷ ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν. θεών συνλαμβανόντων ή άδελφη έπι τ[δ 5 κομψότερον έτράπη, καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς δὲ Άρποκρατίων σώζεται καὶ [ὑγι]αίνει, συνλαμβ[άνο[υσι] γὰρ ἡμεῖν ἀεὶ ο[ί 10 π[άτ]ριοι θεοὶ ἡμῶν δ[ιδό]ντες ήμειν ύγία[ν καὶ  $\sigma\omega[\tau]\eta\rho(\alpha\nu.$   $\xi\mu\epsilon\lambda\lambda\rho\nu$   $\delta[\dot{\epsilon}]$ καὶ α[ὐτὸ]ς ἀναβῆναι τ[ŷ . έπε[ὶ οἱ παρά] Σαραπίω[νος 15  $\epsilon l\pi o\nu [\kappa \alpha \kappa] \hat{\omega} s \tilde{\epsilon} \chi \epsilon \iota \nu \alpha [\dot{\upsilon}] \tau [\dot{o}\nu,$ διὸ γ[ράφ]ω σοι ὅπως δι' ο[ΰ έὰν [ἔχης] διὰ ὅρας γράφ[ης
μο[ι] π[ε]ρὶ τούτου. ἡ μεταφ[ορὰ
τῶν ἀνκαλῶν ἔστε εὐθ[έ20 ως ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός ἔφθανε
γὰρ προβαστάξας τὰς ἐν ταῖς (ἀρούραις ?) ι .
ἄσπασαι πολλὰ τὸν γλυκύτατον ἀδελφὸν 'Αρποκρατίωνα
καὶ Θεανοῦν καὶ Θέωνα
25 καὶ Διογένην καὶ 'Ηλιόδωρον.
πολλὰ ὑμᾶς πάντας ἀσπάζεται 'Ι[ερ]ακίαινα καὶ ἡ
θυγάτ[ηρ] Τσενῆσις.

 $\tilde{\epsilon}[\rho]\rho\hat{\omega}\sigma\theta(\alpha\hat{\iota})$   $\sigma\epsilon$   $\epsilon\tilde{v}\chi o\mu(\alpha\iota)$   $\pi avoik \epsilon\hat{\iota}$ .

17. a of dia above the line. Geavour corr. from a.

19. l. स्वन्य.

30

21.  $\pi \rho o$  above the line.

24. θ of

'Serenus to Diogenes his brother, greeting. With the assistance of heaven our sister has taken a turn for the better, and our brother Harpocration is safe and well; for our ancestral gods continually assist us, granting us health and safety. I intended to come up myself on the [.]th, since Sarapion's friends said that he was ill. I write to you therefore to ask you to write to me at once (?) about him by any messenger you may have. The transport of the bundles will be performed immediately by my father: he has already taken away those in the r[.] arourae. Many salutations to my sweetest brother Harpocration, Theanous, Theon, Diogenes, and Heliodorus. Many salutations to you all from Hieraciaena and her daughter Tsenesis. I pray for the health of you and all the household.'

5. κομψότερον: cf. P. Tebt. 414. 10 ἐὰν κομψῶς σχῶ, St. John 4. 52 κομψότερον ἔσχεν.
19. ἀνκαλῶν: cf. e.g. P. Amh. 150. 25 χόρτον . . . ἐν ἀγγάλαις (sic), P. Flor. 17. 13, and an Oxyrhynchus ostracon published in Arch. Report, 1904–5, p. 16 τήλεως μανδάκαι ζ, ἀγκάλαι τν.

21. At the end of the line figures apparently follow the symbol for apoupas.

#### 936. LETTER OF PAUSANIAS.

16.7 × 14.9 cm.

Third century.

This letter is noticeable for several unusual words which it contains. It is written in a fairly regular sloping uncial hand in two columns, that to the left, of which only the ends of lines remain, following that to the right. The writer apparently anticipated that he would not finish his letter in a single column, but curiously began on the right-hand side of the sheet, leaving a broad margin in front of his first column. The writing of the left column, which was no doubt considerably narrower than the other, is of a reduced size. A graphical peculiarity is a horizontal dash placed below as well as above the figures in ll. 6, 11, &c.

Col. i.

Παυσανίας 'Ιουλίφ 'Αλεξάνδρωι τῶι πατρὶ χαίρειν. πρό μέν πάντων εύχομαί σε ύγιαίνειν καὶ τὸ προσκύνημά σου ποιῶ παρὰ τοῖς - 5 έπιχωρίοις θεοίς. κόμισαι παρά Σύρου κλουίον φων π καὶ βαυκάλιον δπου τριχοίνεικον σινάπεως καὶ ἡμίχουν έλαίου βαφανίνου καὶ βαυκάλιον δπου ημίχουν μέλιτος καὶ τὸ ξιφίδιν. το κόμισαι παρά Άγαθημέρου μελικηρίδα καὶ κύθραν πλακούντων ι καὶ μελίτινα στεφάνια γ· ταῦτα δὺς τῆ ἀδελφῆ μου καὶ ἀσπάζου αὐτὴν λείαν. κόμισαι παρά τοῦ κομίζοντός σοι τὸ ἐπιστόλιον κλουίον 15 έχον μ και σφυρίδιον Κανωπικόν όπου ζεύγη άρτων δ καί 5 ζεύγη σκωρσελείνας. ό ήπητης λέγει ότι οὐ δίδω ούτε τον χαλκον ούτε τὸ φαινόλιν άτερ Ιούστου, λέγει γάρ ότι ούπω λελύτρωται τὸ φαινόλιν οὐδὲ 20 Φιλόξενον δλ' έξ δλων σύχ εύρον. απηλθον πρός την μητέρα (Αμ)μωνίου και λέγει ότι ούκ έχω άρτι σείτον ούδε τὰ βιβλίδια ἀπήρ[τ] ισται εως άρτι. ενε(γ)κόν μοι δύο σκυτάρια ἀν[ά]βολον καὶ ταλ {λ} άριον ἰππικινακοι 25 πενταετίας καὶ ὑπόδημα. ἄρτι μοι πέμψον σαρκοφανὴν ἔχοντα μα-

#### Col. ii. ον γάρ αὐτοῦ η τως ήμας ] έμε και την έλ αβον και άφη-]. ἀνάλωμα καὶ ∖ερα μου γρα-30 [ ]μειν καὶ τι ευπευκοι ]το δεῖ ποῆ-] δ' ΰστερα πα-45 ]ς τὸ γὰρ εί ] έμῷ ὀνόματι σαι ]. ὅτι πειραἀσπάζε ταί σε ἡ μήτηρ μου έλθειν γημά μου [μου ]αν έχει έν εγ-35 [ ] παρά σοὶ λη-] μεστον πεν-50 έρ]ρῶσθαί σε εὔ--δ]ράχμου καὶ βείχομαι πολλοίος] . ερεου μύρου [χρόνοις. KOUS ω στατήρα τον 40 [

1. τουλιω Pap. 2. τωτ Pap. 3. τηταινεί Pap. 6. κλουτον Pap.; so in l. 14. 8. οπ of οπου corr. from και (?). 11. πλακουντων τ Pap. α of μελιτινα corr. from δ. 12. l. δός. 19. ο of φαινολιν corr. from ι. 20. χ of ουχ corr.

'Pausanias to his father Julius Alexander, greeting. Before all else I pray for your health, and I perform the act of worship on your behalf to the gods of the country. Receive from Syrus a basket of 80 eggs and a jug with 3 choinices of mustard and half a chous of raphanus oil and a jug with half a chous of honey and the dagger. From Agathemerus receive a honeycomb and a pot of 10 cakes and 3 honey-sweet garlands; give these to my sister and salute her warmly. Receive from the bearer of the letter a basket containing 40 eggs (?) and a Canopic basket with 4 pairs of loaves and 6 pairs of . . . The cobbler says that he will not give up either the money or the cloak without Justus, for he says "The cloak has not yet been redeemed, and I have entirely failed to find Philoxenus". I went to the mother of Ammonius, and she says "I have no food now, and the petitions have not yet been got ready". Bring me two hides, a wrap, and a small crate . . . five years old, and some (?) shoes. Send me now an open-work covering (?) having a . . . '

6. κλουίον seems to be a form of κλουβίον or κλωβίον, a bird-cage; cf. the Hebrew kelûv. κλουβίν occurs in P. Tebt. 413. 14, where it was mistakenly regarded as a form of κολόβιον. For ὅπου after  $\beta$  at the end of the line cf. ll. 8 and 15. Both here and in l. 15 the second letter is apparently  $\pi$  not  $\mu$ , and  $\delta\mu$ οῦ, if that were the word meant, should of

course be followed by a dative; in l. 8 the reading is doubtful on account of a correction and the imperfect state of the papyrus.

- 11. μελίτων has been altered to μελίτων, the o having been converted to an a, but the stroke representing the final ν being left untouched. This is more likely than that μελ(λ).  $\tau_i(o)\nu$  a should be read, for numerals in this letter have a stroke below as well as above, and the original o is more unaccountable if a figure was intended.
- 16. σκωρσελείνας is presumably a compound of σκώρ and σέλινον, but no such word is known; the doubtful  $\epsilon \iota$  may be  $\eta$ , but this is not less difficult.

- 20. δλ' έξ δλων = παντάπασιν, 'entirely'; cf. 893. 6 δλον τὸ σύνολον. 24. ἀν[ά]βολον: cf. P. Tebt. 413. 10 τέ $\langle \sigma \sigma \alpha \rangle$ ρα ἀν $\langle \alpha \rangle$ βολα, which we were therefore wrong in altering to  $d\nu(a)$ βολά(s) on the analogy of 741. 13-4. The end of this line is puzzling; perhaps ιππικιν is a separate word = ίππικόν. The final letter is possibly e.g. ν, but only a single stroke is visible; s is unlikely.
- 25. For πενταετίσε cf. P. Fay. 347 τετρατίαε, which occurs in a list of miscellaneous articles; but the meaning is obscure in either case.
- 26. The adjective σαρκοφανής is used of animals in Sext. Pyrrh. Hypol. 1. 14. 50 τά τε δστρακόδερμα καλ τὰ σαρκοφανή, but σαρκοφανήν here seems to be a garment of some sort.
  - 39. Νοί σ τερεοῦ. 42. έλ] α 9ον: or λβον. 48. Perhaps προσκύ μημά.

#### 987. LETTER OF DEMARCHUS.

21 × 9·1 cm.

Third century.

The following letter to a woman named Taor from her brother Demarchus is chiefly concerned with a stone bowl, about the safety of which the writer was anxious. The usual request for various articles and announcement of other articles on their way to the addressee form the conclusion.

Δήμαρχος Τάορ τη άδελφη πλείστα χαίρειν. γεινώσκειν σε θέλω ότι έγραψάς μοι περί οδ έποίησέν μοι 5 Άγατείνος. έαν ουν ζήσω χρόνον καὶ έλθω είς την πατρίδα μου έκδικήσω έμαυτόν. κάν νθν οθν παραγγέλλω σοι, ὧ κυρία μου άδελ-10 φή, ίνα παραβάλης πρός τῆ πλατεία του θεάτρου καὶ μάθης περί της φιάλης της λιθίνης έν (τ)φ πλοίφ

καὶ παραγγείλης πασι τοίς 15 έκει, Φιλοκύρφ και Ζωσίμφ, παρατηρείσθαι αὐτὴν μὴ δόξη αὐτῷ [[λαβ]] τῷ 'Αγατείνφ λαβη[σ]αι την φιάλην, κα[ί] ἀντίγραψόν μοι διὰ τοῦ 20 Άντινοέω[ς] περί οὖ σοι έπεμψα, καὶ [γ]ράψον ἐκεῖ το κατ' είδος ότι τι καί τι είληφας. καὶ εί τινος χρήζει ὁ Άντινοεύς παρασχήσεις αὐτφ 25 καὶ έλεύσει μετ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν  $Ta[\sigma]$ οιταν.  $[\pi]$ έμψον τὸν μαIn the left margin, at right angles

φόρτην σου καὶ τὸ κεράμιον τοῦ γάρους καὶ δικότυλον ἐλαίου χρηστοῦ. ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὕχομαι.

On the verso

δέξε γ σακκούδια π(αρά) τοῦ Αντινο-30 έως τοῦ σοι τὰ γράμματα διδόντος.

 $\pi(\alpha\rho\dot{\alpha})$   $\Delta\eta[\mu]\dot{\alpha}\rho\chi ov.$ 

2. χαιρεί Pap. 4. 0 of ou corr. from τ. 5. l. 'Αγαθείνος, and similarly in l. 17. 8. παραγ'γελλω Pap.; similarly in l. 14. 10. τα Pap. 17. ω of αυτω corr. from ωσ. 19. κ of κα[ι] corr. from ε. 25. υ of αυτω corr. from ν. 29. l. δέξαι.

'Demarchus to his sister Taor, very many greetings. I would have you know that you wrote to me about what Agathinus did to me. Well, if I live and come to my native land I will have my revenge. And for the present I bid you, my dear sister, go to the street of the theatre and find out about the stone bowl in the boat and warn them all there, Philocyrus and Zosimus, to keep a watch on it, lest Agathinus should determine to take the bowl. Write me a reply through the man from Antinoöpolis about whom I sent to you, and write the list there, that you have received so and so. If the man from Antinoöpolis wants anything provide him with it, and come with him to meet Tasoitas. Send your cloak and the jar of pickled fish and two cotylae of good oil. I pray for your health. You will receive three bags from the man from Antinoöpolis who is the bearer of this letter. (Addressed) Deliver to my sister Taor from Demarchus.'

- 13. The papyrus has εν ω πλοιω, of which the easiest correction seems to be to write τῷ for ω. ἐν ῷ πλοίον might perhaps mean 'engraved with a relief of a boat', but this is less likely.
- 18. For λαβη σ] as cf. Bekker, Anecd. Ox. 1. p. 268 ἐστὶ λαβῶ περισπώμενον θέμα . . . καὶ δ μέλλων τοῦ λαβῶ λαβήσω καὶ παρ' Εὐπολίδι λελάβηκα ὡς μαθήσω, οῦ δ παρακείμενος μεμάθηκα. But there is not much room for the [σ], and the β is of the cursive form like a κ, which is not used in παραβάλης in l. 10; the other letters, however, are clear. The writer began the same word after αὐτῷ in the line above.
- 22. τι καί τι is analogous to τὸ καὶ τό: this is simpler than to take τί καὶ τί as an indirect interrogative, ὅτι being redundant.

26. Το[σ]οιταν: cf. P. Fay. 101. recto ii. 9 Τασύτης.

27. γάρους: the usual form is δ γάρος or το γάρος, but το γάρος occurs in Geopon. 20. 46 ed. Basil., and Et. Mag. τάριχος . . . παρὰ το γάρη ἔχειν.

## 938. LETTER OF DEMETRIUS.

Chicago.

8.9 × 17.8 cm.

Late third or fourth century.

A letter from a son to his father, reproaching him for his failure to send fodder for the oxen. The papyrus was briefly described in Part I. 161. The writing is across the fibres.

Δημήτριος 'Ηρακλείδη πατρί χαίρειν.

οὐκ ἀκόλουθον πρᾶγμα ἐποίησας ἐνεδρεύσας τὰς τροφὰς τῶν κτηνῶν τῆς Σεναώ, ἔκπαλαι ἐπισταλεὶς δώδεκα σαργάνας χόρτου ἐκεῖ ἀποστείλαι καὶ μὴ πέμψας, ὡς ἐκ τούτου κινδυνεύειν τὰ κτήνη διαφθαρῆναι. τῶν 5 οὖν κτηνῶν κακῶς ἐχόντων καὶ τῆς γῆς διὰ τοῦτο μὴ ποτιζομένης ἡπεί-χθην καὶ νῦν σοι γράψαι ὅπως αὐτῆς ὥρας γομω[σας]]θῆναι ἐπιτηδείως τὰς σαργάνας

ποιήσας ἀποστείλης. τη γὰρ ἀσχολία μου {γαρ} ἔδοξας ἐπεγγελαν. ἐρρῶσθαί σε πολλοῖς χρόνοις εὔχομαι.

## 7. επεγ'γελαν Pap.

- 'Demetrius to Heraclides his father, greeting. It was an unfitting act of yours to intercept the fodder for the oxen at Senao, and not to dispatch it, although you had long ago been instructed to send twelve baskets of hay thither, with the result that the oxen are in danger of destruction. Since the oxen are thus in a sorry state, and the land in consequence is not being irrigated, I hasten to write to you now once more and beg you instantly to get the baskets properly laden and send them off; for you seem to be mocking my industry. I pray for your long health.'
- 3. Σεναώ, which is presumably a village of the Oxyrhynchite nome, is not mentioned elsewhere.

#### 939. LETTER TO FLAVIANUS.

25.3 × 17.6 cm.

Fourth century.

An affectionately worded Christian letter, apparently from a dependent to his master, concerning the illness of his mistress. The style, which shows the influence of the New Testament, is more polished than that of the average letter of the period, and the document ranks high as a specimen of epistolary composition. A strip containing the beginnings of lines is missing in the upper portion, but the sense is always clear though the restoration is sometimes quite conjectural.

[Τῷ κυρίφ] μου Φλαβιανῶι
[Δημήτ]ριος χαίρειν.
[ὡς ἐν ἄλ]λοις πλείστοις νῦν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἡ πρὸς σὲ
[τοῦ δεσπό]του θεοῦ γνῶσις ἀνεφάνη ἄπασιν ἡμῖν
5 [ὥστε τὴν] κυρίαν ἀνασφῆλαι ἐκ τῆς καταλαβούσης
[αὐτὴν νόσ]ου, καὶ εἴη διὰ παντὸς ἡμᾶς χάριτας ὁμο-

[λογοῦντα]ς διατελεῖν ὅτι ἡμῖν ἵλεως ἐγένετο [καὶ ταῖς εὐ]χαῖς ἡμῶν ἐπένευσεν διασώσας ἡμῖν [την ημών] κυρίαν έν γαρ αύτη πάντες τας έλπίδας 10 [έχομεν.] συνγνώμην δέ, κύριέ μου, σχοίης μοι [καὶ εὔνους] ἀποδέξει με εἰ καὶ ἐς τηλικαύτην σε [άγωνία]ν ἄκων ἐνέβαλον γράψας περὶ αὐτῆς ὅσα [έκομίσω.] τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτα ἐν θλίψει αὐτῆς [πολλή ού]σης ούκ ών έν έμαυτφ άπέστειλα 15 [σπουδάζων] εί πως έκ παντός τρόπου δυνηθείης [πρὸς ἡμᾶς] ἀφικέσθαι, τοῦτο τοῦ καθήκοντος άπ[α]ι[τοῦντ]ος ώ[ς δὲ ἐπὶ τ]ὸ βᾶον ἔδοξεν τετράφθαι έτερά σε γράμματα ἐπικαταλαβεῖν ἐσπούδασα διὰ Εύφροσύνου ίνα σε εύθυμότερον καταστήσω. 20 νη γάρ την σην σωτηρίαν, κύριέ μου, ης μάλιστά μοι μέλει, εί μη έπινόσως έσχήκει το σωμάτιον τότε ὁ υίὸς 'Αθανάσιος αὐτὸν ἀν ἀπέστειλα πρὸς σὲ άμα Πλουτάρχω ηνίκα έβαρείτο τη νόσω. νθν δέ πως πλίονα γράψω περί αὐτης ἀπορω, ἔδοξεν 25 μεν γάρ ως προείπον ανεκτότερον εσχηκέναι ανακαθεσθείσα, νοσηλότερον δε δμως το σωμάτιον έχει. παραμυθούμ[ε]θα δε αὐτην εκάστης ώρας εκδεχόμενοι την [σ]ην άφιξιν. ἐρρῶσθαί σε, κύριέ μου, διά παντός τῷ τῶν ὅλων

30

Φαρμοῦθις.

On the verso

Φλαβιανῶι Δημήτριος.

7. τλεως Pap. 14. ουκ' Pap. 19. τνα Pap. 22. ντος Pap. 25. ανακαθεσθεισα inserted later.

δεσπότη εύχομαι.

'To my lord Flavianus from Demetrius, greeting. As on many other occasions so now even more plainly than ever has the regard of the Lord God for you been revealed to us all by the recovery of my mistress from the sickness which overtook her, and may it be granted us to continue for ever to acknowledge our thanks to Him because He was gracious to us and inclined His ear to our prayers by preserving for us our mistress; for in

her the hopes of all of us rest. Please pardon me, my lord, and receive me kindly, though I unwillingly caused you so much anxiety by writing to you the messages which you received. I wrote the first letter when she was in much pain, and I was beside myself in anxiety that you should come to us by every possible means in your power, for this was what duty demanded; but as she seems to have taken a turn for the better I am anxious that you should receive another letter by Euphrosynus, in order that I may make you more cheerful. By your own safety, my lord, which is my first interest, if my son Athanasius had not then been ailing, I should have sent him to you with Plutarchus when she was overcome by the sickness. But now I know not what more I am to write concerning her, for her condition seems, as I have said, to be more tolerable, as she has sat up, but she nevertheless remains rather ill. We comfort her by hourly expecting your arrival. I pray my lord, to the Master of all for your continued health. Pharmouthi 6. (Addressed) To Flavianus from Demetrius.'

11. εδνους: or perhaps ίλεως, which has already occurred in l. 7. ίλεως δέξασθαι is

a Sophoclean phrase, Aj. 1009, Tr. 763.

28 sqq. ἐρρῶσθαί κ.τ.λ. is in darker ink, and at first sight appears to have been added by a different hand; but ἐκδεχόμε- presents a similar appearance, whereas the rest of the sentence τοι . . ἄφιξω, which must have been written at the same time, is just like the preceding lines. It is therefore improbable that any distinction of hand should be made.

## 940. LETTER TO A CLERK.

10.7 x 30 cm.

Fifth century.

A letter containing instructions to a vordpios concerning the vintage. The writing, as is usual with Byzantine letters, e.g. 941-8, is across the fibres of the papyrus.

#### χμγ

Συνορώ τέως έν ταυτότητι μείναι τὰς ρύσεις ἄχρι τῆς τελευταίας μερίδος ίνα μὴ

δόξωμεν διώκειν τους άλλους τους μήπω τρυγήσαντας. τοίνυν, ώς άνωτέρω είρηται,

καταξίωσον ἐπέχειν τοῦ λογισμοῦ ἔως οὖ μάθης τὴν τῶν ἄλλων μερίδων δύναιιν.

5 καὶ ἐν τοσούτφ γράφεις μοι καὶ οὕτως σκοπῶ τὸ πρακτέον. τὸν δὲ Φοιβάμμωνα

τον φροντιστην μεταστειλάμενος έχε έγγυς σου μίαν μίαν. On the verso

ἐπίδο(s) τῷ θαυμασ[ιω(τάτῷ)] Ἰωσὴφ νοταρίφ
. . . λαρμόσωνος.

2. isa Pap.

'It is my desire that the flow of the wine should remain as it is for some time until the last holding is ready, that we may not seem to press hardly upon the others who have not yet gathered the grapes. Therefore, as stated above, please to delay the account-taking until you learn the capacity of the other holdings, and in the meantime write to me, and thus I shall see what is to be done. Send for Phoebammon the steward, and keep him at hand together with you. (Addressed) Deliver to the most admirable Joseph, clerk, from (?) Charmoson (?).'

I. A careful discussion of various explanations of the mystic formula  $\chi\mu\gamma$  is given by Smirnoff in Berl. Phil. Wochensch., Aug. 18, 1906, pp. 1082 sqq. He suggests that the letters correspond to the Hebrew The =  $\epsilon ls$  or  $\epsilon r$ , comparing the representation of the Hebrew tetragrammaton by the Greek  $\pi i\pi s$ . It may perhaps be regarded as some slight support for this view that the order of the letters occasionally follows that of the Hebrew, TMX (cf. Arch. Report for 1906-7, p. 10 ad fin.); but the question remains unsettled.

2. συνοραν in the sense of to 'resolve' or 'determine' is common in Byzantine Greek,

e.g. Concil. Chalced. 639 e συνορώμεν πρό πάντων μέν τὰ πρωτεΐα . . . φυλάττεσθα.

6. μίαν μίαν was used for κατὰ μίαν by Sophocles according to Antiatt. 108. 9, and Apophthegm. Patrum 80 a (Migne, vol. xlv) χρη οδυ μίαν μίαν συγκαταβαίνειν τοῦς ἀδελφοῖς is quoted by Jannaris, Hist. Gr. Gram. § 666 as an instance of the same use, while Sophocles, Lexicon, p. 427, translates this 'once in a while, occasionally'. In the papyrus, however, the context clearly indicates that μίαν μίαν means 'together', una, and the sense may well be the same in Apophthegm. 80 a, emphasizing the συν of συγκαταβαίνειν.

8. Possibly  $\pi(apa)$  Xapµbowros Or Aapxaowros, but  $\pi(apa)$  does not really account sufficiently for all the traces, and the word ending in -wros may be the name of the place of which

Joseph was rotápios.

#### 941. LETTER TO JOHN.

13.3 × 31.4 cm.

Sixth century.

In this letter the writer entreats his friend to help him in obtaining from the monastery of St. Justus a piece of ground to be used for brickmaking.

π /

+ Ἐπειδὴ ὁ πλινθευτὴς λέγει τὸν τόπον τοῦ υἰοῦ Νιννοῦδος ὀστρακώδης καὶ μὴ πεποιημένον εἰς πλινθεῦσαι, ὡς δὲ λέγει ὅτι ἐὰν σ[κ]υλῆς πρὸς τὸν υἰὸν τοῦ οἰκονόμου τοῦ ἀγίου Ἰούστου παρέχει σοι τόπον ὀλίγον ἡ ἀντὶς τοῦ μαρτυρίου ἡ ἐξ ἀρ[ι]στερῶν αὐτοῦ ἡγουν ἐκ δεξιῶν, καταξίωσον χαρίσασθαί μοι σκ[υ]λμὸν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀλλ' ἄρτι καὶ εἰπεῖν αὐτῷ. εἰκὸς παρέχει σοι τὴν χάριν, ἐκ

έγγύς έστιν. άλλ' οὕτως λέγεις αὐτῷ ὅτι ἐὰν θέλεις παρέχομέν σοι τὸ ἐνοίκιον,

μόνον πάρεχέ μοι, τὸν δὲ θεὸν σοῦ. εὐθὺς διὰ Φοιβάμμωνος δήλωσόν μοι τὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀπόκρισιν. εἰπὲ δὲ αὐτῷ ὅτι ὀλ[ίγη]ν μόν[ον θέλομ]εν καὶ οὐ πολλήν.

10 ἐπίδ(ος) Ἰωάν[νη π(αρὰ) . . . . . . .]ενου. +

2. υΐου Pap. l. Νιννοῦτος ὀστρακώδη. 3. σ οf πλινθευσαι corrected. υῖον Pap. 4. ῖουστου Pap. 6. αλλε Pap.; so in l. 7. 7. εγ'γυς Pap. 10. ῖωαν νη Pap.

'Since the brickmaker says that the place of the son of Ninnous (?) is full of sherds and not adapted for brickmaking, and as he says that if you will trouble to go to the son of the steward of the monastery of St. Justus he will provide you with a small space, either opposite the martyr's shrine, or on the left of it, or on the right, vouchsafe me the favour of going to him and speaking to him now. It is likely that he will grant you this favour, for it is close by. Say to him this: "If you wish, we will pay you rent, only grant me the favour and God be with you (?)" Inform me immediately by Phoebammon of his answer. Tell him that we only want a little and not much. (Addressed) Deliver to John from ....

1. The meaning of this  $\pi$  with a dash through it, which is not uncommon at the top of letters of this period, is obscure. It is written like the abbreviation of  $\pi a \rho \dot{a}$ , but  $\pi a \rho \dot{a}$  without a following name is meaningless. Possibly, however, the custom of commencing  $\pi a \rho \dot{a}$   $\tau o \dot{a}$   $\delta \dot{e} i \nu a$ , e.g. 904, led scribes to write  $\pi(a \rho \dot{a})$  even when there was no real intention of adding the name.

3. σκυληναι πρός = 'to take the trouble of going to,' as is shown by instances where ἔως replaces πρός, e.g. Cyrill. Scythop. Vita S. Sabae σκυληναι ἔως τοῦ οἴκου. Cf. 123. 10 (third or fourth century) ποιῆσον αὐτὸν σκυληναι πρὸς Τιμόθεον, which we translated wrongly, and B. G. U. 830. 25 where the active form σκῦλαί τινα πρός is found in a letter of the first century.

4. The form ἀντίς, evidently employed in a local sense, is remarkable. It occurs at a later period with an accusative, e. g. Th. Prodromus 3. 285-6 (twelfth century) ἀντίς νερὸν φαρμάκιν, and is used in modern Greek.

7. The subject of ἐστιν is perhaps ὁ τόπος, the meaning being that the proposed change of locality would be slight; this seems more likely than that ἡ χάρις is the subject, and that ἐγγύς is metaphorical, 'the favour is nothing out of the way.'

8. τὸν δὲ θεὸν σοῦ: this very elliptical phrase appears to mean, 'I pray that God may bless you (if you do as I ask)'; cf. 155. 4-5 πολλοῖς χρόνοις καὶ καλοῖς τὴν ὑμετέραν μεγαλοπρ(έπειαν), 'I wish long life and happiness to your magnificence.'

#### 942. LETTER OF TIMOTHEUS.

Chicago. 7 x 30 cm. Sixth or seventh century.

A letter from a man who had just arrived at Nilopolis, where he had received a letter from the addressee; in consequence of this he had resumed his journey without delay though very unwillingly. Both the writer and the person addressed

bear abbreviated titles (apparently ordinarius and exceptor respectively) which are somewhat obscure but seem to be military; cf. ll. 6-7, notes. The papyrus was briefly described in Part I. 162.

+ Κατά την τρισκαιδεκάτην κατελάβαμεν την Νειλουπολιτών περί ώραν ξκτην, καὶ μετά τὸ

ἀπολῦσαι ἡμᾶς τὰ ζῷα γράμματα ἡμῖν ἀπεδόθη τῆς σῆς ἀδελφικῆς λαμπρ(ότητος) περὶ ὀγδόην ὥραν

καὶ ὁ θεὸς οἶδεν εἴπερ μὴ ήμεθα ἀπολύσαντες τὰ ζῷα, εἰ ξ αὐτὰ εἴχαμεν ἐπαναλῦσαι. πρὸ τριῶν οὖν

ώρων, ότε καὶ δυνάμεθα έξελθεῖν τῆς πόλεως, έξερχόμεθα ὀφείλοντες σὺν θεῷ παραγενέσθαι.

5 πάνυ δὲ ἡμᾶς ἀήδισεν ἡ ἀδελφική σου λαμπρ(ότης) μηδὲν ἡμῖν σημάνασα τῶν παρακολουθησάντων.

On the verso

+ έπίδ(ος) τ $\hat{\varphi}$  δεσπό(τη) τ $\hat{\varphi}$  π $\hat{a}(\nu)$ τ(ων) λαμπρ(οτάτ $\varphi$ ) εὐδοκ(ιμωτάτ $\varphi$ ) πά(ντων) φιλ(τάτ $\varphi$ ) ἀδελ $\varphi$ ( $\hat{\varphi}$ )  $\Pi$ ετρωνί $\varphi$  έξκ(έπτορι) π(αρὰ) Tιμοθέου ὀρδ(ιναρίου) Θεοδόδου.

#### 4. ωρων Pap. 7. 1. Θεοδότου.

'We reached Nilopolis on the 13th about the 6th hour, and after we had released the animals a letter was delivered to us from your brotherly excellency about the 8th hour; and God knows whether we had not released the animals, and whether we had any more to unloose. Accordingly before three hours were passed, as soon as we could leave the city we leave it, being obliged by the help of God to arrive. We were much displeased with your brotherly excellency for not explaining to us any of the consequences. (Addressed) Deliver to the lord my most excellent, most illustrious, and most beloved brother Petronius, exceptor, from Timotheus, ordinarius of Theodotus.'

- δραν ἔκτην: about noon.
- 2. (4a: probably donkeys rather than horses; cf. 922. 17, note.
- 3. δ' αὐτά: or perhaps δαυτα for ταῦτα: cf. Θεοδόδου in l. γ. A better sense would be obtained if εἰσαντζίκζα could be read, in which case εἴχαμεν ἐπαναλῦσαι would mean 'could have returned'.
- 6. ἐξκ(ἐπτορι): cf. the ἐξκάπ(τορες) mentioned in 48. recto ii. 26, an account of military supplies. The exceptores were a kind of clerks, and those in 48 were clearly connected with the army; probably Petronius too held a military position; cf. the next note. ἐξκ(ουβίτορι), as Wilcken remarks, is also possible; cf. P. Brit. Mus. I. 113 (7). 14 σκουβίτορ(ος).
- 7. δρί (υαρίου): we have not found another instance of this title in a papyrus, and the meaning is uncertain, but as ordinarius was used for a centurion and equated to ταξίαρχος, the term may well apply to some minor military officer.

#### 943. LETTER OF VICTOR.

17.4 × 34 cm.

Sixth century.

A request to a chartularius (cf. 128. I, &c.) that he would send three persons in order that a decision might be arrived at on the question which of them was responsible for the dues upon a bath.

+

+ Καταξιώση ή ση γνησία άδελφότης Μηναν τον λαμπρότατον και Σερήνον τον λαμπρότατον τραπεζίτην και Μηναν τον προκουράτορα παρασκευάσαι άπελθείν είς δίαιταν ένεκεν τοῦ λουτροῦ, και μη άποστη άπ' αὐτῶν ὁ μειζότερος

ἄχρι συνομολογεῖ τῷ ἐνδόξῷ οἰκῷ ὁ ὀφείλων ἐξ αὐτῶν τὸν φόρον τοῦ  $\lambda o \langle v \rangle \tau \rho$ οῦ

5 δοῦναι. Σερηνος γάρ ὁ λαμπρότατος τραπεζίτης διά πίσματος γυναικός έδίωξεν

Κόλλουθον τον εύλαβέστατον έκ τοῦ λο(υ)τροῦ, καὶ ὅτε ἐποίησεν τὸ πῖσμα αὐτοῦ οὐ θέλει ἀποστῆναι.

καὶ ζ $\hat{\eta}$  κύριος οὐκ ἀφίσταμαι τῶν τριῶν, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ πληροῦσιν τὸν φόρον τοῦ λουτρο $[\hat{v}]$  ἔω[s..]ειν ἀντιγεοῦχ[s..]+

#### On the verso

+ δεσπό(τη) τ $\hat{\omega}$  ἀπά(ντων) λαμπρο(τάτ $\hat{\omega}$ ) τιμαξιω(τάτ $\hat{\omega}$ ) σὺν  $\theta(\hat{\epsilon}\hat{\omega})$  ἀδελφ $\hat{\phi}$ + Γεωργί $\hat{\omega}$  χαρτ(ουλαρί $\hat{\omega}$ ) + Βίκτωρ σὺν  $\theta(\hat{\epsilon}\hat{\omega})$  α . . . λ( ).

3. σ of αποστη corr. from o. 4. First o of συνομολογει over an erasure. 6. τοι ευλαβεστατον above the line in a different hand. 7. αλλάυτοι Pap.

'May your true brotherliness vouchsafe to cause the most illustrious Menas and Serenus the most illustrious banker, and Menas the agent to come to arbitration with respect to the bath, and let not the official leave them until the one of them who owes the rent of the bath agrees with the noble house to pay it. For Serenus the most illustrious banker through the persuasion of his wife chased the most discreet Colluthus out of the bath, and having done what he was persuaded to do will not depart. As the Lord lives I do not leave the three, but they pay the rent of the bath until the deputy... (Addressed) To the most illustrious and honourable lord, by the grace of God my brother George, secretary, from Victor, by the grace of God...'

2. προκουράτορα: cf. P. Brit. Mus. III. 1032. 10, a letter of about the same period as this, and Gloss. Basil. προκουράτωρ έστὶν ὁ φροντιστης ἡ έντολεύς, ὁ πρῶγμα ἐτέρου κατὶ έντολην αὐτοῦ διώκων.

4. ἄχρι συνομολογεί: so probably rather than ἄχρις ἃν όμολογεί, though a and v when written small, as here, are at this period often indistinguishable. For οἴκφ cf. 126. 4, note.

6. ἀποστήναι: sc. τοῦ λουτροῦ (?). But the connexion is not very clear.

7. ζή κύριος is frequent in the LXX; cf. e.g. Judges 8. 19 ζή κύριος . . . οὐκ ἄν

ἀπέκτεινα ύμᾶς.

8. The term ἀντιγεοῦχος, which is apparently not found in literary sources, occurs also in 158. 3 τῷ ἐνδ(όξφ) ἀ., 156. 5 χαρτου(λάριος) καὶ ἀ., Β. G. U. 303. 28 μεγολοπρ(επέστατον) τριβοῦνον ἀ., and 693. 2, all of the Byzantine period. In 156 we translated the word as 'land-agent', i. e. the deputy of the owner, which on analogy should be the meaning. The γεουχοῦντες of Byzantine papyri are commonly people of importance, e. g. Flavius Apion at Oxyrhynchus (188. 4–5, &c.), whose representative would be an influential person. In the indices of the B. G. U. ἀντιγεοῦχος is classed among the officials.

The preceding word seems to be an infinitive, but there is not space for ελθεῖν, and ἢεειν and ἰδεῖν are not suitable. A break occurs in the papyrus after the supposed ν, and

this may have been followed by another narrow letter.

## VI. COLLATIONS OF HOMERIC FRAGMENTS

(The collations are with text of Ludwich.)

### (a) Iliad.

- 944. 6.1 × 6.3 cm. A few letters from the ends of ii. 436-444, with elision-marks. Third century, written in sloping oval uncials.
- 945. 13.5 x 6.5 cm. Fragment of the top of a leaf from a book, containing on the recto the ends of ii. 722-741 and on the verso the beginnings of 753-772, with occasional breathings, accents, and elision-marks. 724 Final ε of μν/ήσεσθε corr. to aι by a second hand. 734 Υπέρια[ν. Fifth century, written in heavy sloping uncials.
- 946. 5.7 × 5.3 cm. A few letters from the middles of ii. 861-867. 864 ? Μεθ]αης τε και Αντι[φος. Late second or third century, written in broad, slightly sloping uncials.
- 947. 7.5 × 2.9 cm. A few letters from the beginnings of iv. 443-452, from the bottom of a column, with elision-marks. Third century, written in a small and neat but not very regular uncial hand.
- **948.** Fr. (a)  $8.9 \times 4.3$  cm. Two fragments containing the ends of x. 233-243 and 250-255, with stops (middle and low points) and occasional breathings, accents, and marks of quantity. Third century, written in a good-sized semi-uncial hand.
- 949. 13 × 4.6 cm. A few letters rom near the ends of x. 437-452, from the bottom of a column, with occasional accents (449 ηε). 446 βοην αγαβος [Διομηδης (τον δ' ἄρ' ὑπόδρα ἰδὼν προσέφη κρατερὸς Διομήδης MSS.). 451 πτολεμιξω[ν. Late second or third century, written in square upright uncials similar to those of 869 (Plate I).
- 950. Fr. (b) 23.8 x 5.7 cm. Two fragments, the first containing a few letters from near the beginnings of xi. 322-329, the second the ends of 359-402 (a whole column), with stops, and occasional breathings, accents, and elision-marks. 366 εστιν. 368 εξε μαριξεν. 371 τυμβωι added by a second hand above πυργωι, which is crossed through. 375 ανείλκε. 381 απο θυμου ολεσσαι. Third century, written in sloping oval uncials.

- **951.** Fr. (b)  $8 \times 6$  cm. Part of a leaf from a book, containing on the verso portions of xx. 425-437 and on the recto portions of 470-482, with elision-marks. 473 The letter before oven is not  $\rho$  or  $\tau$  but seems to be  $\alpha$ , i. e.  $\pi \alpha \rho | \alpha$  or  $\kappa \alpha \tau | \alpha$ . Fourth century, written in heavy sloping uncials.
- 952. 11.7 x 5.2 cm. Parts of xxiv. 74-90 from the top of a column, with high stops and occasional accents. 78 τε omitted. Third century, written in sloping oval uncials.

## (b) Odyssey.

- 953. Fr. (d) 11 × 11.9 cm. Four fragments from three distinct columns of a MS. of iv. Fr. (a), from the bottom of a column, contains a few letters from 97-100, Fr. (b), from the top of a column, parts of 197-204, Fr. (c) a few letters from 222-224, and Fr. (d), from the bottom of a column, parts of 248-261, with high stops, and occasional breathings, accents, and elision-marks. 249 κατεβη Τρῶων. 251 ανειρώτων. 252 εγων ελόευν (the reading of Aristarchus?). 254 με for μεν. Second century, written in a round upright uncial hand of good size and handsome appearance.
- 954.  $2.6 \times 9.3$  cm. Fragment of a leaf from a vellum book, containing on the verso the beginnings of xiv. 299-303 and on the recto the ends of 328-332, with frequent accents. Fourth or fifth century, the verso being written in lighter and more sloping uncials than the recto.
- 955.  $7 \times 2.8$  cm. Fragment of a leaf from a book, containing on the verso a few letters from xvii. 601-606 and on the recto parts of xviii. 27-40, with high stops and frequent accents. 34  $\{vve\}\eta\kappa$ . Third century, written in upright uncials, those on the recto being much smaller than those on the verso.
- 956. 9.6 x 14.2 cm. Ends of xxiii. 309-326 and beginnings of 342-356, from the tops of two columns. 317 μεγαλα for βαρέα. 318 Λ]αιστυγουιην αφικουτο. 320 omitted. 345 ρ' omitted. Second or third century, written in heavy square, nearly upright uncials of medium size.

## VII. MISCELLANEOUS DOCUMENTS

These may be classified as follows (we call attention to the fact that the texts of 957-8, 962-7, 969-72, 974, 977-8, 980-1, 987-95, and 997 are given nearly or quite in full).

Writing Exercise 966 verso.

Magical papyrus 959.

Orders to officials 965, 969.

ἀπογραφαί 962 recto, 970.

Reports to officials 983, 989.

Declarations on oath 972, 976.

Petition 991.

Lease 975.

Wills 968, 990.

Loan 988 recto.

Deed of surety 996.

Miscellaneous contracts 977, 980 recto.

Receipts 964, 995, 1000-8.

Taxation 960, 966 recto, 979, 981-2, 997.

Census-List 984.

Land-Survey 984, 986, 988 verso.

Accounts 962 verso, 971, 978, 980 verso, 985-6, 998-9.

Orders for payment 978-4, 992-4.

Private Correspondence 968, 967.

Titles or σίλλυβοι 957-8, 987.

Demotic papyrus 961.

Arabic papyri and paper 1004-6.

957. 3·3 × 13·4 cm. A strip of leather, once glued to a papyrus, perhaps a σίλλυβοs, and containing a much abbreviated official note, of which the text is (1) Φιλ(ουίκου) στρα(τηγοῦ) (cf. 898. 26) ς τόμ(ος) ἐξητ(ασμένων?) εἰδ(ῶν) ∫ οι ἀπὸ διαλογ(ῆς?) ζ (ἔτους) (2) 'Αδριανοῦ δς ἐστ(ι) τῶν πρὸς παραγγελ(ίαν) (3) ἀπὸ ιγ, below which in the right-hand corner is απη() enclosed apparently between rounded brackets. The symbol after εἰδ(ῶν) is obscure; it resembles the sign for δραχμή or a cursive αι, the following letters οι being raised slightly above the line: perhaps (καὶ) οἰ. A. D. 122-3. Complete. 4 lines.

- ἀντλ(οῦσι) ἐργ(άταις) δ δβ(ολοί) λς, κθ ἀντλ(οῦσι) καὶ παράγ(ουσι) ὑδραγ(ωγὸν) δ δβ(ολοί) λς, λ δ δβ(ολοί) λς, καὶ ἀνηλ(ώματος) ἐνοικίου κηλ(ωνείου) (cf. P. Tebt. II. 342. iii. 19) δβ(ολοί) ιη, / δβ(ολοί) ρξα. καὶ τειμ(ῆς) ἐλαί(ου ?) (δυόβολοι), / δβ(ολοί) ρξγ, οἱ (δραχμαί) κζ. Late first or early second century. Complete. 10 lines.
- 972. 14.9 x 10 cm. Conclusion of an oath taken by an official upon entering office, similar to 82, a fragment of an oath by a strategus. The text is ε] \( \xi \) \( \text{\$\pi\$} \) \( \mu \) \( \
- 973. 8.5 x 10 cm. A notice to sitologi, similar to 516, 619-82, and P. Leipzig 112-117, authorizing them to pay 24½ artabae of wheat, beginning Δημητρία Ανδρομάχ(ου) δι(α) 'Απολ(λωνίου) βοηθ(οῦ) σιτολ(όγοις) Φοβόου τόπ(ων) χαίρειν. διαστείλατε κ.τ.λ. The Φοβόου (οτ Φοκόου) τόποι are clearly identical with the Φοβ. μου τόποι in P. Leipzig 116. 2. After the date, the 9th year of Aurelius and Verus (A. D. 168-9), is the signature of a certain Εὐτύχης, perhaps a σιτολόγος. Nearly complete. 12 lines.
- 974. 4·5 × 9·1 cm. An order for the payment of 2 artabae of wheat. The text is  $\Pi(a\rho\grave{a})$  Σαρ $\hat{a}$  Διονυσί $\varphi$  γεωργ $\hat{\varphi}$  χαίρειν. δὸς Ζωσίμ $\varphi$  ἰδί $\varphi$  ὑπὲρ ὀψωνίων πυροῦ ἀρτάβας δύο, γί(νονται) πυροῦ (ἀρτάβαι) β. (ἔτους) δ Μεσορ $\hat{\eta}$  ε σεσημί(ωμαι). Third century. Complete. 4 lines.
- 975.  $19.8 \times 7.5$  cm. Signature to a lease of  $2\frac{1}{4}$  arourae, in which the lessee agrees to pay rent at the rate of  $5\frac{1}{2}$  artabae per aroura and acknowledges a loan of 28 drachmae to be repaid  $\delta \mu a \tau \hat{\eta} (\xi) \mu \hat{\eta} \tau \rho \delta [\gamma] \eta$ , apart from other debts to the lessor. Written in the 2nd year of an emperor who is probably Domitian or Trajan. 20 lines.
- 976. 11-7 x 11-8 cm. Conclusion of a declaration on oath, containing the date (έτους) τ Αὐτοκράτο(ρος) Καίσαρος Λουκί[ου Σεπτι]μίου Σεουήρου Εὐσεβοῦς Περτίνακο(ς) Σεβαστοῦ ᾿Αραβ[ικοῦ] ᾿Αδιαβηνικοῦ καὶ Μάρκου Αὐρη(λίου) ᾿Αντωνίνου Κ[αί]σαρος ἀποδεδιγμένου Αὐτοκράτορο(ς) ᾿Αθὺρ λ (i.e. Nov. 26, A. D. 197; cf. 910. introd.), and the signatures of ᾿Αντεῖς Σαραπᾶτος, who makes the declaration, and of a collector of corn-dues as γνωστήρ (Παυλεῖνος πρά(κτωρ) σι(τικῶν) . . . . λ( ) δι(ὰ) Διονυσίου βοη(θοῦ) γνωρίζω); cf. 496. 16, note. 14 lines.
- 977.  $18.7 \times 7.2$  cm. Conclusion of a document relating to a payment of 800

drachmae for the φόρος of an ἀσχόλημα (the collection of a tax ?), containing only the date and signatures. Lines 4–19 (ἔτους) β Αὐτοκρατόρων Καισάρων Γαίου Οὐιβίου Τρεβωνιανοῦ Γάλλου καὶ Γαίου Οὐιβίου ᾿Αφινίου Γάλλου Οὐελδουμιανοῦ Οὐολουσιανοῦ Εὐσεβῶν Εὐτυχῶν Σεβαστῶν Μεχεὶρ ι. Αὐρή(λιος) Σαραπίων ὁ κ(αὶ) ᾿Απεῖς βουλ(ευτὴς) δι' ἐ(μοῦ) Αὐρη(λίου) Διοσκόρου καὶ ὡς χ(ρηματίζω) ἀποσυστα(θεὶς) διεπόρμσα φόρου τοῦ προκ(ειμένου) ἀσχολή(ματος) τὰς προκ(ειμένας) δραχ(μὰς) ὀκτακοσίας, / (δραχμαὶ) ω, ὡς πρόκ(ειται). (2nd hand) Αὐρήλιος Διονύσιος ὁ καὶ ᾿Αφροδίσιος γυ(μνασίαρχος) βουλ(ευτὴς) σεση(μείωμαι) τὰς δραχμὰς ὀκτακοσίας, / (δραχμαὶ) ω, followed by a similar signature by an exegetes. Α. D. 253. 21 lines.

- 978.  $4.6 \times 7.5$  cm. Beginning of a list of articles of furniture. The text is Κερλάρια (l. κελλάρια?), δίφρος (sic) β, λιβανοθήκη, ὅσοπτρον (l. ἔσοπτρον), τύλ[η], κ. [. Third century. 6 lines.
- 979.  $7.4 \times 4.2$  cm. Fragment of an account of payments in artabae from the villages of  $\Sigma \epsilon \nu \epsilon \pi \tau a$ ,  $\Sigma \kappa \omega$ ,  $\Sigma \epsilon \nu \epsilon \kappa \epsilon \lambda (\epsilon \nu)$ , and  $Mo\nu l\mu(o\nu)$ . Second or third century. 6 lines, the ends of which are lost.
- 980, 14·9 x 7·8 cm. On the recto parts of 14 lines from a list of abstracts of contracts (?), the last 8 lines referring to a purchase of land. Early third century. On the verso is a short list of payments for the purchase of houses, of which the text is Κορνήλιος ποικιλτης τιμης οἰκίας ἐν πίστει ἰς ἡν τιμης (δραχμαὶ) β, Αρειος ὁπωροπώλη[ς] τιμης οἰκίας (δραχμαὶ) φ, Δημέας κλη() οἰκ(las) (δραχμαὶ) Δ. ω (l. ὁ ?) μείζω(ν ?) ἐσημει(ώσατο ?). Third century. Complete. 7 lines.
- 981. 9 x 9·5 cm. Extract from the ἐφημερίs of Apion similar to 917 and 982. The text is 'Εξ ἐφη(μερίδος) 'Απίωνος πρά(κτορος) ἀργ(υρικῶν) Σεντω(λενὼ) ἐπαρο(υρίου) τοῦ ἐνεσ(τῶτος) δ (ἔτους) (δραχμαί) σν (δυόβολοι), πηχ(ισμοῦ) περιστ(ερώνων) τοῦ α(ὐτοῦ) δ (ἔτους) (δραχμαί) μζ (ὀβολὸς) χ(αλκοῖ) β, γ(ίνονται) κ.τ.λ. Cf. 917. introd. Late second or early third century. Complete. 6 lines.
- 982.  $6.5 \times 6.5$  cm. Fragment of a similar memorandum of Apion, written in the 3rd year, the ends of lines being lost. Cf. 917. introd. 4 lines.
- 983. 24.5 x 18.7 cm. Report, similar to 896. ii, addressed to Valerius Ammonianus, logistes, by two δημόσιοι ἰατροί, of whom the second is named ᾿Απίων Ἡροδότον, concerning the injuries received by a certain Μονεῖς. The papyrus is numbered 106 in the series of which 53 is no. 105 and 896 nos. 127-8; cf. 53 and 896. introd. Dated in the consulship of Sabinus and Rufinus (A. D. 316). Incomplete. 16 lines.
- 984. Height 18 cm. The verso of this mutilated papyrus contains the Paeans of Pindar (841). On the recto of sections A-C is a census-list of persons with their ages, parentage, abode, &c., e. g. Πανεσνε(ὑs) ἀπελ(εύθεροs) 'Απολ-

λώνιας εξ απογρα(φης) α(ὐτοῦ) οἰκῶν εν ἱερῶι "Αρεως θεοῦ μεγίστου γέρδ(ιος) άση(μος) (ἐτῶν) με, Τανοῦρις γ(υνή) αὐτοῦ (ἐτῶν) λ, Θαήσιν θυγ(ατέρα) (ἐτῶν) 5, Σενπανεσνέ(α) άλλην (έτους) α Σενπαρα $\hat{\theta}(\iota s)$  άλλη μη(τρόs) Τατναγούτο(s), δι ής καὶ ἐδηλ(ώθη) Πεταρποχρα(τίωνα) υίον αὐτο(ῦ) ἀπογεγρα(μμένον) τῶι γ (ἔτει) Τίτου θεοῦ (ἔτους) α τετελευτηκέναι. Ἡρακλής Πτολ(εμαίου) τοῦ Ἡρακλήο(υ) μητρὸ(ς) Σενφώιτο(ς)  $\pi$ (ρεσβυτέρας?) Λύκο(υ) ἀφῆλ(ιξ) ἀπὸ  $\gamma$ (υμνασίου) ἐξ ἀπογρα(φῆς) Εὐδ(αίμονος) Λύκου τοῦ "Ωρου φροντιστοῦ οἰκῶν ἐν μέρει (ἡμίσει) οἰκίας Σενοννώ-(φρεωs) 'Ηρακλήου μελ(ίχρωs) (ἐτῶν) ι[.]. Other entries of interest are (1) 'Οννῶ-(φρις) 'Ορσεύτου τοῦ Λυκόφρο(νος) μητρό(ς) 'Ανρέσιο(ς) Φατρέ[ως ε]ξ ἀπογρα(φης) α(ὐτοῦ) ἀπὸ γ(υμνασίου) οἰκῶν ἐν μάνδ(ρᾳ) Ἡρακλήου Ἱέρακος (ἐτῶν) μ, (2) Σισύφις Σι σ ψφ (ιος) τοῦ 'Οφιέως μη (τρός) Τερεῦτος έξ ἀπογρα (φης) α (ὐτοῦ) πασ (τοφόρος)  $\Delta M$  $[\delta]$ λλωνος θεο $\widehat{v}$  μεγίσ(του) οἰκ $\widehat{u}$ ν ἐν παστοφορί $\omega$  το $\widehat{v}$  αὐτο $(\widehat{v})$  ἱερο $(\widehat{v})$  (ἐτ $\widehat{u}$ ν) ξ (3) Ἱέραξ Ἡρακλεοδ(ώρου) το(ῦ) Ἡρακλεοδ(ώρου) μη(τρὸς) ᾿Απολλωνία[ς] προξένου βουλ[ε]ντῶν (a phrase which recurs in another fragment . . . ἐξ ἀπογρα(φῆs)  $a(\partial \tau \circ \hat{v}) \pi \rho \delta \xi \epsilon \nu o(s?) \beta o \nu \lambda (\epsilon \nu \tau \hat{\omega} \nu) o l \kappa \hat{\omega} \nu \epsilon \nu \dots)$ . The following rare names occur: Ψω̃ις, Xεμενεῦς, Σενχεμενεῦς, Τερεχα() (fem.), Τενφωῦς (fem.), Ταανοῦφις (fem.),Θαρίων Αλσχυράτος, Σενύφις (fem.), Ψαῦτις, Τεαῖψις (fem.), Θάλλουσα, Ποῦνσις, Παανοῦφις, Πατήβις, 'Ατήρις, Σαρποκρατίς (fem.), Σφραγίς (fem.), Τοώνσις (fem.), Ψιραίθης, Ψεντοῦς, 'Αρουσῶις, Παυφῶις, Ταυφῶις (fem.), 'Αβαβικι(ς?), Σενπτόλλις (fem.),  $\Sigma$ έντρ[ι]s (fem.), Ταψωβαιs (fem.), Ταπτίχι(s) (fem.), Ταφίβιs (fem.), Φιλοστέφ(avos), 'Ασπιδαs, Παρεχάτηs, Πετουφωις. The locality is apparently Oxyrhynchus, the  $\delta\mu\phi$ oδον  $K\rho[\eta]\pi(i\delta_0s)$  being mentioned; cf. 714. 11 Νότου  $K\rho\eta\pi i\delta os$ . Written after the reign of Titus, probably in that of Domitian. On the recto of section D in a different hand (cf. Part V. p. 13) are parts of a few lines from a land-survey, mentioning various κληροι.  $\bar{a}$  (=πρότερον) κάτοι(κος) precedes some of the personal names.

985. Height 37·1 cm. The verso of this papyrus contains the fragments of Euripides' Hypsipyle (852). On the recto is a private account of receipts and expenditure written in the second half of the first century in a large cursive hand. Only one column has complete lines, e. g. ll. 6 sqq.: [i]a. λήμμα(τος) 'Ερμᾶτος οἰνοπρά(του) ἀπὸ τιμῆς οἴνου γενή(ματος) η (ἔτους) εἰς σ(υμπλήρωσιν) (δραχμῶν) 'Γξη μετὰ τὰ(ς) ἐπά(νω) (δραχμὰς) 'Βῆξη κατὰ μέρος (δραχμαὶ) ρ. ιβ. ἀνηλώμα(τος) Φαύστφ ἀντλοῦντι μηχα(νὴν) μηνός Σεβα(στοῦ) δ ε τ ἡμε(ρῶν) γ ὡς το(ῦ) μη(νὸς) (δραχμῶν) κ αὶ συναγό(μεναι) (δραχμαὶ) β. ἐργάτηι τηροῦντι τὸν οἶνον τὸν ἐν ἡλια(στηρίφ) Μουχινῶρ (an Οκγτhynchite village; cf. 491. 3) (δραχμαὶ) δ. . . . ιγ. Σαραπίωνι Βελλ[έω] (so in another fragment) ἀμπελο(υργφ) δι(ὰ) Πετεσ(ούχου) (δραχμαὶ) κ, L σημα(ίνει) ὁ Σαρα(πίων) ἀνηλω(θῆναι) ἐργά(ταις) δυσὶ σκάπτοντ(ι) χοῦν καὶ ἐπιτιθο(ῦντι) (sic) τοῖς ὄνοις εἰς τὸ ἀπηλιωτικὸν χῶμα τοῦ χωρίου ἔως κδ ἡμερῶν ια ἐργ(άταις) κβ ἀνὰ (τετρώβολον) ὀβο(λοὶ) πη αὶ (l. οὶ)

(δραχμαί) ιβ (τετρώβολον), ὧν δο(θεῖσαι) α(ὐτῷ) ἐπὶ λόγ(ον) (δραχμαί) η. ις Ἡρακλᾶτι μηχα(ναρίῳ) ἰσά(γοντι?) μη(νὸς) Σεβα(στοῦ) ζ ἔως κ (δραχμαί) η. In another fragment a series of figures is summed up / εἰς τὸ α(ὐτὸ) (δραχμαί) Ὑχβ (τριώβολον), ὧν ἐπάνωι ἀνειλ(ημμέναι) (cf. 899. 37, note) ἐν τῷ τοῦ η (ἔτους) λόγ(ῳ) (δραχμαί) Ἡς κα(ταλείπονται) (δραχμαί) Ἁχβ (τριώβολον).

986. Height 20.5 cm. The verso of this papyrus contains the commentary on Thucydides (853). On the recto are three distinct documents which have been joined together to form a roll of sufficient length; cf. p. 107. The first of these, which is on the recto of Cols. xix-xiv of the commentary, is part of a list of house-property apparently in the hands of οὐσιακοὶ μισθωταί, probably at the Arsinoite village of Oxyrhyncha, in the 16th year of Hadrian (see below). Col. i (on the recto of section H) is a mere fragment and Col. ii has only ends of lines; but Col. iii is well preserved, and contains the following three entries (ll. 4-25) τοῦ αὐτοῦ Δ μέρος ψειλοῦ τόπ(ου) ἀν[.....] μην[. . . . . . ] . ρωι ιμίσει (sic) ψιλοῦ τόπου ίδιω( ) [. . .]αμο . . [. οἰκία] καὶ αὐλὴ δηλ(ωθείσα) ἐπικεκρατήσθαι πρό της ἀναλήμψεως ὑπὸ Πετεσούχου ᾿Αμμωνᾶ τοῦ Παστωούτος από της κώμ(ης) έξ ου περιγεγονέ(ναι) από ενοικίων (δραχμάς) ιβ. γίτονες της ώλης (sic) οικίας και αὐλης νότου τέκνων "Ηρωνος τοῦ Ζήνωνος οι]κία, βορρά ρύμη βασιλ(ική), λιβὸς Αρμιύσεω(ς) Πάτρωνος διὰ κίλη ρονόμων οἰκία, ἀπηλ(ιώτου) ἴσοδος καὶ ἔξοδος. τοῦ αὐτοῦ γ μ[έρο]ς οἰκίας καὶ αlθρίου ἐπικρατηθέν ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐ[ξ ο]ῦ ἐδηλ(ώθη) ιε (ἔτει) περιγεγονέ(ναι) (δραχμὰς) δ. γίτονες τῶν ὅλων κ.τ.λ. ' Αμμωνίου ' Α[μμ]ωνίου τοῦ καὶ ' Ροδίωνος γεναμέν[ου] οὐσιακοῦ [μισθ]ωτοῦ καὶ ἐνοφειλέσαντος εν τ . [. . .] Δ μέρος δ΄ μ[έρους] οίκίας καὶ αὐλης. γίτονες της ὅλ(ης) οίκίας καὶ α[ὑλῆς] νότου καὶ ἀπηλ(ιώτου) ρύμη βασιλ(ική), λιβός Πουήρεως [οἰκία,] βορρά έτέρων οί[κ]((α), οὖ τὸ περιγενάμ(ενον) σὺν τοῖς σιτι[κοῖς] ὑπάρχουσει τοῦ 'Αμμωνίου ἐπάνωθε ὥρισται. In the margin against the beginning of each of these entries is  $\kappa \delta \lambda (\lambda \eta \mu a)$  q. Col. iv is less complete; II. 4-7  $\tau o \hat{v}$   $a[v \tau o]\hat{v}$   $\psi \iota \lambda [\hat{o}s]$ τόπος ἀπὸ [μ]έρους ἀνοικοδομημένος ἀπὸ συν[...] πλίνθου (οτ ζ πλίνθου) οῦ μέτρα νότον ἐπὶ βορρά πήχ(εις) μ, λιβὸς ἐπ' ἀπηλ(ιώτην) τ[οῦ] πρὸς νότον μέρους πήχ(εις)  $\iota \theta \angle$ ,  $\dot{\epsilon} \kappa \delta \dot{\epsilon} \tau \sigma \hat{v} \pi \rho \delta s \beta \rho \rho \rho \hat{a} \pi \dot{\eta} \chi(\epsilon \iota s) \iota \beta \angle$ ,  $[\dot{\epsilon}] \dot{\xi} \sigma \hat{v} \mu \eta \delta \dot{\epsilon} v \pi \epsilon \rho \iota \gamma (v \epsilon \sigma \theta(a\iota))$ . The next entry mentions τῆ γεναμ(ένη) τῷ ιγ (ἔτει) ἐπελεύσει [τ]ῶν οὐσιακῶν, and that following begins Φανίου Πετεσορφιώμεως τοῦ Φανίου. In Col. v, which is in the same hand as Cols. i-iv and is on the recto of Col. xiii of the commentary, begins a return of προσοδικά ἐδάφη (i.e. confiscated land) at Oxyrhyncha supplied by the comogrammateus. Lines 1-5 [παρὰ . . . . . ]υ "Ηρωνος κωμογρ(αμματέως) 'Οξυρύγχ(ων) [........ τ]ών ὑπὸ [τ]οῦ τῆς μερίδο(ς) βασιλ(ικοῦ) γρα(μματέως) Πτολεμαίο(υ) είς [ἐπίσκεψιν] μεταδοθέντ(ων) προσοδικῶν έδαφῶν τοῦ ις (ἔτους) [Αὐτοκράτορος Κ]αίσαρος Τραιανοῦ Αδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ (A. D. 131-2). είναι εί followed by a survey-list of holdings with rents, γείτονες,

&c., which is continued in the fragmentary Cols. vi-viii. Col. viii has been cut down the middle and joined to another document in a different hand (Col. ix), the line of junction corresponding to the margin between Cols. viii and vii of the verso. This is a return by σιτολόγοι γ τοπ(αρχίαs) to an official of the Πολέμωνος μερίς, probably the basilicogrammateus, and mentions  $\beta$ ασ [ιλ(ικην) γην (πυροῦ) φογη' προσοίδ(ου) (ἄρουραι)?] λδ (πυροῦ) <math>[... Διο]νυσοδωριανής οὐσίας (πυροῦ)  $\epsilon y'\eta'$ , but is too much damaged to be intelligible. Cols. x-xv, corresponding to Cols. vi-i of the commentary, belong to an account of seed-corn issued at the rate of I artaba per aroura to various cultivators of Crown land, the rent of the holdings being described in detail. Col. xi is well preserved, but the others are more or less broken. The formula is the same throughout; e.g. xi. 7-15 Μυσθας Ἡρακλήο(υ) τοῦ  $\Delta \epsilon$ ίου τοῦ 'Οννώ $(\phi \rho \iota o s)$  καὶ  $\Delta \epsilon \hat{\iota} o s$   $\Delta (o v το \hat{v})$  'Οννώ $(\phi \rho \iota o s)$  (ἄρουραι) γδ'η'ι'ς'ξ'δ',  $\mathring{\omega}$ ν  $\mathring{a}$ (ν $\mathring{a}$ ) (πυρο $\mathring{v}$ ) δ $\angle$ ι' $\beta'$ μ' (ἄρουραι)  $\beta$ δ'η'ι' $\varsigma'$ , καὶ  $\mathring{a}$ (ν $\mathring{a}$ ) (πυρο $\mathring{v}$ ) δ $\angle$ κ'μ' (ἄρουρα) a, (πυροῦ) γγ'η'. 'Αγχορίμφ(ι)ο(s) 'Οννώφριο(s) τοῦ Δείου (ἄρουραι) ι ∠δ', ὧν δ(ν λ)(πυροῦ) δ $\angle$ ι'β'μ' (ἄρουραι) β $\angle$ , καὶ ἀ(νὰ) (πυροῦ) δ $\angle$ δ'.'' (ἀρούραs) δ' $\eta'$ , καὶ  $\mathring{a}(\nu \mathring{a})$   $(\pi \nu \rho \circ \widehat{v})$   $\delta \angle$   $(\mathring{a}\rho \circ \acute{v}\rho as)$   $\angle \iota' \varsigma' \lambda' \beta'$ ,  $\kappa a \grave{\iota} \mathring{a}(\nu \grave{a})$   $(\pi \nu \rho \circ \widehat{v})$   $\delta \iota' \varsigma'$   $\kappa a \grave{\iota} \iota' \epsilon' o' \epsilon'$   $(\mathring{a}\rho \circ \iota \rho a \iota)$  $\beta$ , καὶ ἀ(νὰ) (πυροῦ) δy' καὶ ι'ϵ'ο'ϵ' (ἄρουραι) {(αρουραι)}  $\gamma \eta' \iota' \varsigma' \lambda' \beta'$ , καὶ ἀ(νὰ) (πυροῦ) δ $\angle$ κ'δ' $\mu'$  (ἄρουραι) βι'ς', (πυροῦ) ι $\angle$ δ'. 21-δ Πενεουῆρις Ἡρακλήο(υ) τοῦ Πενεουήριο(s) καὶ Πενε[ο]υ $\hat{\eta}(ριs)$  πρεσ $\beta(\hat{v}τεροs)$  Δείου τοῦ Όννώφριο(s) καὶ Ἡρακλ $\hat{\eta}s$ Ήρακλήο(υ) τοῦ Πενεουή(ριος) οἱ γ (ἄρουραι) 5η'ί'5'ξ'δ', ὧν ἀ(νὰ) (πυροῦ) εε' καὶ  $\iota' \epsilon' o' \epsilon'$  (ἄρουραι)  $\gamma \eta' \iota' \varsigma' \xi' \delta'$ , καὶ  $\dot{a}(\nu \dot{a})$  ( $\pi \nu \rho o \hat{v}$ ) δ $L \delta' \mu'$  (ἀρούρας)  $L \lambda' \beta'$ , καὶ  $\mathring{a}(\nu \mathring{a})$   $(\pi \nu \rho o \hat{v})$   $\delta \angle \delta' o' \epsilon'$   $(\mathring{a}\rho o \nu \rho a \iota)$   $\beta$ , καὶ  $\mathring{a}(\nu \mathring{a})$   $(\pi \nu \rho o \hat{v})$   $\delta \delta'$   $(\mathring{a}\rho o \acute{\nu} \rho a s)$   $\delta' \eta' \iota' \varsigma' \lambda' \beta'$ ,  $(\pi\nu\rho\circ\hat{\nu})$   $\in$   $\in$ ' $\kappa'\delta'$ . The fractions  $\frac{1}{15}$ ,  $\frac{1}{18}$ ,  $\frac{1}{20}$ ,  $\frac{1}{40}$ , and  $\frac{1}{75}$  of an artaba are unusual; cf. 918. introd. and P. Tebt. 341.

**987.**  $7.7 \times 9.4$  cm. A piece of vellum with the name " $A\pi\alpha$   $B(\kappa\tau\omega\rho)$  in uncials enclosed in an ornamental border, and below in different ink].  $\overline{\chi\rho}$ . Fifth or sixth century.

988. 15 × 18·4 cm. On the recto is the conclusion of two copies of a χειρόγραφον concerning a loan of corn, the first copy having lost the beginnings of lines. Col. ii. 1–10 ἀποδώσω δέ σοι τὰ προκείμενα κεφάλαια σὺν τοῖς συναχθησομένοις διαφόροις τῷ Παῦνι μηνὶ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος τετάρτου ἔτους ἐφ' ἄλω Ἰσίου Παγγὰ νέα καθαρὰ ἄδολα ἄβωλα κεκοσκινευμένα, τὸν μὲν πυρὸν καὶ ἄκρειθον ὡς εἰς τὸ δημόσιον μετρούμενον, τὴν δὲ κριθὴν καλῶς πεπατημένην χωρὶς δίσης καὶ ἀθέρος, πάντα μέτρω τῷ προκειμένω κ.τ.λ. Dated in the 4th year of Severus Alexander, Athur 30 (A. D. 224). On the verso is a memorandum concerning the sale of unproductive land, of which the text is Ἐγλημ(φθὲν?) ἐκ γραφῆς ὑπολόγου ιη (ἔτους) Κομόδου Ἰσείου Παγγὰ ἀρχεπόλιδος κλήρου μεθ() καὶ τῶν συνχωρουμένων εἰς πρᾶσιν οὐκ ἔλασσον διπλῆς τιμῆς μεθ() ἄμμου κατεξ(υσμένου) (ἀρουρῶν) δ, γείτ(ονες)

νότ(ου)  $\beta a(\sigma\iota\lambda\iota\kappa\dot{\eta}$ ?) διὰ 'Αριστάνδ(ρου) Ζήνωνος καὶ ἄλλων κακοφυής, βορρά Σαραπιάδος 'Ηρώδου νυνὶ 'Ηρώδου Διονυσίου, ἀπηλιώτ[ου]  $\dot{\eta}$  μεγ[ά]λη διῶρυξ, λιβ(ὸς)  $\dot{\eta}$  έτέρα διῶρυξ, χερσάμμου (ἀρουρῶν) ζ, γείτ(ονες) πάντοθ(εν) [Σα]ραπιάδ(ος) 'Ηρώδου

νυνί Ἡρώδ[ου] Διονυσίου. Third century, soon after A. D. 224.

989. 24 × 10·8 cm. A list of persons and εργαστήρια at different villages, sent apparently to some official with a view to the exaction of a contribution from them. The text is . . . Πασίων χαλκεύς. εν εποικίφ Πτολεμᾶ εργαστήριον. καὶ εν κώμη Τήι εργαστήριον] 'Αμμωνίου σὺν τοῖς υἱ[οῖς] καὶ Εὐαγγέλου χαλκ[έως.] καὶ εν εποικίφ Τααμ[πέμου] εργαστήριον. καὶ εν κώμη "Ωφι εργαστήριον. καὶ εν τῷ 'Ηρακλείφ εποικίφ εργαστήριον, καταμένι ὸὲ εν εποικίφ Σινπέκλη καλουμ[ε]νφ. καὶ εν κ[ώμ]η Σερύφει Ψεναμοῦνις υἱὸς Διοσκόρου. καὶ εν κώμη Πανεύει Παγῶνις. καὶ εν Θώσβι Σαλόβις. καὶ εν Χύσι ἄνω 'Ιβοεῖς. καὶ 'Ισίου Τρύφωνος Πένβα. καὶ εν κώμη 'Αδεὺ 'Αμμώνιος. ἀξιοῦμεν τούτους συντελεῖν σὺν ἡμεῖν. Late third or fourth century. Incomplete, the beginning being lost. 26 lines.

990. 9.5 × 25.3 cm. Beginning of a will of a woman. The text is 'Υπατείας 'Ιουνίου Βάσσου καὶ Φλαουίου 'Αβλαβίου τῶν λαμπροτάτων ἐπάρχων Μεσορὴ κη ἐν τῷ λαμπρῷ καὶ λαμπροτάτῃ 'Οξυρυγχειτ[ῶν] πόλει. Αὐρηλία 'Αϊᾶς θυγάτηρ 'Αγα[θ]οῦ Δαίμονος Κεκιλίου ἄρξ(αντος) γενομ[ένου . . . . .] τῆς λαμπ(ρᾶς) καὶ λαμπ(ροτάτης) 'Οξυρυγχειτῶν πόλεως τόδε τὸ βούλη[μα . . . .] ἐποίησα νοοῦσα καὶ φρονοῦσα ἐπινόσως ἔχουσα γραφ[ἐν ? . . . .] 'Ε[λ]ληνικοῖς γράμμασιν κατὰ τὰ συνκεχωρημένα ὑπ[. . . , followed by parts of two more lines. For the formula cf. 907. A. D. 331. 8 lines.

991. 8·3 × 11 cm. Beginning of a petition (?) addressed to a police official called ἐπόπτης εἰρήνης. The text is Ὑπατείας ᾿Αντωνίου Μαρκελλίνου καὶ Πετρωνίου Προβίνου τῶν λαμ(προτάτων) (cf. P. Cairo 10690) Φαρμοῦθι ι. Φλαυίω Διοσκόρω ἐπόπτη ἰρήνης Ὁξυρυγχίτου παρὰ Αὐρηλίας Τααμμωνίου Σαραπίωνος ἀπὸ κώμης Σερύφεως γ ο΄ (sic, not π(άγου)) τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομοῦ . . . A. D. 341. 9 lines.

992. 8.6 x 16·1 cm. Order for the payment of a jar of wine. The text is Ἰουλιανὸς Δωροθέφ. παρασχοῦ Μαρία γυνή (sic) Πεκολαρίω (l. -ου) οἴνο[υ] δι(πλοῦν) α ἐν λοχίαις αὐτῆς. σεσημ(είωμαι) οἴνου διπλοῦν α. (ἔτους) πθ μη (l. νη) Φαρμοῦθι

κβ. A. D. 413. Written across the fibres. Complete. 6 lines.

993. 6.9 × 7.3 cm. Order issued by a church for the payment of two jars of wine to a plasterer on the occasion of a feast. The text is + 'H ἀγία ἐκ(κ)λ(ησία) 'Ανουθίφ δι(ακόνφ?) οἰκ(ονόμφ?) τοῦ ἀγίου Γαβριήλ. παρασχ(οῦ) τῷ κουιατῆ ὑπ(ἐρ) τῆς ἐορτ(ῆς) τοῦ Τῦβι β ἰνδ(ικτίονος) οἴν(ου) δι(πλᾶ) β δύο μ(όνα), followed by flourishes. Sixth century. Complete. 5 lines.

994. 30·5 × 8 cm. Order for the payment of 12 artabae of corn to a monk. The text is +Φοιβά[μμ]ων κόμ(ες) καὶ Σαμουὴλ περίβλ(επτος). παρασχοῦ Ἰούστω μονάζ(οντι) λόγ(ου) ὀψωνίου κατὰ συνήθ(ειαν) καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐνάτης ἰνδικτίονος σίτ(ου) καγκέλλω ἀρτάβας δώδεκα, γί(νοιται) σίτ(ου) καγ(κέλλω) (ἀρτάβαι) ιβ

- μό(ναι). (ἔτους) ρος ρμε Θωθ.. ἰνδικ(τίονος) θ. + A. D. 499. A difficulty arises, as often, in the figure of the indiction, which should be the 8th not the 9th. Written across the fibres. Complete. 4 lines.
- 995. 31 x 11 cm. An illiterate receipt for a solidus and three κόμτα. The text is  $\chi\mu\gamma + Kv\rho\iota(\omega)$  μου ἀδελφ(ω) Βαριχω Φοιβάμμων χερ(ιστής). Εχω τῆς σῆς ἀρετῆς ὑπὲρ τοῦ κυρίου μ ου] Ἰωάννου χρισοῦ νομιματιαν ἔνα, γί(νεται) ν[ο(μισμάτιον)] α μόνον. Μεσορὴ ια θ ἰνδ(ικτίονος) ἀρχῷ. ιε ὁμοί(ως) καὶ κόμτα (=comta?) τρία μόνα, χρυσίου νομ(ισμάτιον?). Written across the fibres, in the fifth century. Complete. 4 lines.
- 996. 17-1 × 29-4 cm. Deed whereby two γεωργοί become surety to the heirs of Flavius Apion that two other γεωργοί, Praous and Georgius, would remain on the estate belonging to the heirs, the formula being practically identical with that of 135, beginning Βασιλείας τοῦ θειστάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπ[ό]του μεγίσ[του ε]ὐεργέτου Φλαο[υίου] Τιβερίου Μαυρι[κί]ου τοῦ αἰωνίο[υ] Αὐγούστου καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους γ, ὑπατείας τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐσεβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν δεσπ(ότου) ἔτους α ᾿Αθὺρ κδ ἰνδ(ικτίονος) τρίτης (Α. D. 584). τοῖς ὑπερφυεστάτοις διαδόχοις . . . ᾿Ανήσιος πρεσβύτερος υἰὸς ᾿Ανοὺπ μητρὸς Τάβης καὶ Αὐρήλιος ᾿Ανοὺπ φρουτιστὴς υἰὸς ᾿Ανησίου ἐτέρου μητρὸς Ταπάνης δρμώμενοι ἀπὸ ἐποικίου μεγάλου Μούχεως καὶ Γεώργιος υἰὸς Ἰωάννου ἀπὸ ἐποικίου Εὐτυχιάδος . . . ὁμολογοῦμεν ἔκουσία γνώμη κ.τ.λ. Nearly complete, only the last few lines, which corresponded to 185. 28-31, being missing. Title on the verso. 21 lines.
- 997. 15·1 × 9·2 cm. An account relating to various Oxyrhynchite villages, perhaps a list of fines for arrears of taxes. The text is [? 'Υπ]ερ ι' (= δεκάτης?) παρολκῶν (cf. P. Amh. 126. 20 ὑπ(ερ) ὑπερχρονί(ας)). Νε[ίλ]ου ἐποικ(ίου) κε, Τανάεως κε, Πέτνη κ, Τακολκίλεως ι, Τεξεεὶ ι, Σεφὼ λ, Ταμπείτει λε, 'Ιέμη ις, and on the verso in a different hand Νείλου ἐποικ(ίου) [.,] Τανάεως δ. Fourth century. Practically complete. 11 lines.
- 998. 32 × 45 cm. Account of allowances (?) to inhabitants of various Oxyrhynchite villages, beginning [Γν]ῶσ(ις) τῆς παραχωρήσ(εως) τοῦ δεσπό(του) ἡμῶν τοῦ κύρου οὕτως τοῖς ἀπὸ Παλώσεως ᾿Αλεξ(ανδρείας) νο(μισμάτια) ογ κερ(άτια) δ, [τ]οῖς ἀπὸ Εὐαγγελείου καὶ Τίλλωνος σί(του) ἀ(ρτάβαι) σ καὶ ᾿Αλεξ(ανδρείας) νο(μισμάτια) ις. The other payments are made to [τ]οῖς ἀπὸ Νεκώνθεως ὑ(πὲρ) ἀποτάκτ(ων) χωρ(ίων), [τ]οῖς ἀπὸ Ταμπέτι, Σεφώ, Πακέρκη, Μεσκανούνεως, Σκέλους, Τερύθεως καὶ Θεαγένους καὶ Νικήτου, Μελίτα, Νήσου Λαχανίας, Θαήσιος, Παγγουλεείου, Νήσου Λευκαδίου, Λουκίου, Ταρουσέβτ, Ταρουθίνου, Τακόνα, ᾿Οστρακίνου, ᾽Ιβίωνος, Στεφανίωνος. The total is given in a second column, γί(νονται) σί(του) (ἀρτάβαι) ,ατπς καὶ ᾿Αλεξ(ανδρείας) νο(μισμάτια) τκ κερ(άτια) δ. Late sixth century. Practically complete. 24 lines. The papyrus was briefly described as 191.

- 999. 34 × 37·3 cm. Account of receipts and expenditure on one of the estates of Flavius Apion the younger (cf. 138. 5). Lines 1-5 Φλαουίφ 'Απίωνι τῷ πανευφ(ήμφ) καὶ ὑπερφυ(εστάτφ) ἀπὸ ὑπάτω[ν ὀρδιναρί]ω(ν) γεουχοῦντι (καὶ) ἐνταῦθ(α) τῷ λαμπρῷ 'Οξυργχιτῶν πόλει. λόγο(s) λ[ημμά(των)] καὶ ἀναλωμά(των) γεν[ο]μέ(νων) δι' ἐμοῦ Στεφάνου προ(νοητοῦ) Παγγουλεείου σὺν το(îs) ἄλλ(οιs) μέρ(εσι) (καὶ) Μα[ρ]γαρίτου καὶ 'Αμβιοῦτος καὶ Μαιουμᾶ καὶ ἄλλ(ων) ἐξωτικ(ῶν) τόπων (καὶ) ἐπὶ τῆς ε ἰνδ(ικτίονος) (ἔτους) σην (καὶ) σξβ (Α. D. 616-7). λήμμ(ατα) οὕ(τως) π(αρὰ) κληρ(ονόμων) 'Απφοῦτος 'Επιμάχου ἀπὸ κτήμ(α)τ(ος) Παγγουλεείου σίτου κ(αγκέλλφ) (ἀρτάβαι) νε (καὶ) νο(μισμάτια) ση . . ., followed by similar entries. one of which is π(αρὰ) τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν γεωργῶν ὑ(πὲρ) ἰδί(ας) γῆς. The names Σεναμοῦν and Ταπητάρ(ιος ?) occur. Title on the verso. One nearly complete column, probably followed by another which is lost. 22 lines in all. The papyrus was briefly described as 196.
- 1000. 6·3 × 26·8 cm. Receipt similar to 915 for 4 λίτραι of tin, provided by Apollos, μολυβουργός, εἰς διόρθωσ(ιν) τοῦ λέβυτος (l. λέβητος) τοῦ γεουχικ(οῦ) μακελλαρ(ίου). Written across the fibres, about A. D. 572. Cf. 915. introd. Nearly complete. 2 lines.
- 1001. 8·3 × 31·2 cm. A similar receipt for 6 λίτραι of tin and 4 of lead provided by Apollos Γεωργίω γαστρισι( ) (? = καστρισίω, castrensi) είς μότοσι(ν) (cf. P. Brit. Mus. III. 1177. 295 μοτώματος) τῶν μαγειρικ(ῶν) [σ]κε[ν]ῶ[ν] τοῦ δεσπ(ότου) ἡμῶν τοῦ κύρου. Written across the fibres, about A.D. 572. Nearly complete. 3 lines.
- 1002.  $5.8 \times 31.5$  cm. A similar receipt for 8 λίτραι of lead and some tin provided by Apollos εἰς διόρθ(ωσιν) τοῦ σωλῆν(ος) λεγομ(ένου) Σαβητ() τοῦ λουτρ(οῦ) τῆς μεγάλ(ης) οἰκ(ίας) εἰς ἐπιβουλ[. Written across the fibres, about A. D. 572. Incomplete. 3 lines.
- 1003. 6.5 x 30.3 cm. A similar receipt for 8 λίτραι of lead and 4 of tin provided by Apollos εἰς διόρθωσ(ιν) τῶν χαλκίων τοῦ κτήμ(ατος) Μεσκανούνεως. Written across the fibres, about A.D. 572. Nearly complete, 2 lines.
- 1004. 34.2 × 17.2 cm. Arabic papyrus containing on the recto 24 lines, of which the ends are missing, and on the verso a complete letter (?) of 9 lines in a large hand. Seventh or eighth century.
- 1005. 18.9 x 22.1 cm. Arabic papyrus containing on the recto 8 complete lines with part of one line at right angles, and on the verso the last 10 lines of another document with part of one line at right angles. Seventh or eighth century.
- 1006. 15.6 x 7.7 cm. A complete Arabic document of 13 lines, written on paper in the mediaeval period.

## INDICES

#### I. NEW LITERARY TEXTS.

## (a) 852 (EURIPIDES, Hypsipyle).

## (Numbers in thick type refer to fragments.)

```
ἀγαθός 60. 115.
ayeur 1. i. 7, iv. 1; 20-1. 16;
  60. 20; 64. 68, 86, 93,
άγκάλη 32. 5, 9; 60. 10.
άγρός 60. 33, 61.
άγρίως 60. 56.
αγρός 1. iv. 17.
άγχίαλος 1. ii. 26.
άγω 19. 2.
άγών 60. 102.
adeur 1. ii. 21.
άδέσποτος 1. i. II.
"Αδραστος 1. ii. 34; 8–9. 14;
  60. 8o.
àci 1. ii. 20; 2. 8; 60. 99.
deίρευ 1. ii. 39.
ãζηλος 61. 2 (?).
ἀήρ 57. 22.
åθλιος 64. 99.
ἄθυρμα 1. i. 2.
aiai 64. 72.
Aiyaios 1. ii. 27; 64. 103.
Aiywa 1. iii. 7.
αίθήρ 57. 9.
alpeir 1. iv. 27 (εὐρεθείς Pap.).
alσχρός 60. 16, 41; 66. 6.
αλσχύνεσθαι 60. 58.
alria 60. 16.
άκοντίζειν 60. 72.
ἀκούειν 60. 47, 51.
ἀκτή 64. 80, 104.
άλητευ 8-9. 3.
άλκή 20-1. 6.
άλλά 2.9; 10.4; 20-1.13;
  60. 33, 99; 64. 90.
```

```
άλλαγή 69. 5.
άλλος 1. iv. 35, v. 33; 60.
  11, 48.
άλμη 60. 13.
άλσος 1. iv. 10, 14; 60.
  108.
άμαρτάνειν 60. 48.
αμείβειν 1. iii. 30; 8-9. 7;
  60. 7.
άμός 59. 2.
άμφί 60. 74.
Αμφιάραος 1. iv. 15, 29; 64.
  63. 'Αμφιάρεως 1. iv. 42;
  60. 25; 63. 6.
'Αμφιόνιος 1. ii. 33.
ἀμφίς 1. iii. 30.
āν 1. iv. 6, 9, 29; 57. 17;
  60. 19, 52; 61. 11; 62.
   4. = ἐάν 1. iii. 32; κᾶν
  22. 7. = dv\acute{a} 1. ii. 29,
  iv. 14.
ảvá 57. 9; 64. 58. ấv 1. ii.
  29, iv. 14.
åvaβoâr 1. iii. 17.
άναγκαῖος 60. 93.
άναδιδόναι 57. 12.
αναίτιος 60. 109.
dváfus 20-1. 3; 60. 54.
άνάπαλιν 64. 59.
ἀνάπαυμα 1. iii. 14.
άναπεταννύναι 8-9. 17.
ανάπτειν 1. iii. 5.
ãνασσα 60. 23.
ανατιθέναι 68. 4.
ανερμήνευτος 1. iv. 18.
ανήνυτος 61. 9.
```

```
ἀνήρ 1. iii. 24, iv. 24; 60. 49;
   63. 2.
ανθρωπος 1. iv. 15; 84. 3.
ἀνιέναι 60. 47.
ἀνοδύρεσθαι 1. iv. 7.
άντάγειν 57. 19.
αντεσθαι 64. 64 (?).
ãνω 1. ii. 8.
å£105 64. 69.
ἀοιδή 1. iv. 4.
απάγειν 1. ii. 30.
äπas 1. iv. 27.
ἄπειρος 20-1, 8,
ἀπέρχεσθαι 20-1. 13.
απληστος 64. 71.
από 1. iv. 33; 58. 4.
αποβαίνειν (v. l. ἐπιβ.) 1. iii. 22.
αποδιδόναι 64. 65; 72. 6 (?).
ἀποί 38. 4.
απολείπειν 1. iii. 34.
απολλύναι 32. 10; 60. 14, 28.
'Απόλλων 60. 26.
άπομαστίδιον 64. 94.
ἀπόπτολις 70. Ι.
ἀπορία 1. iv. 18.
ἄπορος (l. ἄφιλος?) 1. iv. 18.
ãρα 60. 21, 86.
'Aργείος L ii. 31, iii. 28, iv.
  34; 60. 32, 62, 80.
"Apyos 42. 2; 60. 50, 97.
'Αργώ 1. ii. 19; 60. 14; 64.
άρετή 27. 5.
άρήγειν 60. 16, 39.
"Αρης 64. 102.
àριθμός 22. 7 (?).
```

*ἄροτος* 1. iii. 25. αρσην 1. i. II. Αρχέμορος 60. 78.  $d\rho\chi\dot{\eta}$  1. iii. 27; 60. 77. 'Aσιάς 1. iii. 9; 64. 101. άσκοπος 57. 21. ἄσμενος 1. iv. 20. 'Ασωπία 1. iv. 27. άτη 1. iii. 31. ai 60. 89. αὐγή 1. ii. 4. aὐδâν 1. ii. 14. αὐλή 8-9. 6. αυξημα 1. ii. 5. αθρα 58. Ι (?). αὐτός 60. 92, 102. άφικνείσθαι 60. 37. ἄφιλος (ἄπορος Pap.) 1. iv. 18. ά φιστάναι 57. 4. ãφρων 68. 10. ἄχθεσθαι 60. 92.

βαίνειν 34-5. 6. Bárxios 64. 106. βάλλειν 1. ii. 18; 57. 8. βαρύβρομος 64. 80. βασίλεια 1. iii. 29. Βασιλεύς 8-9. 13. Biaus 60. 40. Bios 60. 94. βιοτή 64. 08. βλέπειν 60. 52. βλώσκειν 1. iv. 33; 62. 6; 64. 104. βοâν 1. iii. 10. βου[λ 22. 4. βούλεσθαι 1. iv. 36; 60. 53. βότρυς 57. 11; 64. 111. Βρόμιος 58. 3. βροντ 73. 5. βρότειος 60. 100. βροτός 60. 90, 92.

γάλα 57. 13. γαλήνεια 1. iii. 4. γαμεῖν 1. v. 5. γάνος 60. 60. γάρ 1. iv. 19, 31, v. 8; 12. 3; 20–1. 14; 60. 17, 18, 20, 23, 27, 28, 35, 41, 44, 48,

52, 54, 77, 101, 109, 110; **64.** 69, 75, 106; **66**. 6. γε 20-1. 6, 8, 13; 60. II (để Pap.); 64. 106. γενεά 1. iii. 38. γένειον 60. 26. γενναίος 8-9. 11; 22. 9. γένος 1. iv. 34; 57. 25(?); **59.** 7. γη̂ 1. iv. 25; 20-1. 12, 15; **60**. 93. γίγνεσθαι 18. 7; 60. 88. γιγνώσκειν 20-1. 9. γλυκύς 32. 4. γόνυ 60. 25, 30. yóos 1. iv. 6. Γοργάς 64. 77. γοργωπός 18. 3. γρα[ 1. i. 1. γυνή 1. i. 7, iv. 38, v. 1, 28; 2. 3; 20-1. 1; 22. 5; **60**. 45, 49, 55, 89; **64**. 63; 74. 3. δάκρυ 1. iv. 7; 64. 96. Δαναίδαι 1. iv. 36; 64. 87 (?). Δαναοί 1. iii. 16; 60. 34. δεδοικέναι 20-1. 7. δεικνύναι 28. 1; 60. 43; 60. deîv 1. i. 9; 60. 95, 96. δείσθαι 1. i. 6. δέρος 1. ii. 23. δέσμιος 60. 29. δέσποινα 84-5. 2. δεῦρο 1. ii. 29; 64. 83. δέχεσθαι 1. v. 3; 20-1. 10; **58.** 7; **60**. 19, 89. δή 1. iii. 33, iv. 38; 20-1. 13; 24. 3; 57. 24; 60. 18; 61. 6; 64. 66, 67. δήλος 8-9. 9. δητα 20-1. 6, 10; 27. 4; **64**. 70. ðiá 1. ii. 19; 22. 3, 7(?); 60. 17, 28, 33, 58, 61; **64**. 103. δίαιτα 60. 115.

διαριθμείν 22. 7 (?).

διαφέρειν 60. 46.

διδάσκειν 64. 101. διδόναι 1. v. 7, 35; 34-5. 6; **60**. 98; **61**. 14; **64**. 97. διεκπεράν 60. 96. διήκειν 60. 45. διιπετής 1. iv. 31. δίκαιος 60. 117. δίκη 60. 57. διολλύναι 60. 17. Διόνυσος 57. 2; 64. 152. Διοτρόφος 1. iii. 23. δισ 78. 5. δμωίς 34-5. 5. δοκείν 5. 5(?); 27. 6; 60. 5, 9. δόμος 1. i. 9, iii. 20, iv. 13, 20, 22; 8-9. 16; 34-5. 6; 60. 23, 36. δόρυ 8-9. 11. δουλεία 61. 8. δοῦλος 1. ii. 18, iv. 22, 23; 20-1. 16. δουλοσύνη 64. 86. δράκων 1. ii. 24; 18. 2; 60. δράν 18. 6; 60. 42; 66. 5. δρόμος 60. 73. δροσίζειν 7. 4. δρόσος 1. ii. 17. δρῦς 1. ii. 23. δυ[να 1. ν. 30. δυνατός 1. i. 8. δύο 64. 105. δυστυχείν 61. 7. δυσχερής 1. iv. 19. δώμα 1. i. 12, ii. 16, iv. 24; **34**-5. 4. Δωρίς 1. iv. 12. δώτωρ 7. 5. ểâν 20-1. 13; 27. 3. eyyús 1. iv. 11; 10. 3. έγώ 1. ii. 11, iii. 15, iv. 19; 10. 6; 12. 4; 20-1. 9, 15; 60. 8, 12, 16, 21,

28, 29, 31, 36, 60, 76,

89; **61**. 13; **64**. 64, 65,

72 (ἐμέθεν), 76, 86, 93, 98,

100, 101, 110; 72. 3;

75. 2.

č 11. I, 2. el 1. 1, 8; 20-1. 15; 60. 53, 59; 64. 73; 78. 4. εἰ δή 1. iv. 38. εἴ που 1. v. 10. eldévai 60. 18, 35. 37, 51. einós 60. 97. είλάτινος 1. iii. 14. elva 1. i. 5, 10, iv. 28, 34, v. 6; 60. 31, 32, 51, 54, 95, 101, 104; 61. 13 (?); **63.** 3; **64.** 64, 71; **65.** 8. είπείν 20-1. 4; 59. 8; 60. 34. είργειν 88. 3. είρεσία 8-9. 8. eis 1. i. 8, v. 6; 64. 58. els 1. ii. 11, iii. 32, iv. 35; **2.** 9; **5.** 3; **20–1.** 6; **60**. 48, 52, 93, 99; 68. 3; **64**. 85, 98. είσβαίνειν 1. iv. 20. είσοδος 1. ii. 16. eloopâr 60. 20, 29. elσπίπτειν 1. iv. 16. eire 1. iv. 22, 23. čk 1. iv. 34; 82. 11. έκγαληνίζειν 1. i. 3. έκδημία (έρημία Pap.) 1. iv. 15. έκδιδάσκειν 60. 54. êxeî 28. 2. eκeîθεν **64**. 83. έκκλέπτευ 64. 79. έκλάμπειν 64. 62. έκουσίως 60. 35. ἐκπείθειν 64. 60. έκπνεῖν 60. 38. έκτελε**ιν 32. 4**. έλεγος 1. iii. 9. έλεύθερος 60. 24; 61. 12. έλίσσευ 1. ii. 27; 60. 74; **64.** 61. **Ελλην 60. 32, 44.** έμαυτοῦ 60. 46. έμμεν 12. 3. έμός 1. iv. 5; 60. 10, 11, 18, 19, 27, 44; 64. 94, 95, 97; 66. 1; 70. 11. έμπολή 64. 87. *ἐμπορία* 1. iv. 11.

*ёµпира* **60.** 33, 58. έν 1. iv. 21, 29; 2. 4; 20-1. 12; 22. 10; 32. 5; 60. 27, 105; 64. 77, 90. έναυλίζειν 1. i. 8. ένέπειν 64. 92, 100. ένθάδε 64. 87. ένοπή 8-9. 13. ἔνοπτρον 1. ii. 3. έντός 1. i. 7. έξ 1. iv. 27; 60. 13. έξάγειν 20-1. 15; 59. 6. έξαμαρτάνειν 22. 8. έξεπίστασθαι 60. 41. έξευρίσκειν 20-1. 6. έξισοῦν 39. 2. έξω 1. v. 28; 34-5. 5. έοικέναι 57. Ι. έπαιδεῖσθαι 60. 21. έπασκείν 60. 59. enel 18. 5 (?); 64. 64, 95. **ἔπειτα 60. 47.** έπεσθαι 60. 30. έπέχειν 60. 22. έπί 1. ii. 17, 32, iii. 4, 19, iv. 7, 9; **32**. 9; **58**. 9; **60.** 10, 22; **64**. 60, 68, 81, 89. ἐπιβαίνειν 1. iii. 22 (v. l. ἀποβ.); **64.** 86. έπιβουλεύειν 60. 36. έπιχώριος 1. iv. 28. έπονομάζειν 60. 107. έπτά 60. 87. έπωμ 58. 9. τργον 1. ii. 33. έρεῖν 1. v. 27. έρεσθαι 1. iv. 23. έρέτης 1. iii. 12. έρημία 1. iv. 15 (l. ἐκδημία?). έρημος 1. iv. 14, 17; 64. 82. έρις 8-9. 7. ξρυμα 1. ii. 32. ξρχεσθαι 1. iv. 9; 38. 2 (?); **60**. 16, 18; **61**. 3, 5; **64**. 83; **72**. 3. is 58. 8; 60. 49; 64. 65, 93 (els Pap.), 102.

*ἀσθή*ς 1. iv. 13.

έσω 34-5. 6; 61. 3.

έσωθεν 58. 11. έτερος 1. iii. 17, 28; 60. 91. έτοιμος 88. 4 (?). è 60. 41, 42. εὐδαιμονεῖν 64. 69, 70. εδελπις 20-1. 4. εὐήμερος **64**. 62. εὐνέτης 64. 78. ευπρεπής 60. 23. ευρίσκειν 1. iv. 27 (l. αίρεθείς); 20-1. 15. Εὐρυδίκη 22. 11. Ευρώπη 1. iii. 22. εὐσεβής 60. 40. εὐτυχία 64. 89. εὐτυχῶς 1. iv. 38. εὐωπός 1. ii. 6. έφιστάναι 1. iv. 22; 57. 4 (?). ξχειν 1. i. 9, iii. 36 (?), iv. 10, 18, 23; 8-9. 14; 20-1. 3, 4, 14; 60. 40, 93, 116; 61. 4; 63. 5; 64. 76; 76. 4. έχθρός 1. iv. 15. ζευγνύναι 8-9. 15. Zeús 1. iv. 10, 21, 28. ζηλωτός 60. 104. (ñ» 61. 6. ζυγόν 70. 7. 1. ii. 7, 12, 17, 19, 22, iv. 6; 60. 49, 57, 113; 61. 6; **64.** 109. 1 4. 2. η γάρ 64. 75, 106. ήδη 13. 4. 'Howis 64. 50 schol. я́кег 1. i. 2; 18. 8; 60. 27, 39; 64. 68; 65. 6. **пкиота 2.** 6. **ክ**አፋ 10. 5.

ήμειε 1. i. 8, iv. 37; 60. 69, 75, 77, 98; **64**. 63, 67. ην 22. 8; 27. 7. #πιος 60. 56. ĥσσον 60. 113. ηχείν 1. ii. 28.

θάλαμος 57. 7; 58. 3. θαλάσσιος 64. 81.

Κάδμος 1. iv. 37; 60. 84.

```
θάνατος 1. iv. 5; 20-1. 7;
                                 καθιστάναι 61. ΙΙ.
                                                                    κρωσσός 1. iv. 29.
  75. 5.
                                  καίνειν 64. 78.
                                                                    ктейней 1. iv. 3; 86. 3; 60.
θάπτειν 60. 91, 98.
                                 καιρός 60. 27.
                                                                      9, 36.
                                 κακός 60. 19, 27, 55, 115;
θεά 1. ν. 10.
                                                                   κτημα, 59. 3.
θέλειν 58. 1; 60. 53, 56, 70.
                                                                   κτύπος 1. ii. 8.
                                    61. 2; 64. 70, 76, 88,
θέμις 1. iv. 39; 77. 3.
                                    96; 68. 8. Kakŵs 60. 14.
                                                                    κύκλος 20-1. Ι2.
                                 καλείν 1. ii. 35.
θεός 1. iii. 32, iv. 30, v. 8;
                                                                   κῦμα 1. iii. 19.
  57. 20; 64. 71; 69. 3;
                                  Καλλιόπη 1. iv. 8.
                                                                   κυμο(κ)τύπος 1. ii. 28.
                                 καλός 60. 49, 110; 66. 7.
                                                                    κυναγός 1. iv. 2.
  76. 5; 81. 3.
                                                                   κυπαρισσόροφος 58. 10.
θεραπεία 1. ii. 7.
                                 κấυ 22. 7.
                                 καπνός 58. 2.
                                                                   κυρείν 1. i. 11; 60. 85.
θεράπευμα 1. ii. 12.
θερίζειν 60. 94.
                                 κάρα 60. 43; 64. 74.
                                                                   κωλύειν 62. 5.
Θηβαι 64. 68.
                                 καρδία 61. 3.
                                                                   κώπη 64. 84.
θήρ 8-9. 15.
                                 κάρπιμος 60. 94.
θηρᾶν 1. iv. 41.
                                                                   λαγχάνειν 1. iv. 5.
                                 ката во. 96, 108.
θιγγάνειν 59. 4.
                                 καταθρηνείν 1. iv. 4.
                                                                   λαμβάνειν 1. iv. 29; 36. 4;
                                                                      63. 8 ; 68. 3.
θυήσκειν 80. 3 (?); 60. 8, 15,
                                 κατακτείνειν 64. 75.
                                 καταφεύγειν 63. 2.
  17, 29, 92; 61. 6; 64.
                                                                   λέγειν 1. ii. 11 (υ. l. κρέκειν);
  79; 75. 1 (?).
                                                                      22. 9; 60. 59; 64. 96;
                                 κάτω 64. 57.
                                                                      66. 6, 7.
θόας 1. i. 7; 2. 4; 83. 7;
                                 KELVOS 64. 111.
                                 κέλευσμα 1. iii. 12.
                                                                   λειμών 1. ii. 29, iv. 21.
  64. 105, 115.
Θράκη 64. 51 schol., 98.
                                 κενός 60. 21.
                                                                   λείπειν 1. iii. 22, 26.
                                 κερασφόρος 1. iii. 31.
Θράκιος 1. iii. 2; 64. 50
                                                                   λέκτρον 64. 77.
  schol.
                                 κερκίς 1. ii. 9.
                                                                   λευκαίνειν 60. 13.
                                 κήλημα 82. 7.
                                                                   λευκ οφαής 1. ii. 4.
Θρᾶσσα 1. iii. 10.
                                 κιθάρα 1. ii. 32, iv. 6 (v. l.
θροείν 10. 7.
                                                                   λεύσσειν 10. 4; 18. 3; 60.
θύειν 65. 9.
                                    κίθαρις ΟΓ κιθάρισμα); 64.
                                                                      33.
θυμός 1. iii. 15; 8-9. 12.
                                                                   Λήμνιος 1. ii. 10; 4. 4; 62.
θύρα 33. 2.
                                 κίθαρις 1. iii. 10, iv. 6 (?).
                                                                      3; 64. 104.
                                                                   Λημνος 1. ii. 26 (v. l. νησος);
                                 κιθάρισμα 1. iv. 6 (?).
'Ιάσων 64. 95.
                                 κλεινός 1. ν. 5; 60. 101.
                                                                      64. 73.
ἰατήρ 66. 3.
                                 κληδοῦχος 1. iv. 28.
                                                                   λίβανος 57. 16.
ίδείν 1. ii. 2, iii. 15 (l. ύδείν),
                                 κλήζειν 1. ii. 20, iv. 26.
                                                                   λιμήν 64. 85.
                                                                   λόγος 1. iii. 18; 32. 8; 60.
                                 κλ\hat{\eta}\thetaρον 84–5. 3.
  iv. 17, 20, v. 31; 60. 16,
                                 κλισία 8-9. 10.
                                                                      44; 61. 9.
  23, 75.
ίδού 1. ii. 8.
                                 κλύεω 1. iii. 18, 28; 60. 53.
                                                                   Λυκοῦργος 1. iv. 26; 2. 2.
                                 κοίτη 8-9. 6; 64. 82.
ίδρις 20-1. 5.
                                                                   λυπηρός 1. i. 9.
léva 1. iii. 15.
                                 Κόλχοι 64. 93 (l. Ἰωλκός?).
ιερός 1. ii. 23, iii. 23.
                                 κομίζειν 64. 105; 83. 2.
                                                                   μακάριος 1. i. 5.
ίήως 1. iii. 9.
                                 κομψός 22. 11.
                                                                   μακράν 10. 4.
lkéris 60. 25.
                                 κοσμείν 60. 46; 64. 102.
                                                                   μακρόπολος 1. iii. 11.
                                 Κουρήτες 1. iii. 24.
ἰκνεῖσθαι 60. 86; 64. 80.
                                                                   μάλα 10. 2.
lστάναι 20-1. 2.
                                                                   μάλλον 60. 57.
                                 κράτος 1. iii. 26.
                                                                   μανθάνειν 1. iv. 39; 64. 73.
ίστός 1. iii. 8.
                                 κρέκειν 1. ii. ΙΙ (υ. l. λέγειν).
ίστότονος 1. ii. 10.
                                 κρηναίος 60. 60.
                                                                   μάντις 60. 15.
'Ιώ 1. iii. 29.
                                 κρήνη 18. Ι.
                                                                   μάρτυς 41. 1; 60. 18.
λώ 12. 4; 60. 14; 64. 76.
                                 Κρήτη 1. iii. 23.
                                                                   μάχη 64. 102.
'Ιωλκός 64. 93 (Κόλχοι Pap.).
                                 κρίνειν 20-1. 11.
                                                                   μέγας 1. iv. 43; 60. 12.
                                 κρόταλον 1. ii. 8.
                                                                   μέγεθος 12. 2.
```

κρούειν 1. i. 4.

μελαθρον 1. i. 6, iv. 26.

μέλευ 1. ii. 11. μέλεος 64. 87. μέλλειν 60. 29. μέλος 1. iv. 6. μέλπεσθαι 1. iii. 12. μελφδός 1. ii. 14. μέν 1. i. 11, iii. 13; 60. 8, 40, 41, 48, 68, 88, 90, 95, 105, 112, 116; 64. 63. μέν οὖν 60. 43. μένειν 1. i. 10. μένος 1. ii. 35. μέσος 1. iii. 8, 33. μετά 1. iv. 8. μετανίσσεσθαι 1. iii. 37. μή 22. 3; 27. 7; 60. 16, 81, 95, 117; 64. 79, 89. μηδείς 60. 42. μηλοβοσκός 1. iv. 24.  $\mu \dot{\eta} \tau \eta \rho$  64. 66, 71, 92, 95, 109. μηχανή 64. 106. μιμνήσκεσθαι 1. ii. 6; 60. 106. μνημοσύνη 1. ii. 25. μονοβήμων 1. ii. 38. μονοίκητος 1. iv. 17. μόνος 65. 3 (?). μοῦσα 1. ii. 11, iv. 7; 64. Μυκήναι 1. iv. 34.

valeur 60. 50. νâμα 1. iv. 31. Ναύπλιος 64. 85. raûs 68. 7. ναύτης 64. 84. veavias 1. i. 4; 61. 4. veapós 1. ii. 13. νέκταρ 57. 15. Neµéa 1. iv. 10; 60. 108. Nepeas 1. iv. 21. Νέμειος 1. ii. 29. νεμον 1. iv. 1. véos 60. 91. νησος 1. ii. 26 (v. l. Λημνος). rıkâr 20-1. 13. viv 60. 73. νόστος 60. 85. νύκτερος 8-9. 10. vũv 60. 53; 80. I.

νυχεύειν 8-9. 13. Eerikós 64. 85. ξένος 1. iv. 12 (ξείν.), 25; 2. 7; 27. 5; 60. 30, 43, 50; **64.** 69. ξενών 2. 4. ő (rel.) 1. ii. 27, iii. 6, iv. 3, 10, 11. őðe 1. i. 6, 10, ii. 8, 9, 14, iii. 15, iv. 5, 13, 21, 22, 24, 26; 20-1.5, 14; 60.19, 22, 34, 35, 47, 52, 55, 57, 92, 105; 62. 3; 64. 66, 90, 93, 98. őðios 1. iv. 30. όδοιπόρος 1. iv. 16. óðós 64. 58. όδυρμός 1. i. 3. δζος 1. ii. 24. οίδμα 1. iii. 4; 64. 81. Olκλη̂s 1. iv. 42; 60. 15. olkos 1. i. 11; 58. 8; 59. 5. οίμοι 64. 88, 96. ວັນກຸ **58.** 4. οίνωπός 64. ΙΙΙ. olos 10.5; 20-1.7; 37.4; 66.4. οἶά τε 1.ii. 18; 64.77. οίστρος 1. iii. 29. δλβιος 1. iii. 27, iv. 26. δλλύναι 10. 8. δμμα 1. ii. 24; 60. 44, 52; **64.** 96. όμοῦ 61. 5. δμως **61**. 5. όνειδος 60. 32. δνομα 4. 3. όπη **1**. iv. 19. őπλον 1. ii. 30; 64. 102. όρᾶν 1. iv. 11; 60. 46, 57. δργή **22**. 3 (δι' δργῆς); **60**. 6. ỏρθῶς **60.** 6, 9. δριον 1. iv. 35. δρμᾶν 1. iv. 37; **64**. 67. όρνις 60. 80; 64. 81. όρος 64. 51 schol. ορούειν 1. iii. 3. 'Ορφεύς 1. iii. 10; 64. 98.

νύξ 1. i. 8; 8-9. 6; 57. 23. | δε 1. i. 3, ii. 23, iii. 25, iv. 27, v. 6; 5. 2; 18. 4; 60. 7, 10, 30, 38, 58, 89, 97; **64**. 72; **73**. 4; **88**. 3. όσιος 1. v. 2; 60. 31. őσος 1. i. g. όσπερ 60. 96. δστιε 1. i. 5, ii. 11; 20-1. 15; 60. 21, 90. όταν 1. iv. 16. ότε 1. ii. 29; 57. 25; 64. 64. бті 64. 74. ού, οὐκ 1. ii. q, iv. 31, v. 30; **2**. 4; **12**. 3; **18**. 8; **60**. 9, 11, 40, 49, 52, 54, 57, 90; 62. 5; 68. 5; 64. 74. οὐχί 1. iv. 23; 10. 3; 59. 4. où đ 84-5. 6; 57. 4 (?); 60. 117. oùdeis 60. 7, 20, 90. οῦκουν 20-1. 8. our 1. v. 9; 60. 43. ούνεκα 60. 8. ούριος 61. 2 (?). ούτις 20-1. 4. οὖτος 1. iii. 32, iv. 20, v. 7, 11; 20-1. 9, 11, 13; **27**. 6; **60**. 60, 89, 95; **64**. 102; **93**. 1. ούτω, ούτως 60. 5, 45. Παγγαίος **64.** 51 schol.  $\pi d\theta$ os 1. iv. 5. παίς 1. ii. 13, iii. 21, iv. 42, v. 11; 20-1. 7; 22. 6; 60. 14, 36, 67, 111, 112; **64.** 65, 109; **72.** 3. παρά 1. ii. 15, iii. 8, 18; 8-9. 6; 58. 7; 64. 63. παραινείν 60. 89. παραμύθιον 1. ii. 10. παρείναι 60. 35, 52 ; 61. 5. παρθένος 1. iii. 6. παριέναι 1. ii. 31. πάροικος 18. 2. πâs 1. iv. 32; 18. 6(?), 7;

60. 48, 51.

πάσχειν 20-1. 7; 60. 38, 41,

πατήρ 1. iii. 35; 8-9. 11;
<b>60.</b> 15; <b>64.</b> 74, 75, 95,
00. 15 , 02. 74, 75, 95,
99; <b>64</b> . 105.
πάτρα 1. iii. 30, iv. 40; 8-9.
4.
πάτριος 1. iii. 20.
πεδίον 1. ii. 31.
/8 7 ::
πέδον 1. ii. 17.
πείθειν 27. 7.
πειθώ 60. 116; 83. 1.
πέλας 32. 2; 60. 20.
πελάτης 1. iv. 12.
πέμπειν 60. 22.
πεντηκόντορος 1. ii. 21.
πέπλον 1. iii. 12.
πέρας 77. 4.
περί 1. ii. 23; 8-9. 10; 88.
3.
περιέχειν 32. 5.
Πηλεύς 1. iii. 7.
πήληξ 18. 4.
πημονή 1. iv. 41.
πήνη 1. ii. 9.
πικρός 60. 8.
πικρος ου. ο.
πίτνειν 60. 25.
πίτυλος 1. iii. II.
πλά <b>ξ 62.</b> g.
πλάτη 1. iii. 14.
Πλευρών 8-9. 2.
$\pi\lambda\hat{\eta}\theta$ os 1. iv. 32.
πλήν 60. 11.
πλησίος 60. 50.
πόθεν 1. v. 4.
ποί 20-1. 10.
ποικίλος 1. ii. 36.
70 Minutes 1. II. 30.
ποιμήν 18. 5.
ποίος 1. iv. 33.
πολιός 64. 74.
πόλις 1. iii. 20; 20-1. 10;
<b>64.</b> 93.
Πολύδωρος 1. ν. 9.
110AUOWPOS 1. V. Y.
πολύκαρπος 7. 2.
Πολυνείκης 1. iv. 40.
πολύς 60. 45, 83, 116.
πονείν 60. 90.
πόνος 1. iii. 16, iv. 9.
minus AA to
πόντιος 64. 73.
πορεύειν 91. 3.
πόρος 64. 85, 103.
πόσιε 1. iv. 3.

```
ποταμός 1. iii. 6.
ποτέ 1. i. 5, 9, iv. 1; 57. 6;
  60. 52; 64. 99; 86. 3.
πότερα 1. ii. 16.
πότνια 57. 20.
ποῦ 10. Ι, 2.
που 1. ν. 10.
πούς 20-1. 11; 64. 79.
πρâγμα 60. 6, 114.
πράσσειν 60. 31.
πρέπειν 1. ii. 13.
προδιδόναι 60. 31.
προθύειν 1. iv. 36.
πρόθυμα 60. 62.
προθυμία 20-1. ΙΙ.
πρόθυμος 64. 64, 65.
πρόθυρων 1. ii. 15.
Πρόκρις 1. iv. 2.
πρός 1. iv. 13, 37; 2.5; 60.
  25, 26, 30, 42, 50, 114.
προσδοκία 64. 108.
προσέρχεσθαι 1. i. 6.
πρόσθε 61. 12.
προστιθέναι 60. 24.
πρόσφορος 1. ii. 12.
πρότερον 1. iii. 19.
πουμνήσια 1. iii. 5.
πρφρα 60. 13.
πρωτόγονος 57. 22.
πρῶτον 60. 43.
πύλη L i. 4, iv. 37.
πυρ 87. 2.
πωs 1. iv. 44; 80. 2; 64. 79,
  83, 90.
ρείν 57. 13.
ρευμα 60. 61.
ρύεσθαι 60. 28.
ρυτός 1. iv. 29.
σαίρευ 1. ii. 17.
σαυτοῦ 60. 79.
σαφής 1. iv. 13. σαφώς 65.
  7. σαφέστατος 60. 19.
σείευ 18. 4.
σημα 1. ii. 36; 57. 10.
σίγα 18. 5 (?).
σιγάν 60. 7.
σίδηρος 8-9. 8.
σκοπείν 20-1. 14; 60. 114.
```

```
σμύρνα 58. 2.
σός 1. i. 3, 10, ii. 5, 19; 60.
   28, 30, 38, 39, 43, 100,
  110; 64. 65, 70, 75, 88, 92, 105; 66. 2; 79. 2.
σοφός 1. iii. 18; 61. 14.
στάζειν 57. 14.
στατός 1. iv. 3 τ.
στάχυς 7. 3; 60. 94.
στέγη 1. i. 7.
στείχειν 1. iv. 14.
στένειν 60. 96 ; 64. 89.
στέργευ 60. 12.
στέρνον 64. 94.
στέφανος 60. 103.
στίβος 20-1. 5.
στολ 60. 81.
στόλος 64. 83.
στόμα 1. ii. 20.
στράτευμα 64. 68; 65. 4 (?).
στρατηγός 60. 87.
στρατιά 60. 62.
στρατός 1. iv. 32, 36.
σύ 1. ii. 15, 25, iii. 32, iv. 22,
  39; 20-1. 10; 27. 7;
  60. 17, 18, 23-5, 51, 54,
  56, 79, 111, 112; 61. 10,
  13; 64. 65, 66, 79, 90;
  75. 1. σέθεν 1. iii. 36;
  60. 42, 53. σφώ 64. 66.
  σφῷν 1. i. 5.
συμβάλλευ 60. 117.
σύμβουλος 20-1. 14.
σύμμαχος 68. 5.
συμφορά 20-1. 8; 60. 34,
  39.
σύν 60. 110.
συνταράσσειν 1. iv. 32.
σφαγή 8-9. 9; 60. 22.
σώζειν 60. 21; 63. 6; 64.
  66, 106; 74. 4.
σῶμα 1. iv. 23.
σώφρων 22. 10; 60. 44, 51,
  116.
ταλαίπωρος 60. 55.
τάλας 20-1, 8; 64. 71.
τάσσειν 64. 75.
τάχ ἄν 57. 17.
```

τάχος 60. 47.

ταχύπλους 1. iii. 13. τέκνον 1. ii. 6, iii. 25; 8-9. 15; 32. 6; 34-5. 5; 60. 9, 11, 34, 38, 91; **64**. 58, *{66}*, *73*, *77*, *86*, *91*, *97*, 100, 105; **66**. 3. τεκνούν 1. iii. 7. τέμνειν 64. 74. τέχνη 60. 26, 59. τιθέναι 1. iii. 32; 60. 56, 111; 64. 100. τιθήνημα 60. 10. τίκτευ 1. i. 5 ; 44. 1 ; 60. 11. rís 1. i. 6, 9, 15, iv. 6, 11, 24, 33, v. 34; 10. 7; 20-1. 6, 10, 15; 22. 11; **23.** 1; **24.** 3; **57.** 6, 10; **60**. 95; **64**. 83, 90, 99, 103. τις 1. ii. 4, v. 6; 20-1. 15; **60**. 53, 59; **62**. 7; **64**. 71; 82. 3. τοξεύεω 60. 76. τόξον 1. ii. 37. τόπος 64. 98. τότε 1. iii. 13, 14; 57. 24; **60.** 30 ; **64**. 76. τρέπει» 1. iv. 19; 20-1. 10. τρέφειν 64. 90; 81. 2. τριπε 58. 6. τρισσός 1. iii. 26. τροφός 1. iii. 24; 34-5. 5. τροχάζειν 64. 59. Τύρως 1. iii. 21. τύχη 60. 33, 37; 70. 2. ύδεῖν 1. iii. 15 (ἰδεῖν Pap.). ύδωρ 1. iv. 29, 31; 60. 13. ύμεῖς 1. i. 4. vós 64. 69. ύπερβαίνευ 1. iv. 35.

ύπιδέσθαι 60. 37. υπνος 1. ii. 11; 32. 4 (?). ύπό 57. 8(?); 60. 16. Ύψιπύλη 1. iv. 26, 33; 10. 3; 12. 4; 64. 69, 72. φάναι 23. 1; 60. 36. φάος 57. 21; 70. 6. фатос 16. 4. φέρβειν 60. 12 (φέρειν Pap.). φέρειν 58. 6; 60. 12 (l. φέρβειν), 56, 93; 64. 63. φεῦ 18. 7. φεύγειν 20-1. 5; 64. 72. φίλος 1. ii. 15, iii. 33, 41 (?); 20-1. 14; 32. 6; 58. 5; **60.** 20; **67.** 5. φίλτατος **20-1**. 1. Φλιούντιος 1. iv. 25.  $\phi \delta \beta$  os 18. 4; 20-1. 3; 64. 60, 76. Φοίβος 8-9. 13; 60. 58. Φοινίκη 1, iii. 21. φράζειν 62. 10. φρήν 1. i. 3. φρονείν 1. ν. 2. φροντίς 1. iii. 32. φρουρείν 1. ii. 25. φρούριον 20-1. 12. φυγάς 1. iv. 40; 8-9. 5, 12; 70. 5. φυγή 64. 72. φύειν 1. ν. 10; 60. 45, 90. φύλαξ 18. 18. φυλάσσειν 20-1. 9, 12. φύσις 60. 24, 96, 114.

10; 60. 28; 61. 14; 64. 61, 63, 99. χείν 1. iv. 30 (χρησθαι Pap.). χείρ 32. 11; 58. 7, 10; 64. χέρωψ 1. iv. 30; 6. I; 27. 2. χθών 1. ii. 39, iv. 21, 33, 35; **60**. 50; **103**. 2(?). χορός 1. iii. 18; 13. 4; 22. 9. χρᾶν, κέχρημαι 1. i. 7; χρῆσθαι 72. 2. χρεία 1. iv. 16. χρεών 60. 48, 117. χρή 5. 4; 60. 114; 77. 4; **88.** 3 (?). χρη **5**. 3. χρήζειν 1. iv. 29. χρόνος 22. 4; 64. 62. χρυσεόμαλλος 1. ii. 22. χρύσεος 1. ii. 37. χώρα 1. iii. 27. ψεύδος 60. 59. ψυχή 60. 49. & 1. i. 4, 5, iv. 10, 25, 43; **20-1.** 1, 8; **23.** 3; **60.** 13, 15, 22, 25, 33, 43, 50, 112; 64. 63, 69, 73, 86, 91; 74. 3. ῶκυπόδης 1. ii. 34. ωκύπορος 1. iii. 37. စ်s (relative) 1. i. 10, ii. 3, iv. 15; 58. 9; 60. 8, 11, 14, 62; 64. 71. (final) 1. iii. 19, iv. 30; 84-5. 3. (uncertain) 1. v. 29; 24. 3, 4. ώσπερ 64. 67. ώσπερεί 68. 7. боте 60. 94; 64. 79.

# (b) 853 (COMMENTARY ON THUCYDIDES II). (Numbers in thick type refer to columns.)

χάρις 1. ii. 12; 57. 18; 59. οφέλημα 60. 12.

χαίρειν 64 67.

χάλκεος 1. ii. 30.

άγανάκτησις 18. 30. άγνοεῖν 14. 26. άγορά 5. 3. ἄγος 8. 5. | ἀδεῶς 16. 26. | 28; 10. 26 ἀδιαιρέτως 5. 15. | 17. 8; 18. | 18. | 18. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19. | 19

28; 10. 26, 30; 13. 26; 17. 8; 18. 18. 'Αθμονέων δήμος 13. 16. ἄθροισις 12. 5.

```
Αἰγύπτιος 8. 15.
Αλολεύς 5. 14.
alσχρός 17. 16.
alria 1. 21, 28, 33; 8. 21,
  33; 7. 1.
ἀκολουθείν 13. 4.
ἀκολούθως 8. Ι.
ἀκούειν 7. 18.
άκουσίως 6. 33.
ἀκριβῶς 8. 17, 34.
ακροβολίζειν 16. 24.
άλαζονεία 17. 13.
άληθής 1. 21; 3. 21.
'Αλικαρνασσεύς, Διονύσιος ὁ 'Αλ.
  1. 8.
άλλά 1. 14, 19, 32; 2. 25;
  15. 8, 10, 23; 16. 26, 38;
  17. 17.
άλλήλων 1. 4; 5. 37; 15.
  36; 16. 15.
άλλος 1. 19; 2. 30; 11. 2;
  13. 8; 16. 11. ἄλλως
  16. 9.
άλογιστείν 7. 6.
άλόγως 2. 24.
άμαρτάνειν 18. 21.
άμαχητεί 7. 34.
άμφισβητείν 13. 27.
άμφότεροι 7. 17.
ãv 1. 34; 2. 21; 7. 24; 14.
  10; 18. 21.
ảvá 4. 4.
αναγιγνώσκειν 5. 13.
ἀναγκάζειν 16. 37; 17. 7.
ἀνάγκη 2. 28.
άναιρείν 12. 22.
ανανδρότερος 17. 4.
ἀνατιθέναι 8. 24.
ἀνατρέχειν 2. 23.
αναχωρείν 7. 33.
ανδρεία 16. 38.
aveσις 16. 34.
ανέχειν 12. 13.
ἀνήρ 17. 24 ; 19. 13.
ανθρωπος 18. 6 (?).
aviévai 12. 6.
ἀντεγκαλείν 2. Ι (?).
αντί 17. 17; Fr. 17. 5. αντί
  той 1. 4; 4. 33; 5. I, 10;
  9. 4, 9; 10. 27; 12. 27,
```

```
28; 18. 1, 3; 15. 3; 16.
   25; 18. 22; 19. 5.
άνωμάλως 5. 18.
άνωτάτω 1. ΙΙ.
å£ía 15. 19.
űfios 10. 20.
απαίρειν 18. 24.
ἀπαντᾶν 17. 4.
απαριθμείν 9. 12.
ἀπαρτίζειν 1. 18.
άπειρία 18. 11.
äнегрос в. 35.
απιστείν 14. 19.
άπλοῦς 17. 18. άπλούστερον
  16. 14.
από 1. 19, 28, 30; 2. 15;
  8. 19, 26, 27; 5. 35; 6.
  18, 23; 7. 24; 9. 4, 13;
  10. 35; 12. 1, 13; 13.
  20; 18. 35; 19. 7.
αποβαίνειν 7. 23.
ἀποθυήσκευ 14. 7.
αποτιθέναι 5. Ι.
ἀπρεπῶς 2. 23.
απροσδόκητος 6. 4.
аπтеш в. 34.
Αργος 11. 15.
άργῶς 12. 10; 16. 26.
άρετή 14. 8; 15. 24, 28; 19.
  12; Fr. 4. 2.
ἄρθρον 5. 26.
'Αρκαδία 18. 23.
άρσενικός 5. 19.
                    άρσενικώς
  14. I.
*Αρτεμις 10. 14.
ἄρχεσθαι 1. 30.
άρχή 3. 18; 18. 33.
άρχων 1. 12; 2. 6, 28, 31,
  35; 8. 1; 16. 20.
ἄσκησις 16. 36.
ἄστυ 9. 14, 15.
ἀσφαλῶς 11. 2.
åт€ 6. 4.
'Αττική 9. 18.
Αττικός 18. 2.
aifáveir 1. 31; 8. 27.
αθέησις 3. 19.
αὐτόνομος 10. 27, 28.
avros 1. 22, 24, 29, 35; 3.
  26; 10. 18; 13. 8, 28;
```

```
15. 22; 17. 16. δ αὐτός
   2. 22; 5. 35; 10. 32;
  17. 24.
άφανέστερος 3. 35.
άφηγείσθαι 3. 34.
άφιστάναι 13. 24.
ἄχθεσθαι 16. 10.
άχρι 9. 14, 17; 16. 6.
βαίνειν 5. 35.
βασκαίνειν 16. 10.
Βοιωτός 13, 26.
yaîa 11. 15.
γάρ 2. 6, 21, 24, 30, 34; 8.
  29; 5. 8, 14; 7. 7; 9.
  25; 18. 5, 7, 23; 14. 29;
  17. 6; 18. 27.
yε 8. 2.
γεωργία 17. 28.
γη 18. 26.
γίγνεσθαι 3. 30; 15. 8.
γιγνώσκευ 5. 5.
γλυκύς 6. 34.
γοῦν 6. 32.
γράφειν 2. 12, 19, 28, 32,
  35; 6. 10; 7. 30; 13.
  14, 22.
γυνή 19. 14, 16.
δαμάζειν Β. 10.
ðé 1. 34; 2. 32; 8.16, 18, 34;
  5. 1, 6, 15, 31; 6. 27;
  7. 19; 9. 11, 15; 10. 8,
  11, 13, 17, 29, 36, 37,
  38; 13. 8, 14, 22; 15. 17,
  19; 16. 9; 17. 8.
δείν 2. 35; 6. 26; 8. 8.
deurós 13. 8; 17. 2.
δεκτέον 7. 19.
δέχεσθαι 7. 31.
δηλονότι 19. 14.
δήλος 6. 30.
δημοκρατία 15. 8.
δημος 8. 24; 13. 16.
δημόσιος 8. 25.
ðiá 1. 23, 26; 7. 1; 8. 8;
  10. 12, 26; 13. 9; 15.
```

9, 24; 16. 21, 31.

διαγιγνώσκευ 17. 29.

```
διαιρείν 1. 16; 2. 29, 36; 5.
διαιτάν 16. 6.
διακρίνειν 7. 37.
διαλύειν 7. 32.
διανοείσθαι 12. 26.
διασπάν 1. 15.
διάστημα 9. 13.
διάταξις 7. 27.
διατελείν 16. 11.
διαφέρειν 2. 20; 15. 16.
διαφθείρειν 5. 24, 29.
διάφορος 15. 16.
διεξέρχεσθαι 2. 17.
die Éiévai 1. I 2.
διηγείσθαι 1. 29; 3. 4.
διήγησις 1. 19.
διιστάναι 5. 36.
δίκαιος 15. 2.
διοικείν 15. 10.
Διονύσιος (ὁ Αλικαρνασσεύς) 1.
  7, 34; 2. 34; 3. 10; 4. 2.
Διόνυσος 10. 8.
'δισυλλάβως 5. 12.
διώκειν 5. 23, 28.
δοκιμάζειν 4. 30.
δόξα 7. 18; 14. 21; 19. 16.
δόρυ 5. 32.
δύνασθαι Fr. 3. 2.
δύσκολος 14. 15, 18.
ểάν 3. 2.
έαυτοῦ 2. 33; 18. 21.
έγκλιτέον 6. 25.
el 2. 28, 35; 3. 6, 31; 7.
   17; 11. 2; 12. 27; 14.
   28; 16. 34.
eldévat 12. 24.
eldos 18. 19.
εἰκότως 1. 34.
eiva 1. 3; 2. 24, 29; 3. 22;
   5. 31; 7. 18; 9. 10, 16;
  10. 13, 14, 16, 17, 23;
  13. 7, 23, 26; 14. 15; 17. 24, 27; 18. 10; 19.
   11, 12; Fr. 4. 4.
είπεῖν 1. 22; 10. 18; 14. 9,
   II.
είρειν 2. 33.
eis 5. 7, 24, 34, 35; 6. 20;
                                  έπαινείν 18. Ι.
```

```
7. 8, 36; 10. 19; 18. 3;
  15. 10.
eis 2. 24, 25, 32; 14. 6.
εὶσφέρειν 6. 13.
elra 2. 17.
έκ 7. 23; 9. 16; 16. 9.
ёкаотос 1. 18; 13. 13; 14.
  30, 34; 15. 20, 26.
έκάτερος 7. 25.
eκείθεν 1. 30; β. 20.
έκείνος 16. 7.
έκεχειρία 12. 14.
έκλιμνάζειν 10. Ι 2.
έκφεύγειν 5. 24, 28.
έλάχιστος 19. 9.
έλευθέρως 15. 35; 16. 8.
Έλευθήρ 10. 9.
έλλιπής 17. 23.
έλπίζειν 12. 26.
ἔμπειρος 5. 23, 27.
ξμφυτος 16. 38.
έν 1. 8; 2. 8, 25; 3. 28, 33;
   5. 2, 36; 8. 7; 10. 13;
  13. 14; 14. 6; 15. 4, 18,
  19, 21; 16. 14, 15, 34; 17. 12, 24; 18. 28; 19.
έναντίος 2. 34; 7. 3, 23.
έναντιοῦσθαι Β. 27.
ένδεεστέρως 18. 30.
ёуєка 8. 2.
ἔνθα 1. 3.
ένθυμεῖσθαι 8. 30.
ένικῶς 4. 16.
čno 10. 35; 13. 14.
ένιότε 5. 18, 19.
ένιστάναι 12. 28.
гитоµа 10. 38.
έξάγειν 16. 22.
έξαιρείν 16. 22.
έξελαύνειν 8. 5.
έξέρχεσθαι 7. 2; Fr. 3. 3.
έξετάζειν 1. 22; 3. 10.
έξης, τὸ έ. 10. 29; 13. 7.
έξιστάναι 7. 7.
έξορμαν 7. 13.
έξω 8. 29; β. 9.
έξωθεν 8. 11.
έορτή 10. 16.
```

έπάλληλος 2. 19. **ἔ**παλξις 9. 2. έπεισάγειν 8. 28. **е́**тента 3. 30. έπεξέρχεσθαι 12. 27. έπί 1. 19, 32; 2. 22, 30; 7. 17, 19, 25, 33; 10. 16, 30; 16. 11; 17. 12. έπιβάλλειν 15. 22. έπιεικής 4. 7. έπιθυμείν 13. 14. έπικρίνειν 17. 32. έπιμέλεια 8.9; 17. 26. έπίσημος 10. 17. έπιτάσσειν Β. 16. ἐπιτάφιος 14. 3. έπιτήδειος 5. 8. έπιτήδευμα 15. 37. έπιτιμᾶν 8. 13. έπιτρέπειν 16. 9. έπιφέρειν 6. 32. έπιχειρητέον 5. 11. έργον 7. 9, 24; 17. 12, 27. έρειν 10. 29; 15. 2. έρέτης 12. 2. Έρεχθεύς 10. 3. Έρμοκράτης 6. 24. ξρχεσθαι 5. 34; 7. 36; 8. 34; 12. 21. *ἐσβολή* 2. 18. έσχατος 5. 31; 6. 22. έτερος 17. 26, 32. έτοιμος 12. 2. ἔτος 16. 21. €v 10. 8. εὐδοξία 7. 19. εὐκόλως 18. 23. εὐλάβεια 1. 23. εὐλαβῶς 16. 16. Εὐριπίδης 10. 3. ευρίσκειν 17. 33. έφεξης 2. 20; 3. 3. έχειν 5. 23, 27; 7. 21; 10. **38** ; **18**. 36. έως 9. 10. ζ 3. <sub>5</sub>. Ζεύς, μὰ Δία 1. 25.

```
338
#1. 26; 2. 22, 25; 5. 26; |
  6. 22; 7. 22, 23.
ήδέως 16. 6.
ήδονή 16. 2, 11.
ήμεις 17. 11.
ήμέρα 10. 16; 15. 37.
Ήρόδοτος 2. 9; 3. 13.
ήρως 10. 34, 36.
ήτοι 5. 22.
אדדטע 17. 29.
θεός 10. 37.
θέρος 1. 15.
Θουκυδίδης 1. 9, 10; 3. 4, 20;
  6. 17.
Θριάσιον πεδίον 13. 3.
θριώζε 13. 5.
θρυλείν 3. 22.
θυμός 7. 13.
í 3. 14.
Wios 15. 18; 16. 14; 17. 25.
  ίδίως 1. 14.
```

lévai 5. 13. lkavês 14. 13. Ιππεύς 12. 19. **Ισηγ**ορία 15. 19. loos 15. 22. **Ισχύειν 8. 6.** lσχύς 1. 23. Ιστορία 1. 16; 3. 18. Ίταλιώτης Β. 17. "Iwres 5 14. 'Ιωνία Β. 24.

καθήσθαι 12. 10. καὶ γάρ 2. 34; 9. 25. καὶ μήν 2. 27. καιρός 2. 27; 17. 12. каіто 16. 34. κακοπαθείν 16. 36; 17. 5. κακούν 6. 31. raxŵs 14. g. καλείν 5. 31; 10. 35. **Καλλίμαχος 10.** 7 (?), 37. ката́ 2. 6, 7, 26, 28, 35; 4. 28; 7. 12; 8. 6; 10. 26, 28; 18. 12; 15. 17, 19, 21, 37; 16. 7; 17. 25.

```
κατακούειν 16. 19.
κατάμεμψις 18. 37.
καταπλήσσειν 6. 30.
κατηγορία 16. 7.
катои 3. 8.
κατορθούν 8. Ι 2.
κεφάλαιον 1. 11; 2. 32.
κεφαλή 3. 9.
κήρυγμα 5. 6.
κλέος 19. 11, 12.
κινδυνεύειν 14. 8.
κίνδυνος 17. 1, 3, 8.
когро́ 1. 33; 15. 21, 23, 36;
  16. 16; 17. 25; 18. 35;
  19. 7.
Κορκυραϊκά 1. 26; 2. 19.
κόσμος 7. 26.
κρείσσων 18. 26.
κρίνειν 1. 29; 17. 31.
κύκλος 9. 10, 14, 17.
κωλύειν 8. 3.
κώπη 12. 3.
Λακεδαιμόνιος 1. 25; 6. 19;
  16. 24.
Λάκων 17. 6.
Λακωνία 10. 13.
λαμπρός 15. 20.
λέγειν 1. 27; 2. 34; 5. 7;
  6. 7, 12; 10. 36; 14. 2;
  15. 9; 17. 13, 17.
λέξις 1. 5.
ληπτέον 19. 8.
λιμήν 9. 18.
Λιμνάτις, "Αρτεμις Λ. 10. 14.
λογισμός 2. 4.
λόγος 17. 13; 18. 27.
λοιπός 1. 13.
Λυδιακά 3. 15.
λυπείν 16. 5.
μà Δία 1. 25.
μάλιστα 18. 20; Fr. 16. 4 (?).
μᾶλλον 16. 35.
Μαραθών 14. 2.
μέγιστος 7. 18.
μεθόριος 13. 25.
```

μέλλειν 3. 23; 12. 9.

μέν 1. 34; 3. 22; 5. 14; 9. οποίος 7. 24.

μέμφεσθαι 1. 10.

```
11; 10. 8, 36; 11. 14;
  15. 17; 16. 6; 17. 6.
μέρος 3. 29 ; 13. 12 ; 15. 21.
μέσος 4. 5; 13. 9.
µета́ 1. 31; 6. 24; 10. 25.
μετάβασιε 3. 12; 6. 28.
μετανοείν 6. 32.
μεταξύ 8. 12.
μεταφορικώς 5. 34; 12. 1, 12.
μεταχειρίζεσθαι 8. 8.
μετέχειν 10. 30; 15. 16.
μέχρι 2. 16.
\mu\dot{\eta} 3. 3, 19; 5. 24, 28; 7.
  17; 14. 6; 15. 9; 16. 36;
  17. 4; 19. 10.
μηδέ 7. 36; 16. 37.
μηδείς 7. 35; 17. 28.
μήν, καὶ μ. 2. 27.
μόνος 2. 33; 18. 26, 29.
vaós 10. 37.
vaûs 6. 19, 22.
νεότης 6. 33.
νόημα 19. 15.
νομίζειν 8. 3; 10. 23; 14.
  27; 15. 20.
νόμιμος 10. 23. νομίμως 16. 16.
νόμος 15. 18, 27; 16. 37;
  17. 7.
vûr 7. 19.
עטע 15. 16.
оїкаде 18. 5.
olkeîr 10. 33; 15. 7.
οίκησις 10. 27, 28.
olkos 7. 33.
olos 1. 30. olov 2. 13; 16.
  7, 21; 17. 23, 32. olós
  τε 8. 26.
δλιγαρχία 15. 9.
όλος 16. 21.
'Ολυμπίαζε 18. 5.
'Ολυμπιάς 1. 13; 2. 7; 4.
  28 (?).
Όμηρικῶς 4. 6; 7. 10.
Ομηρος 4. 16; 6. 14; 17. 18.
όμιλία 7. 36.
όμοίως 1. 3; 2. 36; 6. 9.
```

**ὄμως 1**. 28.

```
δπόσος 9. 16.
δπου 10. 14.
όρᾶν 7. 25.
δργίζεσθαι 16. Ι.
ορέγεσθαι 13. 13.
δρίζειν 4. 29.
δρμᾶν 13. 15; 17. 27.
οσος 6. 26.
δσπερ 3. 21.
бтаг 2. 32; 8. 35; 12. 2.
δτι 1. 12, 15, 21, 23; 2. 1;
  8. 31; 8. 3.
οὐδέ 2. 9, 25; 3. 6; 6. 31;
  16. 1, 6. .
oùdeis 6. 20.
οὐδέτερος 5. 19.
οὐκέτι 7. ΙΙ.
où 2. 33.
ούτε 18. 36.
οὖτος 1. 28; 2. 31; 3. 35;
  4. 10; 5. 15; 15. 4. οῦτας
  1. 35; 5. 22; 10. 11.
όφείλειν 8. 31.
πάθος 7. 7.
πάλιν 1. 32; 2. 17, 22, 29;
  9. 16; 15. 2.
πανοικία 10. 32.
πανσυδίη 6. 2.
παρά 1. 27; 15. 7; 17. 8.
παραβαίνειν 3. ΙΙ (?).
παραδιδόναι 2. 5; 6. 21.
παρακμή 15. 4.
παράνομος 11. 18.
Παράσιοι 18. 22.
```

παράταξις 5. 36.

παρέλκειν 5. 25.

παρέχειν 18. 22.

14; 15. 17. πατρίς Fr. 4. 1.

Πειραιεύς 9. 11, 16.

Πελασγικός 11. 15.

πένεσθαι 17. 16.

Πελοποννησιακός 3. 23.

Πελοποννήσιος 2. 18. πέμπειν 6. 21.

πεδίον 18. 4.

πέλας 16. Ι.

πείθειν 16. 19.

πâs 2. 17, 21; 8. 31; 11.

```
περί 1.8, 9, 18; 6.9, 28; 19.12.
περίβολος 9. 15.
περιείναι 17. 2.
Περικλής 8. 3, 30.
Περσικά 1. 31; 3. 26.
Πηρεία 18. 20.
Πίνδαρος 6. 35.
πιστεύειν 14. 10.
Πλαταϊκά 2. 15.
πλατύς 2. 8.
πλείστος 10. 20; 18. 19.
πλείων 3. 25.
πλεονάζειν 5. 26.
\pi \lambda \hat{\eta} \theta os 15. II.
πλουτείν 17. 13.
πλούτος 17. 11.
ποιείν 8. 20; 6. 19.
ποικίλος 2. ΙΙ.
πολεμείν 1. 24; 7. 31.
πόλεμος 1. 21; 3. 22, 25; 6.
   34; 7. 9, 12.
πόλις 4. 15; 17. 26.
πολιτεία 15. 22.
πολιτεύεσθαι 15. 35; 16. 16.
πολιτικός 17. 28.
πολλάκις 6. 27; 7. Ι; 13. 27.
πολλαχοῦ 2. 26.
πολίς 1. 10; 2. 26, 27; 3.
9; 8. 12; 10. 30; 15. 7.
  υί πολλοί 1. 27; 5. 25, 29.
πονείν 17. 7, 9.
ποτέ 10. 9.
Ποτειδαιατικά 1. 26.
πρᾶγμα 1. 17, 30; 2. 3, 29;
  8. 1, 2, 33; 14. 16, 20;
  15. 10.
πράσσειν 8. 13.
πρεσβεία 7. 31.
πρεσβύτατος 9. 5.
πρίν 1. 20; 7. 32.
πρό 17. 2.
πρόγονος 7. 22.
προκείσθαι 3. Ι 4.
προνοείν 7. Ι 2.
πρόνοια 8. ΙΙ.
προπετώς 1. 35.
πρός 1. 4, 35; 3. 18; 15. 9,
  23, 36; 16. 2; 17. 2.
προσήκειν 15. 3.
προσθήκη 3. 28.
```

```
πρόστιμον 16. 8.
προτιθέναι 1. 13; 8. 24.
πρώτος 8. 27, 33. πρώτον 8. 22.
ράστώνη 16. 35.
ρητέον 3. 23; 5. 22.
σαυρωτήρ 5. 30.
σηκός 10. 37, 38.
Σικελία 6. 18.
σκότος 5. 17.
στρατεύειν 7. 30.
στράτευμα 7. 32.
στρατοπεδεύειν 5. 2.
συγγράφειν 8. 24.
συγγραφεύς 3. 31.
συγκόπτειν 1. 17.
συγκριτικός 17. 17.
συγχείν 2. 21.
συκοφαντ[ 4. 9.
συμβαίνειν 2. 31.
συμβάλλειν 7. 2.
σύμβασις 5. 34.
συμβόλαιον 15. 18.
συμμαχείν 6. 22.
συμμαχία β. 20.
συμμίσγειν 7. 35.
συμφέρειν 15. 11.
σύνδεσμος 19. 4.
συνείναι 16. 15.
συνείρειν 8. 2.
συνεχώς 2. 10, 33; 8. 5.
συνήθης 1. 5; 5. 10; 18. 2.
  συνήθως 18. 4.
συνιστάναι 18. 11.
σύνταγμα 1. 9.
συντελείν 10. 6.
συντιθέναι 5. 33.
Συράκουσσαι 6. 23.
συστρέφειν 18. ΙΙ.
σφόδρα 1. 22.
σχεδόν 3. 27.
σχήμα 5. 10.
σφζειν 6. 26.
τάγμα 13. 17.
ταλαιπωρείν 17. 3 (?).
те в. 26; 17. 25.
τείχος 9. 2, 10.
```

προσκείσθαι 7. 17.

τελειούν 1. 20. τέλεον 8. 29. τελευτάν 14. τ. τέμενος 10. 35. τιθέναι 4. 33, 34; 5. 1; 17. 18: 19. 5. τιμᾶν 15. 23. ть 1. 35; 2. 32; 8. 34; 4. 27; 6. 7; 11. 2; 14. 28; 15. 20; 16. 2. τοι 8. 2. Cf. καίτοι. τοιούτος 1. 33; 6. 12; 7. 12, 20; 15. 8. τοιουτότροπος 14. 9 (?). τοπικώς 18. 3. τόπος 2. 25; 12. 17; 13. 16. τοσούτος 9. 12. τρείς 1. 11; 10. 16. τρέπειν 1. 20, 33. τρέφειν 4. 35. τριακοντούτης 4. ΙΙ.

ὑπάγειν 5. 7.

ύπάρχειν 17. 23. ύπερβατός 13. 7. ύπερβατῶς 10. 29. ύπήκοος 18. 32. ύπό 6. 33; 16. 37; 17. 7. ὑπόθεσις 2. 24; 3. 30. ύπόληψις 7. 20, 21; 14. 17. ύπονοείν 3. 35. ύποπτεύει» 6. 5; 15. 38. ύποφέρειν 17. Ι. ύστατος 2. 16. φαίνεσθαι 13. 8; 17. 6. 12; 19. 17. Φάληρον 9. 11, 13. φάναι 2. 36; 3. 21; 4. 27; 6. 17, 35; 10. 8, 11; 15. φανερός 3. 32. φιλία **5**. 7. φιλικός 5. 6. φίλος 5. 8.

φυλή 10. 36. φύσις 19. 1, 8, 9. χαριέντως 18. 19 (?). χειμών 1. 15. χείρ 8. 7. χρή 2. 36. χρημα 8. ΙΙ. χρησθαι 5. 6, 10, 18; 11. 19. χρηστός 7. 22. χρόνος 1. 14; 2. 21, 22, 25; 3. 3. χώρα 10. 26, 28. χωρίζειν 7. 38. ψόγος 19. 10, 13. ώς 1. 13, 22; 2. 9, 35; 8. 23; 4. 13; 5. 18, 19; 6. 30, 32, 35; 7. 20, 27; 9. 5; 18. 5, 13; 14. 10; 15. 19; 17. 16, 18, 32. ώστε 5. 25, 26, 28.

# (c) OTHER LITERARY TEXTS.

φυλάσσειν 9. 1; 11. 3.

(Numbers in thick type refer to papyri.)

#### (1) GREEK.

àγaθός 885. 59. äyew 851.3; 856. 29; 858 b. 8. ãye 854. 6. ἀγορά 858 δ. 27. αγορεύειν 858 δ. 19 (?). άγρεῖν 854. 8. 'Αγρίππας 849. 25. αγωνίζεσθαι 856. 48; 857. 2. авектов 966 (?). άδελφός 850. 23, 25, 32; 886. 8. άδύνατος 850. 10. ἄελλα 860 a. 6 (?). 'Αθηναΐοι 856. 26, 42. alveîr 850. I I. alvas 860 a. 13. αίρεω 849. 8; 850. 4; 886. 19.

αλωρείν 864. 14. άκατονόμαστος 850. 17. ἀκολουθεῖν 855. 1, 10; 858 <math>δ. 22. ἀκούεω 849. 27; 858 δ. 29, 30; 868. 9. акратоs 868. I. ãκρος 887. recto 4, 7. άκτή 864. 18. άλαβώδης 859. 5. άλεύεσθαι 864. 17. άληθής 849. 22; 869. 13. άληθῶς 849. 3, 4. άλκή 860 α. 7. άλλά 849. 20, 26; 851. 7; 854. 6; 855. 6; 858 b. 13; 869. 6, 14. άλλήλων 855. 7.

άλλος 858 δ. 14; 864. 4; 867. 5. *ἄμα* 850. 23, 35; 869. 18. άμουσος 864. 18. άμφιεννύναι 850. 26. av 855. 4, 6; 856. 58; 863. 4. ará 857. 3. άναγιγνώσκειν 886. 21. άναγκάζειν 850. 5. ἀναγκαστικός 869. 15. ἀνάκρισις 863. 10. ανατιθέναι 858 δ. 16. Ανδρόνικος 850. 21. ἀνήρ 857. 6, 22; 860 a. 8, 16; 885. 58; 886. 9. ανθρωπος 851. 8; 869. 20; 887. verso 5.

ανθύπατος 850. 15. ανιστάναι 850. 4, 9 (ανιστών); 858 6. 27. άνοιγνύναι 864. 23. αντίγραφον 886. 2. ανω 858 b. 32; 862. 14. άξιος 849. 28; 858 b. 13; 862. 18. абратов 850. 34. ἀπαλλαγή 850. 20. άπαντᾶν 858 δ. 36. ἄπαξ 863. 4. άπειλή 850. 29. άπέρχεσθαι 850. 13 (?); 857. 15. απιέναι 850. 31. άπό 854. 8; 856. 50; 869. 7 (?), 9 (?). άποβάλλειν 866. 3 (?). άπογιγνώσκειν 850. 6. ἀποδιδόναι 849. 11. άποθνήσκειν 849. 3, 23. άπόκαυμα 868. 4. απολείπειν 865. 1. άπολλύναι 855. 9. απόνιπτρον 856. 66. άποπρολείπειν 859. 3 (?). αποτροπίαζεσθαι 885. 53. άποφέρειν 849.9. άπράγμων 855. 13. άπτειν 855. 9. άπώλεια 885. 38. apa 849. 2, 6, 22. 'Αραβία 870 5 (?), 7. Αργείοι 857. 4. άριστερός 887. recto 2, 5. ариотов 864. 2, 4; 868. 6. 'Αρκάδες 870. 15. άρσην 886. 15. άρτίως 855. 17. άρχικύνηγος 851. 2. άρχή 885. 31. άσπίς 858 b. 19. ατενίζειν 849. 13; 850. 15. άτυχείν 857. 19. aŭrós 849. 2, 9, 10, 18; 850. 1, 26, 27, 32, 35; 851. 7; 855. 9; 856. 32, 47, 50, 64, 74; 857. 19; 858 6. 15, 30; 869.

12; 885. 32, 39. ὁ αὐτός 858 6. 18; 885. 56. άφαγνίζειν 869. 3 (?). άφανής 850. 30. άφελκειν 854. 7. άφιέναι 855. 4, 6. άφιεροῦν 885. 43. άφικνείσθαι 855. 21. 'Αχαιοί 864. 3. Βαβυλώνιοι 856, 25. βάλλεω 856. 8 (?). βάρβαρος 857. 20, 26. βασιλεία 856. 31. βασιλεύς 849. 16; 856. 70. Βέσσοι 870. 32. βίβλος 886. 2. βιούν 863. 4. βλέπειν 869. 2. βλώσκειν 859. 6. βούλεσθαι 849. 7, 23; 850. 14; 851. 1; 858 6. 41. βουλή 858 δ. 32, 34. βροντή 864. 26. Врото́я 860 а. 1. Βροχίζειν 850. 6. βυθός 886. 11. βωμός 869. 3. Γαλάται 870. 23. γάρ 854. 8; 855. 14, 22; 856. 30, 74; 857. 5; 858 b. 25, 29, 39; 860. 16; 867. 5; 870. 6; 887. verso 1. γε 849. 18; 855. 8; 858 b. 24; 861. 5; 862. 8. Γέλων 857. 15. γένος 885. 39. Γέρης 856. 60. Γέτης 855. 3, 4. γέφυρα 850. 24. γη 857. 28. γίγνεσθαι 850. 30; 865. 6; 870. 11. γνώμη 966. γνωρίζειν 850. 8. γνώριμος 850. 7.

γόνυ 850. 33, 35.

ypais 849. 6.

γράμμα 886. 6. γυνή 850. 21; 868. 8; 887. verso 4. γυργαθός 856. 44. daieu 864. 10 (?). Δâos 855. 11, 13. Δάρδανοι 870. 33. 8as 855. 9. δεικνύναι 856. 49. δείν 856, 54. δειπνείν 858 δ. 26. δείπνον 854. 4. Δελφοί 857. 24. δεξιός 887. recto 1, 3. δέρκεσθαι 860 δ. 1. δεσπότης 855. 14, 16. δέχεσθαι 856. 20. δή 855. 7. δημηγορείν 858 δ. 20. δημηγόρος 858 δ. 18. δημος 858 δ. 32. Δημοσθένης 858 δ. 19, 23, 29, čiá 849. I, 21; 854. 6; 856. 73; 857.9; 858 b. 22; 886. 7. διακονείν 868. 7. διακονία 850. 13. διασώζειν 855. 5. διαφεύγειν 855. 12. διαφθείρειν 863. 6. διδόναι 857. 7. διεξιέναι 858 δ. 23, 31. διέρχεσθαι 850. 22. δικάζειν 858. 24. Δικαιόπολις 856. 68. δικαστικός 856. 75. δίκη 856. 27; 868. 5. δίος 864. 3. δοκείν 857. 9. δοκιμάζειν 849. 25. δόρυ 858 δ. 24. δούλος 850. 17; 868. 3. δρομεύς 856. 39. δύναμις 885. 47. δύνασθαι 854. 9. δύο, κατὰ δύο δύο 886. 19. δυστυχείν 861. 8. δωρεά 850. 12.

```
čáv 885. 34, 58.
έαυτοῦ 850.6; 856.70, 72;
  857. 5 (ἐφ' ἐαυτῶν); 886.
έγείρειν 849. 10.
έγώ 849. I, I5; 850. 5;
  851. 3; 854. 4; 855. 4,
  6, 12, 13; 861. 5; 862.
  15; 863. 2, 5; 868. 5.
₹θνος 870. 3.
el 849. 2, 6, 22; 850. 27;
  855. 15.
eikw 885. 36, 42, 52, 58.
elvas 849. 5, 22; 851. 6, 7;
  855. 5, 14, 23; 856. 20,
  43, 62; 858 b. 18, 29;
  862. 8, 15; 864. 2; 869.
  5; 885. 32; 886. 5;
  966.
είπεῖν 850. 32; 851. 1, 2.
eis 986 (?).
els 850. 7, 27; 856. 25, 55;
  857. 24; 858 b. 12, 14,
  17, 21; 866. 6; 869.
  16, 20 (?); 887. recto 2.
είσάγειν 856. 30.
elra 856. 63, 68, 77.
ėк 856. 36; 858 b. 27;
  864. 16.
ёкаотов 860 a. 8; 869. 10(?);
  886. 16.
ěkcî 849. 10; 856. 74.
ἐκείθεν 867. 3.
έκείνος 850. 30.
ἐκείσε 856. 63.
έκθύεσθαι 885. 52.
έκκάειν 856. 41.
έκκλησία 850. 16.
έκπέμπειν 858 b. 15.
ἐκποδών 855. 19 (?).
έκφοβείν 858 b. 31.
Ἐλάτεια 858 δ. 25.
Έλλην 857. 18; 865. 7.
Έλλησπόντιος 864. 8 (?), 15.
έμαυτοῦ 849. 19.
ἐμβαίνειν 858 δ. 20.
èv 854. 9; 855. 10, 22;
  856. 44; 864. 1; 870.
  6; 886. 3, 11, 16, 23.
ένέργημα 850. 34.
```

```
ἔνθα 864. 17.
                               έχειν 849. 17, 19; 855. 7,
ένθάδε 855. 17; 863. 8.
                                  9, 19; 856. 9, 18; 858 b.
ένθένδε 855. 12.
                                  19, 28; 860 a. 15.
ένθερμος 858. 78.
                               Zeûfis 850. 4, 13.
erroeîr 850. 6.
₹ 856. 75.
                               Zeús 885. 44.
éfáyeur 858 b. 21.
                               ζητείν 886. 8.
έξαπατᾶν 855. 14.
                               ‡ζωνθαν (?) 851. 3.
έξεμεῖν 856. 55 (?).
                               # 869. 5.
έξερχεσθαι 850. 22.
éfiérai 855. 2.
                               ήγεῖσθαι 865. 4.
έξιστάναι 856. 66, 67.
                               ἡγεμών 851. Ι, 5.
ἔξω 887. verso 3.
                               ήδέως 849. 16.
έοικέναι 856. 40.
                               ήήν 855. 15.
êπεί 849. 28.
                               ήλιος 886. 11.
ёнента 855. 4; 864. 19.
                               ήμεις 849. 9; 854. 8; 855.
ἐπεύχεσθαι 886. 18.
                                  20.
ἐπί 850. 12; 856. 58; 857.
                               ήμέρα 857. 14.
  5, 22; 867. 2; 869. 4;
                               ήμέτερος 868. 3.
                               .
Ήρακλής 885. 45.
  887. recto I el saep., verso
                               ήσυχία 858 b. 8.
έπιγράφειν 886. 16.
                               θάλαμος 859. 6.
έπιδεικνύναι 855. ΙΙ.
έπιδιδόναι 850. 14.
                               θάλασσα 864. 16; 867. 2.
έπιέναι 860 a. 5.
                               θαρρείν 849. 7.
έπικαλείσθαι 886. 10.
                               θέλειν 849. 21; 886. 13.
έπιστολή 850. 18.
                               θεμιστοκλής 858 b. 20.
έπιστρέφειν 850. 7.
                               θεός 849. 8, 21, 25; 850.
έργον 859. 8.
                                  36; 851. 7; 862. 13;
                                  868. 3; 864. 10; 869.
έρειν 861. 10.
έρεμνός 860 a. 5 (v. l. έρυμνός).
                                  9; 885. 56; 886. 12, 17.
έρημία 856. 58.
                               Θερμοπύλαι 857. 2.
                               Θετταλοί 870. 28.
Έρμης 886. 4, 7.
ερυθρός 854. 8.
                               Θέωρος 856. 11.
έρυμνός 860 a. 5 (v. l. έρεμνός).
                               Θηβαι 858 δ. 14.
έρχεσθαι 850. 28; 858 δ.
                               θλίβειν 850. 8.
  14; 860 a. 2; 862. 11;
                               θοός 854. 6.
                               θυρυβείν 858 b. 43.
  869. 4.
ės 859. I.
                               Θράκες 870. 30.
έσχατος 886. 21.
                               θρασύς 855. 17.
έτερος 849. 18; 856. 53.
                               θραυστός 868. 2.
eidasporia 885. 33. .
                               θρηνφδός 864. 24.
                               θύειν 885. 44, 55.
εὐλαβεῖσθαι 857. 16.
evvous 858 b. 37.
                               θώραξ 858 δ. 24.
εύρίσκειν 850. 31; 855. 12;
  886. 3, 22.
                               ίδού 849. 14; 850. 30.
Εὐρώπη 870. 12.
                               ίερός 886. 2.
εὐχαριστείν 850. 11.
                                Ἰησοῦς 850. 10.
                               īva 849. 10; 856. 55, 67.
εὐχαριστία 850. 13.
Έφεσος 867. 4.
                               'Iois 886. 1, 7.
```

```
ίστάναι 850. 27.
                               κόπτειν 864. 9.
                               κόρη 862. 17.
'Iwawns 850. 3, 16, 22, 25,
  27, 28, 31.
                               κούφος 855. 14.
                               κόχλος 864. 20.
Κάδμος 857. 21.
                               κρέας 856. 79.
κάδος 854. 7.
                               κροτείν 864. 22.
κάειν 855. 20.
                               κτύπος 864. 26.
καθεύδει» 887. verso 7.
                               κύκλος 855. 10, 22.
καθησθαι 858 δ. 15, 32.
                               κύριος 850. 29, 33; 851. 5.
καθιέναι 856. 55.
                                  κυρία 886. Ι.
καθόλου 866. 4.
                               κώθων 854. 6.
Καίσαρ 850. 18.
                               κωμφδία 856. 3.
каїто 849. 18.
                               Kφos 857. 22.
како́ѕ 858 в. 12.
καλείν 861. 9.
                               Λακεδαιμόνιοι 856. 73.
καλός 885. 59; 966.
                               λαλείν 849. 12.
Καρχηδόνιος 866. 5.
                               Λάμαχος 856. 56, 65.
ката́ 850. 16; 855. 18;
                               λαμβάνειν 850. 14; 856. 58;
  864. 15; 865. 7; 869.
                                  862. 17; 886. 1, 4; 887.
                                  recto 6, verso 2.
  13, 19 (?); 885. 47; 886
  19.
                               λαχάνιον 856. 37.
καταδαρθάνειν 859. 7.
                               Λάχης 855. 10.
κατάκαυσις 855. 4.
                               λέγεω 849. 6; 850. 17;
καταλαμβάνειν 858 δ. 25.
                                  856. 35. 44, 66, 70, 76;
καταπίπτειν 885. 35.
                                  858 b. 31, 35, 36.
καταπράττειν 856. 77.
                               λοιπός 869. 7.
катаруей 850. 34.
κατέχειν 849. 2.
                               μάγος 851. 6.
κείσθαι 849. 15.
                               μαζός 864. 9.
Κεραύνιος 885. 44.
                               Maκεδόνες 870. 29.
κεραυνός 885. 37, 60.
                               μαντεία 865. 7.
κῆρυξ 858 b. 35.
                               Μαραθών 858 b. 12.
κηρύσσειν 858 b. 35.
                               μάχεσθαι 863. ΙΙ.
κλαίει» 850. 8.
                               μάχη 858 δ. 17.
Κλεισθένης 856. 7.
                               Μεγακλής 856. 61.
Κλέων 856. 27.
                               μεγαλοκλής 860 α. 10.
κληδονίζειν 886. 13.
                               μεγαλοφροσύνη 856. 72.
                               μέγας 850. 33;
                                                   851. 7;
κληδών 886. 22.
κληματίς 855. 2.
                                  858 b. 40; 886. I; 887.
κληρονομία 855. 18.
                                  verso 2. μέγιστος 869. 17.
κλίνευ 850. 33, 35.
                               μέλλειν 849. Ι.
                               μέλος 864. 19.
κλύδων 864. 20.
κνίζειν 855. 16.
                               μέν 855. 13, 17; 856. 62,
                                  71, 74; 858 b. 14; 869.
κοίλος 864. 21. κόίλος 854.
7.
Κοισύρα 856. 65.
                                  6; 885. 49.
                                μένειν 857. 6.
κόλπος 864. 23.
                                μενεπτόλεμος 860 δ. 7 (?).
                               μέσος 850. 16.
κομήτης 856. 28.
κομίζειν 850. 18.
                               μετά 849. 19; 850. 5.
                                                               όπου 864, 10.
                                                               όπότε 858 δ. 13.
                               μεταπέμπει» 858 δ. 28.
κομπαστής 856. 56.
```

```
μετάπεμπτος 865. 5.
μετείναι 886. 23.
μή 849. Ι; 857. Ι7; 858 δ.
  34; 869. 2.
μηδείς 850. 7.
μήν 858 δ. 13.
μήτηρ 849. 7; 859. 6.
μιγνύναι 860 b. g.
μισθύς 856. 57.
μόνος 850. 13.
μῦθος 864. Ι.
μυκηδόν 864. 22.
Μυσοί 870. 31.
μυττωτός 856. 21.
vai 855. 13.
vaûs 854. 6; 856. 71; 857. 7.
νεανίσκος 849. 19.
νεκρός 849. 4, 15.
νεκρούν 850. 9.
vékus 864. 14.
νήφειν 854. 9.
vıxâv 857. 7.
νόθος 865. 5.
νομίζειν 869. 11.
νόμος 858 b. 36.
vûr 850. 12; 862. 16; 868.
  6. vuri 849. 28.
έένος 856. 10. ξείνος 854. 3.
ξίφος 858 δ. 24.
ő& 854. g.
οίεσθαι 858 b. 37.
oîkoi 858 b. 15.
ολκονομία 850. Ι 2.
olvos 854. 8.
               olov 856. 23,
olos 862. 12.
  28, 69, 75.
όλίγος 850. 22.
όλος 885. 40.
όλοσχερώς 885. 34.
όμοῦ 868. 7.
δμως 862. 8.
буона 886. 18.
ővos 862. 5.
οπλον 858 δ. 16; 860 δ. 10.
όποῖος 864. 20.
```

Πάρις 863. 7.

όρᾶν 849. 4. δργή **850**. 29. δρμᾶν 860 b. 4. δρνις **856**. 59. & 849. 16; 850. 24, 31; **856.** 36, 58, 75; **858** *b*. 24; 860 a. 9; 886. 7, 13, 23. "Οσιρις 886. 9. őσος 855. 8; 856. 62. õτε 856. 70. от: 849. 4; 856. 56; 868. 2; 869. 21. ov (reflexive) 859. 4. où, oùk 849. 17, 24; 850. 15; 851. 6; 855. 5; 858 b. 14, 24, 36; 862. 18; 868. 4; 868. 9; 869. 5, 11. où xí 855. 16; 869. 6, 14. oùðé 849. 25 ; 854. 8 ; 858 b. 24; 863. 4. οὐδείς 857. 8; 858 δ. 36. où 885.41. οὐπώποτε 858 δ. 30. ούτε 854. 5; 857. 6, 7. ouros 849. II, 22; 851. 5; 856. 29, 49, 73; 857.5; 858 a. 4, b. 14, 16, 23, 29, 31; 869. 6. ούτοσί **862.** 3, 6. ούτω, ούτως 849. 11; 856. 40 (?), 77. οφρων 861. 16. öψις 850. 27. παιδίον 862. 4, 9. παίς 849. 15. Παλλάς 856. 43. Πάμφυλοι 870. 19. πανουργία 855. 11; 856 59.

πάνυ 855. 5.

παρά 850. 18; 856. 30, 32,

παρακαλείν 849.27; 858b.13.

57; 858 b. 24.

παράκλητος 850. 10.

παραλείπειν 863. 9.

παρείναι 858 b. 33.

παρέχειν 858 δ. 13.

παρακολουθείν 858 δ. 38.

πάροιθε 859. 4. παροιμία 856. 29. παροίνιος 856. 42. πάρος 859. 7. πâs 850. 12; 858 b. 41; 860 a. 14; 864. 4, 5, 14, 19; 869. 17; 886. 12; 966. πατήρ 858 δ. 25. πατρίς 860 a. g. παύειν 858 δ. 26. Παφλαγόνες 870. 24. πεδή 856. 26. πείθειν 858 δ. 23. πειράζειν 849. 24. πειράν 849. 21. πέλεσθαι 859. 8 (-έσκετο); 860 a. 3. Πελοπόννησος 858 δ. 22. πέμπειν 857. 20. πένης 885. 42. πενθήρης 864. 7. πενί 868. 7. πεντηκόντορος 857. 22. περαίνειν 850. 24. πέρας 861. 4. περί 856. 4, 43; 857. 17; **858** *b*. 33; **886**. 5, 12. Περικλής 858 δ. 21. περινοστείν 856. 31. περιοράν **855**. 6. περιτιθέναι 855. 10. Πέρσαι 857. ΙΙ. πέτρα 864. 21. Πέτρος 849. 8, 13, 14, 24. πίπτειν 885. 51. πλείν 858 δ. 21. πλείων 850. 23. πλείστον 863. 5. πλημμέλεια 850. 30. πλήν 857. 4; 862. 14 (?). πλήσσειν 885. 36, 61. πλουσιώτατος 858 δ. 30. ποιείν 851. Ι. ποιητής 856. 12. πόλις 856. 16; 858 δ. 42; 868. 5; 866. I. πολίτης 858 b. 16, 39. πολύς 868. 5.

πονηρός 855. 17. Ποντικοί 870. 17. ποντιος 864. 8. πορεύεσθαι 850. 25. πόρνη 856. 41. ποταμός 850. 24. πότερον 869. 8. ποῦ 862. 7. πραίφεκτος 849. 12. πρό, πρὸ τοῦ 863. 9. προβουλεύεω 858 δ. 33, 34. πρόδηλος 855. 3. προδότης 856. 62. προκείσθαι 869. 16. πρός 850. 23, 25, 31, 33; 851. 2; 855. 7, 16; 856. 34, 76; 857. 10. προσβάλλειν 857. Ι. προσβιάζεσθαι 867. 4. προσέρχεσθαι 855. 7. προσηγορία 870. 14. προσιέναι 850. 26. προσκυνείν 850. ΙΙ. προσποιείσθαι 885. 48. πρότερος 885. 49. πρότερον 856. 71. προφωνείν 856. 67. πρύτανις 858 δ. 26. πρῶτος 858 δ. 17. πρῶτον856. 71. πτωχός 856. 31. πυκινός 860 b. 8. πυνθάνεσθαι 856. 63; 866. 2. πῦρ 855. 3. πύρδανον 855. 2. Πυρρίας 855. 8, 21. πώγων 856. 9. πωμα 854. 7. πώς 858 δ. 23. ράκος 856. 33. ρείν 850. 24. ρημα **856.** 34. σάλπιγ**ξ 858** b. 30. σαλπικτής 858 b. 28. Σάμος 858 δ. 21.

σαπρός 856. 36.

Σαρμάται 870. 34.

σβεννύναι 850. 29.

σέλμα 854. 6. σημαίνειν 885. 40. σημείον 885. 50, 54. σίκυος 856. 40. σκέλος, κατά των σκ. 855. 18. σκηνή 858 δ. 27. σκήψις 856. 29. σκληρός 856. 22. Σκύθης 857. 21. στακτή 855. 16. στεναγμός 850. 2. στένειν 864. 7. στηθος 887. recto 8. στίχος 860 b. 8. στολή 864. 7. στρατεύει» 856. 57. στράτευμα 865. 3. στρατηγός 858 b. 18. στρατιώτης 850. 26. Στύμφηλος 859. 3. σύ 849. 11, 20, 21; 850. 7, 11, 12, 29; 855. 1, 16; 866. 22. συμμαχείν 857, 8. συμπαθείν 849. 5. σύν 854. 6. συναθροίζειν 850. 32. σύνδουλος 855. 5. σφείε 860 α. 9. σχημα 850. 26. σχίσμα 856. 33. Σώτειρα 885. 46.

ταλακάρδιος 860 a. 3.
Ταλαός 859. 2.
ταμεῖον 886. 4.
τάξις 856. 64.
τάχα 851. 7.
ταχύ 855. 10. τάχιστα 850.
28.
Τεκτόσαγες 870. 22.
τέχνη 855. 12, 13.
τηλαυγῶς 886. 24.

astutia 871. 2. autem 871. 3. convenire 871. 2. de 871. 3.

Τίβιος 855. 3. ‡τιθωνωι 856. 40. τίνειν 868. 5. тиз 850. 26; 855. 12, 15; 856. 2, 37; 858 b. 29, 38; 864. 5. то 856. 65. τοίος 869. 14. τολμάν 850. 15. Τολμίδης 858 δ. 22. τότε 864. 16. τράχηλος 868. 10. τρείς 857. 23. τριακόσιοι 857. 3. τριήρης 856. 43. τρόπος 886. 5. τρύξ 854. 8. Τύχη 885. 46.

Υδροῦς 865. 3. 
ὅδωρ 857. 28; 867. 1. 
νίος 865. 5. 
ὑμεῖς 858 δ. 30. 
ὅπαρξις 869. 1. 
ὑπέρ 850. 1; 856. 69. 
ὑπεριδεῖν 857. 14. 
ὑπερμήκης 867. 6. 
ὑπό 850. 24; 855. 20; 856. 
27, 32; 857. 19; 865. 3; 885. 37, 60. 
ὑπολείπειν 886. 20. 
ὕστερος 862. 11. 
ὕστερος

φαίνεσθαι 864. 2. φάναι 849. 24; 850. 27; 856. 6, 16, 54, 65, 73, 74. φαντάζειν 864. 25. φάρμακον 887. verso 6. φάρυγξ 856. 55. φείδεσθαι 849. 17. Φειδίας 862. 7.

### (2) LATIN (871-2).

ego **871.** 4. in **871.** 5. inertia **871.** 1.

e 871. g.

**865**. 5.

φέρειν 855. 2, 18, 22. ένεγ-Keîr 862. 10; 867. 1. φεύγειν 856.27; 887. verso 3. φιλείν 849, 26. φίλτατος 855. 18. . φλυαρ[ **869.** 19. φλύαρος 855. I 5. φοίνιξ 886. 14. φοιτάν 854. 7. φορτίον 855. 8. φρά 854. 2. φρήν 855. 15; 864. 1. Φρύγες 870. 25. φυλακή 854. 9. φυλή 856. 50. φύλλον 856. 36; 886. 15, 17. φύρειν 864. 16. φων 858 α. ι.

χάλκεος 864. 25. χαλκός 860 a. 4. χάρις 855. 19; 856. 76. χαῦνος 856. 69. χείρ 850. 28; 856. 32 (?). χορός 864. 10. χρός 856. 35. χρή 885. 41. χρῆμα 857. 27. χρηματίζειν 886. 24. χρῆσθαι 856. 24.

ψήφισμα 858 δ. 19. ψήφος 856. 24. ψυχρός 856. 12.

å 855. 3. åδε 851. 3. ἀλένη 864. 9. åμος 887. recto 3. ώς (relative) 851. 1; 854. 5; 856. 41, 54; 859. 7. = ὅτε 855. 21 (?). ἄστε 858 δ. 44.

is 871. 4, 6, 9. loqui 871. 4. magis 871. 1, 2. meminisse 871. 3.

# 346

#### **INDICES**

minimus 871. 7.

ne... quidem 871. 6-7. negare 871. 10. non 871. 4. nullus 871. 6. numerus 871. 4.

pars 871. 6. perforare 871. 11 (?). quam 871. 1, 2, 8 (?). qui 871. 4, 5, 6, 9. sapientia 871. 3. sed 871. 5. sic **872**. 8. suus **871**. 5. ter **872**. 9. tunc **872**. 16.

virtus 871. 1.

# II. EMPERORS.

CLAUDIUS.

Κλαύδιος 962.

Nero.

Νέρων 962.

GALBA.

Γάλβα 899. 28.

TITUS.

θεὸς Τίτος 984. Τίτος 958.

HADRIAN.

Αὐτοκρ. Καΐσ. Τραιανὸς 'Αδριανὸς Σεβαστός 898. 40; 986. 'Αδριανός 957.

Antoninus Pius.

'Αντωνῖνος Καΐσ. ὁ κύριος 899. 30. θεὸς Αΐλιος 'Αντωνῖνος 899. 20. 'Αντωνῖνος 899. 29.

MARCUS AURELIUS AND VERUS.

'Αντωνίνος καὶ Οὐήρος οἱ κύριοι Σεβαστοί 973.

MARCUS AURELIUS.

'Αντωνίνος καὶ Φαυστίνα Σεβαστοί 905. Ι.

Commodus.

θεὸς Κόμοδος 909. 23. Κόμοδος 988.

SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS.

Imp. Caes. Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Aug. Arabicus Adiabenicus 894. 1.

Αὐτοκρ. Καΐσ. Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σεουήρος Εὐσεβής 899. introd.

SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS AND CARACALLA.

Αὐτοκρ, Καίσ. Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σεουήρος Εὐσεβ. Περτίναξ Σεβ. 'Αραβ, 'Αδιαβην. καὶ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος 'Αντωνίνος Καίσ. ἀποδεδειγμένος Αὐτοκρ. 910. 43; 976.

Αὐτοκρ. Καΐσ. Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σεουήρος Εὐσεβ. Περτίναξ Σεβ. 'Αραβ. 'Αδιαβην. Παρθικός Μέγιστος καὶ Αὐτοκρ. Καΐσ. Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος 'Αντωνίνος Σεβ. 916. 1.

Αὐτοκρ. Καίσαρες Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σεουῆρος Εὐσεβ. Περτίναξ 'Αραβ. 'Αδιαβην. Παρθ. Μέγιστ. καὶ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος 'Αντωνίνος Σεβαστοί 908. 40.

#### SEVERUS ALEXANDER.

Αὐτοκρ. Καΐσ. Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Σεουήρος 'Αλέξανδρος Εὐσεβ. Εὐτυχ. Σεβ. 909. 34; 972; 988.

#### MAXIMINUS.

Αύτοκρ. Καίσ. Γάιος Ἰούλιος Οὐήρος Μαξιμείνος Εὐσεβ. Εὐτυχ. Σεβ. 912. 37.

#### GALLUS AND VOLUSIANUS.

Αὐτοκρ. Καίσαρες Γάιος Οὐίβιος Τρεβωνιανὸς Γάλλος καὶ Γάιος Οὐίβιος 'Αφίνιος Γάλλος Οὐελ-δουμνιανὸς Όὐολουσιανὸς Εὐσεβ. Εὐτυχ. Σεβαστοί 977.

#### GALLIENUS.

Αὐτοκρ. Καΐσ, Πούπλιος Λικίννιος Γαλλιηνός Γερμανικός Μέγιστ. Εὐσεβ. Εὐτυχ. Σεβ. 864.

#### TACITUS.

Αὐτοκρ, Καῖσ, Μάρκος Κλαύδιος Τάκιτος Εὐσεβ, Εὐτυχ, Σεβ. 907. 27. δ κύριος Μάρκος Κλαύδιος Τάκιτος 907. 26.

#### DIOCLETIAN AND MAXIMIAN (cf. Index III).

οί κύριοι Διοκλητιανός και Μαξιμιανός Σεβαστοί 888. 6.

[Αὐτοκρ. Γάιος Αὐρήλιος Οὐαλέριος Διοκλητιανὸς] Γερμανικὸς Μέγιστ. Γουνθικὸς [Μέγιστ. κ.τ. λ. Εὐσεβ.] Εὐτυχ. Νικητὴς Σεβ. καὶ [Αὐτοκρ. Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Οὐαλέριος Μαξιμιανὸς Εὐσεβ. Εὐτυχ. Σεβ.] Σαρματικὸς Μέγιστ. Γερμ. [Μέγιστ. καὶ Φλαούιος Οὐαλέριος Κωνστάντιος καὶ Γάιος Οὐαλέριος Μαξιμιανὸς] οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι Καίσαρες 889. Ι.

Ra Ral 17 Fros (of Diocletian and the Caesars Constantius and Maximian) 895. 6.

# MAURICE.

ό θειότατος καὶ εὐσεβέστατος ἡμῶν δεσπότης μέγιστος εὐεργέτης Φλαούιος Τιβέριος Μαυρίκιος ὁ αἰώνιος Αὔγουστος καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ 996. Αὔγουστοι 897. 12.

### III. CONSULS, ERAS, AND INDICTIONS.

#### CONSULS.

έφ' ὑπάτων Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφ. Καισάρων (294) 891. 1.
Κωνσταντίω καὶ Μαξιμιανώ τοις ἐπιφανεστάτοις Καίσαρσιν τὸ γ' ὑπάτοις (300) 889. 11.
ἐφ' ὑπάτων Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφ. Καισάρων τὸ ε΄ (305) 895. 1.
ὑπατείας Καικινίου Σαβίνου καὶ Οὐεττίου 'Ρουφίνου τῶν λαμπροτάτων (316) 896. 19, 35;
983.

ύπατείας Λικινίου Σεβαστοῦ τὸ 5' καὶ Λικινίου τοῦ ἐπιφ. Καίσ. τὸ β' (322) 900. Ι. ὑπατείας 'Ιουνίου Βάσσου καὶ Φλαουίου 'Αβλαβίου τῶν λαμπροτ. ἐπάρχων (331) 990. ὑπατείας Οὐήβ]ίου Νεπωτιανοῦ καὶ Τεττίου Φακούνδου τῶν λαμπροτ. (336) 901. Ι.

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ύπατείας Φλαουίων Οὔρσου καὶ Πολεμίου τῶν λαμπροτ. (338) 892. 13. 
ὑπατείας ᾿Αντωνίου Μαρκελλίνου καὶ Πετρωνίου Προβίνου τῶν λαμπροτ. (341) 991. 
ὑπατείας Κωνσταντίου τὸ ὅ καὶ Κώνσταντος τὸ γ΄ Αὐγούστων (346) 897. 1. 
ὑπατείας Φλαουίων Εὐδοξίου καὶ Διοσκόρου τῶν λαμπροτ. (442) 913. 1. 
μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλαουίου Βιβιανοῦ τοῦ λαμπροτ. τὸ β΄ καὶ τοῦ δηλωθησομένου (about 465) 902. 19. 
τοῖς μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλαουίου Θεοδωρίχου τοῦ λαμπροτ. (486) 914. 1. 
ὑπατείας Φλαουίου Τιβερίου Μαυρικίου ἔτους α (584) 996.
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### ERAS OF OXYRHYNCHUS.

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έτος πθ νη (μη Pap.; 413) 992.

,, ρέβ ρλα (486) 914. 13.

,, ρος ρμε (499) 994.

,, σμθ σιη (572) 915. 4.

,, σην σέβ (616-7) 999.
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#### INDICTIONS.

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2nd (6th cent.) 998.

3rd (584) 996.

5th (616-7) 999.

6th (572) 915. 2, 14.

9th (486) 914. 2, 14; (499; l. 8th) 994; Mesore 11, d\rho\chi\bar{\eta} (5th cent.) 995.

13th (444-5) 913. 8.
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# IV. MONTHS AND DAYS.

#### (a) Months.

Γερμανίκειος (Pachon) 962. Σεβαστός (Thoth) 958; 985.

## (b) DAYS.

είδοι \*Απρίλλιαι 899. introd. είδοι Δεκέμβριαι 889. 10. έπαγομένων α 972. τριακάς 967.

## V. PERSONAL NAMES.

'A[.]άπης village elder, son of Heron 918. xi.
12.
'Aβαβίκι(ς) 984.
'Aβρασάξ 924. 18.
'Αγαθήμερος 986. 10.
'Αγαθίνος 987. 5, 17.
'Αγαθίνος 988. iii. 11.
'Αγαθίνος 988. iii. 11.
'Αγαθίνος 988. iii. 11.

'Aγχορίμφις son of Horus 918. xi. 20. 'Aγχορίμφις son of Onnophris (1) 918. ii. 11, 18, 23, xi. 20; (2) 986. 'Aδρι(aν ) 929. introd. 'Aθανάσιος son of Demetrius 939. 22. 'Aïas, Αὐρηλία 'A. daughter of Agathodaemon 990. Αλθιοπάς 934. 14. Alμίλιος Σατουρνίνος praefect 899. 10; 916. 9. Alσχυράς father of Tharion 984. 'Αλέξανδρος, 'Ιούλιος 'A. father of Pausanias 'Αλέξανδρος, Τιβέριος 'A. praefect 899. 28. 'Αλλούς, Αὐρηλία 'A. daughter of Thonius 901. 4. 'Aμηοῦς son of Patunis 918. ii. 15. 'Aμηους son of Sokonopis 918. ii. 14. 'Aμμωνας son of Pastoous and father of Petesuchus 986. Αμμωνιανός 895. introd. 'Αμμωνιανός, Οὐαλέριος 'A. also called Gerontius, logistes 896. 1, 23, 34, 36; 983. 'Αμμώνιος 936. 21; 989. 'Aμμώνιος son of Ammonius 986. 'Aμμώνιος son of Rhodion and father of Ammonius 986. 'Αμμώνιος, Αὐρήλιος 'A. ex-exegetes 908. 8. 'Αμμώνιος, Αὐρήλιος Διονύσιος also called Am. 911. 9. Αμμώνιος, Αὐφίδιος 'Α. 899. 46. 'Αμόις, Αὐρήλιος 'A. son of Horus 897. 4. 'Aμυνταρούς daughter of Amyntas 918. 5. Αμυντας 918. 6. 'Αμφιθαλής 928. 4. Ανδρόμαχος 973. 'Aνήσιος son of Anoup 996. 'Aνήσιος father of Aurelius Anoup 996. Ανιλλα 903. 32. 'Aνούθιος deacon (?) 993. 'Aνούπ father of Anesius 996. Ανούπ, Αὐρήλιος 'A. son of Anesius 996. 'Aνρέσις daughter of Phrateus 984. 'Auteis son of Sarapas 976. 'Aντίμαχος, Θέων also called Ant., gymnasiarch 908. 10. Αντίνοος 933. 29. 'Autivoos also called Hermes 909. 5. 'Aντωνίνος 899. introd. 'Αντωνίνος, Αὐρήλιος 'Α. ό κράτιστος (vicepraefect?) 970.

'Αντώνιος, Αὐρήλιος 'A. governor of Aegyptus Herculia 896. 29. Αντώνιος, Γάιος Ιούλιος 'Α. 972. Απα Βίκτωρ 987. 'Απείς, Αὐρήλιος Σαραπίων also called Ap., senator 977. 'Απίων 923. 2; 967. 'Aπίων collector of money-taxes 917. 1; 981; 982. 'Aπίων eutheniarch 908. 3, 45. 'Aπίων public physician, son of Herodotus 983. 'Aπίων strategus (?) 929. 25. 'Απίων, Φλαούιος 'Α. 999. 'Απολινάριος 928. 1, 16; 932. 2, 3. Απολινάριος, Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Αυρήλιος Σαραπίων also called Ap., prytanis 890. 1. Απολινάριος πρεσβευτής 933. 1, 31. Απόλλων θεός μέγιστος 984. 'Απολλωνάριον also called Aristandra daughter of Aristander 899. 2 el saep. 'Απολλωνία 905. 17; 984. 'Aπολλωνία daughter of Origenes 888. 10. 'Aπολλωνία daughter of Sarapion 918. v. 18. 'Απολλώνιος 929. introd.; 969. 'Απολλώνιος assistant of sitologi 973. 'Απολλώνιος also called Didymus son of Onesas 909. 3. 'Απολλώνιος son of Gaius 969. 'Aπολλώνιος son of Heracles 905. 3. 'Aπολλώνιος father of Heraclides 918. ii. 19. Απολλώνιος δφφικιάλιος 896. 28. 'Aπολλώνιος son of Panephremmis 918. iii. 8. 'Απολλώνιος, Αὐρήλιος 'A. son of Sarapion 890. 14. 'Aπολλώς leadworker 915. 1; 1000-3. 'Aπολλώς μείζων, son of Phoebammon 893. 2. Απφοῦς son of Epimachus 999. 'Aπφους, Αυρήλιος 'A. son of Hareous 914. 3, 20. Αρᾶσις 968. 'Αρεία 924. 2, 19. Aperos vegetable-seller 980. Apeous father of Aurelius Apphous 914. 3, "Αρης θεός μέγιστος 984. 'Αριστάνδρα, Apollonarion also called Ar., daughter of Aristander 899. 2 et saep. 'Aplararopos father of Apollonarion also called Aristandra 899. 2.

5, 21.

'Aρίστανδρος son of Zenon 988. Αὐρήλιος 'Αρτεμίδωρος painter, son of Arsinous 'Apiστίων father of Aurelius Theon also called 896. 2, 20. Eudaemon 964. 'Αριστίων, Αὐρήλιος Θέων also called Eudaemon surnamed Ar., son of Aristion 964. Aρμιέυς father of Taames 918. iii. 9. 911. I. 'Αρμιύσιος, Αὐρήλιος 'A. son of Padidymus 918. 5, 21. 'Aρμινσις son of Patron 986. Αρουσῶις 984. Αρποκρατίων 935. 6. **911**. 9. 'Αρσινόη 921. Ι. 'Apolitoos father of Aurelius Artemidorus gymnasiarch 977. 896. 2. Αὐρήλιος Διόσκορος 977. 'Αρτεμίδωρος, Αὐρήλιος 'A. painter, son of Arsinous 896. 2, 20. 900. 4, 31. 'Ασκληπιάδης, Αὐρήλιος Θέων also called Ascl. 912. 4. 'Ασπιδάς 984. 'Ατῆρις 984. 'Aτρη̂s 935. introd. AURTOS father of Horus 935. introd. Αὐρηλία 'Aïas daughter of Agathodaemon 990. Αὐρηλία 'Αλλοῦς daughter of Thonius 901. 4. Αὐρηλία Βησοῦς daughter of Sarapion 912. 1, Αὐρηλία Διδύμη daughter of Aurelius Hermogenes also called Eudaemon 907. 3 et saep. Αὐρηλία Εὐδαιμονίς daughter of Antinous also called Hermes 909. 5. Αὐρηλία Θεανοῦς daughter of Didymus 960. Αὐρήλιος Ἰσίδωρος 964. Αὐρηλία Ἰσιδώρα also called Prisca 907. 4, 16, 21. Αὐρηλία Πτολεμαίς daughter of Aurelius Hermogenes also called Eudaemon 907. 3, 11, 14. Αὐρηλία Τααμμώνιος daughter of Sarapion Αὐρηλία Ταόρ daughter of Castor 918. 5, 22. Αὐρήλιος 'Αμμώνιος ex-exegetes 909. 8. priest elect 970. Αὐρήλιος 'Αμόις son of Horus 897. 4. 892. 2. Αὐρήλιος 'Ανούπ son of Anesius 996. Αὐρήλιος 'Αντωνίνος ὁ κράτιστος (vice-praefect?) 970. Αὐρήλιος 'Αντώνιος governor of Aegyptus Herculia 896. 29. Αὐρήλιος Πτολλίων son of Ptollion 909. I, Αὐοήλιος 'Απολλώνιος son of Sarapion 890. 14. Αὐρήλιος 'Απφοῦς son of Hareous 914. 3. 37. Αὐρήλιος Σακάων comarch, son of Petiris Αὐρήλιος 'Αρμιύσιος son of Padidymus 913. 895. 4.

Αὐρήλιος Δημήτριος son of Dionysotheon 907. Αὐρήλιος Δημήτριος also called Zoilus, exegetes Αὐρήλιος Δίδυμος public physician, son of Dioscorus 896. 24, 37. Αὐρήλιος Διονυσάμμων 907. 23. Αὐρήλιος Διονύσιος also called Ammonius Αὐρήλιος Διονύσιος also called Aphrodisius, Αὐρήλιος Διόσκορος senator, son of Silvanus Αὐρήλως Δομιττιανός son of Sarapion 890. 14. Αὐρήλιος Ερμείνος son of Aurelius Hermogenes also called Eudaemon 907. 3, 7, 10. Αὐρήλιος Ερμογένης also called Eudaemon. exegetes 907. 1, 27. Αὐρήλιος 'Ηρακλείδης son of Aurelius Hermogenes also called Eudaemon 907. 3, 7, Αὐρήλιος "Ηρων public physician 896. 24, 37. Αὐρήλιος Θεογένης son of Theogenes 911. 4. Αὐρήλως Θέων also called Asclepiades 912. 4. Αὐρήλως Θέων also called Eudaemon surnamed Aristion, son of Aristion 964. Αὐρήλιος Θεωνάς 909. Ι. Αὐρήλιος Ἰσίδωρος son of Chaeremon 912. 10. Αὐρήλιος Κορνηλιανός prytanis 891. 6. Αὐρήλιος Λεωνίδης strategus 890. 4. Αὐρήλιος, Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Αὐρ. Σαραπίων also called Apolinarius, prytanis 890. 1. Αὐρήλιος Maκάριος son of Joseph 902. 2, 18. Αὐρήλιος Νεπωτιανός prytanis 892. 6. Αὐρήλιος Πάρις also called Zeuxianus, chief-Αὐρήλιος Πασίων senator, son of Horion Αὐρήλιος Παπνούτιος son of Paësius 897. 5. Αὐρήλιος Πατάπις son of Paësis 897. 4. Αὐρήλιος Πατῦτις son of Panouris 912. 6. Αὐρήλιος Πτολεμαΐος 970.

Αὐρήλιος Σαραπίων also called Apeis, senator Αὐρήλιος Σαραπίων also called Theon 960. Αὐρήλιος Σαρᾶς 921. introd. Αὐρήλιος Σαρμάτης elder 897. 5. Αὐρήλιος Σερηνος son of Aurelius Ammonius 909. 8. Αὐρήλιος Σερηνος son of Daniel 914. 5. Αὐρήλιος Σερηνος son of Serenus 909. 10. Αὐρήλιος Σεύθης also called Horion, logistes Αὐρήλιος Στέφανος 934. Ι, 17. Αὐρήλιος Σωτήριχος son of Didymus 909. 12. Αὐρήλιος Χαιρήμων 934. 1, 17. Αὐρήλιος Ψόις comarch, son of Patabes 895. 4. Αὐρήλιος 'Ωρίων son of Aurelius Hermogenes also called Eudaemon 907. 3, 7, 19. Αὐφίδιος 'Αμμώνιος 899. 46. 'Αφροδίσιος, Αὐρήλιος Διονύσιος also called Aphr., gymnasiarch 977. 'Αφροδίτη goddess **921**. 22. 'Αχιλλεύς also called Isidorus, gymnasiarch 908. 12. Βαριχας 995. Bελλέως father of Sarapion 985. Bevea [.] es son of Anchorimphis 918. iii. 11. Βερενικιανός, 'Ωρίων also called Ber., gymnasiarch 908. 13.

Γαβριήλ, ὁ ἄγιος Γ. 993. Táios father of Apollonius 969. Γάιος 'Ιούλιος 'Αντώνιος 972. Γάιος Πουλφέρνιος Τιβερίνος 972. Γαίων (?), Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Γέμινος also called Gai. 916. 11. Γέμινος, Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Γ. also called Gaion 916. 11. Γερόντιος, Οὐαλέριος 'Αμμωνιανός also called Gerontius, logistes 896. 1, 23. Γεώργιος 915. Ι. Γεώργιος castrensis (?) 1001. Γεώργιος chartularius 948. 9.

Βησοῦς, Αὐρηλία Β. 912. 1, 40.

Βίκτωρ 943. 9. "Απα Βίκτωρ 987.

Δαίμων, 'Ayaθòs Δ. ἄρξας, son of Caecilius 990. Δανιήλιος father of Aurelius Serenus 914. 5.

Γεώργιος son of John 996.

986.

cleus **986**.

Δανιήλιος president of the council 913. 2. Δήμαρχος 937. 1, 31. Δημέας 980. Δημητρία daughter of Andromachus 978. Δημήτριος father of Athanasius 939. 2, 33. Δημήτριος son of Heraclides 938. 1. Δημήτριος, Αὐρήλιος Δ. son of Dionysotheon 907. 20, 22. Δημήτριος, Αὐρήλιος Δ. also called Zoilus, exegetes 911. 1. Διδύμη 899. 3; 968. Διδύμη, Αὐρηλία Δ. daughter of Aurelius Hermogenes also called Eudaemon 907. 3 et saep. Δίδυμος 907. 22; 960. Δίδυμος father of Aurelius Soterichus 909. 12. Δίδυμος son of Dionysius also called Phatreus 898. 3. Δίδυμος, 'Απολλώνιος also called Did., son of Demeas 909. 3. Δίδυμος, Αὐρήλιος Δ. public physician, son of Dioscorus 896. 24, 37. Δίδυμος, Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Δ. gymnasiarch 908. 6. Διογένης 906. 4, 5, 7; 935. 1, 25. Διογένης καθηγητής 980. 7. Διογένης linen-merchant 988. 1, 32. Διονυσάμμων, Αὐρήλιος Δ. 907. 23. Διονυσάριος, Φλαούιος Δ. riparius 897. 3. Διονύσιος 971; 974. Διονύσιος assistant of collector of corn-dues 976. Διονύσιος gymnasiarch 908. 11. Διονύσιος father of Herodes 988. Διονύσιος also called Phatreus, father of Didymus 898. 3. Διονύσιος father of Ptolemaeus 910. 56. Διονύσιος, Αὐρήλιος Δ. also called Ammonius Διονύσιος, Αὐρήλιος Δ. also called Aphrodisius, gymnasiarch 977. Διονυσοθέων father of Aurelius Demetrius 907. 20. Διόνυσος god 917. 3. Δîos son of Dius 986. Δîos father of Onnophris 918. ii. 19; 986. Aios son of Onnophris and father of Dius

Dies son of Onnophris and father of Hera-

Alos son of Onnophris and father of Pene-Zήνων father of Aristander 988. oueris 986. Zήνων father of Heron 986. Ζωή 903. 5. Διόσκορος 898. 10, 14, 17. Ζωίλος 903. 12. Διόσκορος father of Aurelius Didymus 896. Zwilos banker's assistant 916. 18. Διόσκορος father of Psenamounis 989. Ζωίλος, Αὐρήλιος Δημήτριος also called Zo., Διόσκορος, Αὐρήλιος Δ. 977. exegetes 911. 1. Ζώπυρος 928. 3. Διόσκορος, Αὐρήλιος Δ. senator, son of Silvanus Ζώσιμος 937. 15; 974. Διόσκορος, Φλαύιος Δ. ἐπόπτης εἰρήνης 991. Διοσκουρίδης 907. 15 'Ηλάσιος (?) 926. 7. Ήλιόδωρος 985. 25. Διοσκουρίδης, Οὐαλέριος Δ. also called Julianus, logistes 900. 3. 'Ηραθέων **926**. Ι. Διοφάν[ηs] strategus 899. introd. Ήρακλᾶς 890. 17; 985. Δομιττιανός, Αὐρήλιος Δ. son of Sarapion 890. 'Ηράκλεια daughter of Theon 899. introd. Hρακλείδης son of Apollonius 918. v. 19. 14. 'Ηρακλείδης father of Demetrius 938. 1. Δωρόθεος 992. Ήρακλείδης, Αὐρήλιος 'Ηρ. son of Aurelius Hermogenes also called Eudaemon 907. Έκάτων 968. 3, 17, 19. Έξακονοῦς 967. Ήρακλεόδωρος father of Heracleodorus 984. Έξάκων 928. 3. Ήρακλεόδωρος son of Heracleodorus and Επίμαχος father of Apphous 999. father of Hierax 984. Έρμ 907. 15. Ήράκληος 984. 5; 984. Έρμας wineseller 985. 'Ηράκλησε father of Choous 897. 8. 'Ερμης, 'Αντίνοος also called Herm. 909. 5. 'Ηράκλησε son of Dius and father of Musthas Έρμογένης, Αὐρήλιος Έ. also called Eudaemon, 986. exegetes 907. 1, 27. 'Ηράκλησε son of Hierax 984. Ερμόδωρος basilicogrammateus and acting 'Hράκλησε also called Matreas 898. 5. strategus 898. 1. 'Ηράκλησε son of Peneoueris 986. Έρως 927. Ι. 'Hράκλησε son of Peneoueris and father of Ερως παιδαγωγός 930. 28. Heracles 986. Eὐάγγελος smith 989. 'Hράκλησς father of Ptolemaeus 984. Εὐδαιμονίς, Αὐρηλία Εὐδ. daughter of Antinous 'Ηρακλής son of Heracleus 986. also called Hermes 909. 3. 'Hρακλης son of Morus and father of Apollo-Εὐδαίμων son of Lycus 984. nius 905. 4, 17. Ἡρακλῆs son of Ptolemaeus 984. Εύδαίμων, Αὐρήλιος Ερμογένης also called Eud., exegetes 907. 1, 27. 'Ηρόδοτος father of Apion public physician Εὐδαίμων, Αὐρήλιος Θέων also called Eud. surnamed 'Apiστίων, son of Aristion 964. Ήρώδης 988. Εὐδαίμων, Οὐαλέριος Εὐδ. praefect 899. 29. 'Ηρώδης son of Dionysius 988. Εὐθάλαμος 903. 27. "Hpwv comogrammateus 986. Εὐλόγιος, Φλαούιος Εὐλ. riparius 897. 3. "How father of Heron 918. ii. 19. Eŭvoia 907. 15. "Howe son of Heron and father of Patunis Εὐσέβιος, Φλαούιος Εὐσ. logistes 892. 1. 918. ii. 12, 18, 24. Εὐτύχης sitologus (?) 973. "How son of Nestnephis and father of Patunis Εὐφρόσυνος 939. 19. 918. iii. 12. "II pwv village-elder, father of A[.]apes 918. Ζευξιανός, Αὐρήλιος Πάρις also called Zeux., Xi. 12. chief-priest elect 970. Hpwr son of Xenon 986.

```
"Ηρων, Αὐρήλιος "Ηρ. public physician 896.
                                                'Ισιδώρα, Αὐρηλία 'Ι. 964.
                                                Ἰσιδώρα, Αὐρηλία Ί. also called Prisca 907.
  24, 37.
                                                  4, 16, 21.
Θαήσις 888. 10; 921. 12; 935. introd.
                                                'Ισιδώρα, Κλαυδία 'Ι. 919. 7.
Θαήσις daughter of Panesneus 984.
                                                'Ισιδωρίων 928. 14.
                                                'Ισίδωρος 906, 10.
Oais 932. I.
Oais daughter of Amphithales 928. 4.
                                                'Ισίδωρος, Αὐρήλιος 'I. son of Chaeremon 912.
Θάλλουσα 984.
                                                  10.
Θαρίων son of Aischuras 984.
                                                Ἰσίδωρος, Άχιλλεύς also called Is., gym-
Garons daughter of Menodorus 905. 3.
                                                  nasiarch 908. 12.
                                                'Ισίων son of Panephremmis 918. ii. 19.
Θεαβησις daughter of Pesouris 918. ii. 12,
                                                'Ιωάννης 941. 10; 995.
  22, 24.
                                                'Ιωάννης father of Georgius 996.
Θεανούς 935. 24.
Θεανοῦς, Αὐρηλία Θ. daughter of Didymus 960.
                                                'Iωάννης father of Paniren 893. 2.
                                                'Ιωσήφ father of Aurelius Macarius 902. 2, 18.
Θεαμούς 968.
Geogéons father of Theogenes 911. 4.
                                                'lωσήφ notary 940. 7.
Θεογένης son of Theogenes 911. 4.
Geogéons father of Aurelius Theogenes 911. 4.
                                                Kauxilios father of Agathodaemon 990.
Θεογένης, Αὐρήλιος Θ. son of Theogenes 911. 4.
                                                Kanîs 935. introd.
Θεόδοτος 942. 7.
                                                Καλή 934. 7.
Θεόδωρος 902. 5.
                                                Καλλέας 921. 8.
Θεόπομπος 931. 1, 16.
                                                Kaλλέas pilot 919. 3.
                                                Κάστωρ 913. 5, 22.
Θέων 899. introd.; 935. 24.
Oéwr also called Antimachus, gymnasiarch
                                                Κερελ[, Λούκιος Κερελ[.....ανιανός 965.
  908. 10.
                                                Κλάρες 968.
Θέων, Αὐρήλιος Θ. also called Asclepiades 912. 4.
                                                Κλαυδία Ίσιδώρα 919. 7.
Θέων, Αὐρήλιος Θ. also called Eudaemon sur-
                                                Κλαύδιος, Τιβέριος Κλ. Γέμινος also called
  named Aristion, son of Aristion 964.
                                                   Gaion (?) 916. 11.
Θεωνας, Αὐρήλιος Θ. 909. ΙΙ.
                                                Κλαύδιος, Τιβέριος Κλ. Δίδυμος gymnasiarch
Θεωνίς 930. 24.
                                                  908. 6.
                                                Κλώδιος Κουλκιανός praefect 895. 8.
'Ιβοείς 989.
                                                Κόλλουθος 984. 6.
                                                Κοπρεύς 934. 7, 8, 11.
Ίερακίαινα 935. 27.
'Iepaniwu ex-agoranomus, son of Hieracion
                                                Κορελλιανός, Μινίκιος Κ. epistrategus 899. 30.
  910. I.
                                                Κορνηλιανός, Αὐρήλιος Κ. prytanis 891. 6.
'Ιερακίων father of Hieracion 910. 1.
                                                Κορνήλιος son of Pekusis 899. 49.
'lépag son of Heracleodorus 984.
                                                Κορνήλιος ποικιλτής 980.
'lépaf father of Heracleus 984.
                                                Κουλκιανός, Κλώδιος Κ. praefect 895. 8.
                                                Κυρία 914. 3.
'lŋσοῦς 924. 15; 925. 4.
'Ιουλιανός 992.
                                                Κύριλλα 931. 11.
Ιουλιανός, Οὐαλέριος Διοσκουρίδης also called
  Jul., logistes 900. 3.
                                                Λεωνίδης, Αὐρήλιος Λ. strategus 890. 4.
'Ιουλιανός, Φλαούιος 'I. acting defensor 901. 3.
                                                Λούκιος 928. Ι.
Ἰούλιος Άλέξανδρος father of Pausanias 936. 1.
                                                Λούκιος Κερελ[.....]ανιανός 965.
Ιούλιος Σαραπίων 919. 2, 11 (?).
                                                Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Αὐρήλιος Σαραπίων also called
'Ιούλιος, Γάιος Ί. 'Αντώνιος 972.
                                                  Apolinarius, prytanis 890. 1.
Ἰοῦστος 936. 18.
                                                Λύκος 984.
'Iοῦστος monk 994.
                                                Auros son of Horus and father of Eudaemon
'Ιοῦστος, ὁ άγιος 'Ι. 941. 3.
                                                  984.
                                                Λυκόφρων father of Orseutes 984.
'Ισάκ, Φλαούιος 'I, defensor 902. 1.
```

Maκάριος, Αὐρήλιος M. son of Joseph 902. 2, Παμούθιος μείζων 898. Ι. Harrowis freedman, father of Petarpocration 984. Mapia 992. Mapiros tow-merchant 898. 4, 5, 8. Πανεφρέμμις father of Apollonius 918. iii. 8. Marcus Ulpius Primianus praefect 894. 4. Πανεφρέμμις father of Ision 918. ii. 19. Πανίρεν μείζων son of John 898. I. Μάρκος μείζων 898. 2, 4. Marpéas, 'Ηράκλησε also called Mat. 898. 6. Harovois father of Aurelius Patutis 912. 6. Marpeiva daughter of Heracleus also called Παπινούτιος, Αὐρήλιος II. son of Paësius 897. 6. Matreas 898. 5. Παρεχάτης 984. Πάρις, Αὐρήλιος II. also called Zeuxianus, chief-Myvas 948. I. priest elect 970. Μηνας μειζότερος 922. 21. Париенішт 899. 27, 30. Μηνας προκουράτωρ 948. 2. Μηνόδωρος son of Horus 905. 2, 15. Πασίων public banker 916. 6, 12, 15. Mivinios Kopeddiarós epistrategus 899. 30. Havier smith 989. Moveis 988. Πασίων, Αὐρήλιος Π. senator, son of Horion 892. 2. Mvobas son of Heracleus 986. Môpos father of Heracles 905. 17. Παστωοῦς father of Ammonas 986. Παταβη̂s son of Aurelius Psois 895. 5. Νεπωτιανός, Αὐρήλιος Ν. prytanis 892. 6. Παταπις, Αὐρήλιος Π. son of Paësius 897. 4. Πατηβις 984. Neστνήφιε father of Heron 918. iii. 12. Νικάνωρ 929. 1, 26. Πατρίκιος (?) 922. 7. Νίνναρος οἰκονόμος 929. 1, 25. Πάτρων father of Harmiusis 986. Harûns father of Ameous 918. ii. 15. Navoûs 941. I (?). Πατῦνις son of Heron 918. ii. 11, 19, 23, iii. 12. 'Omoas father of Apollonius also called Πατῦτις, Αὐρήλιος Π. son of Panouris 912. 6. Didymus 909. 3. Havaires collector of corn-dues 976. 'Οννῶφρις **918**. ii. 7 Havoarías son of Julius Alexander 986. 1. 'Οννῶφρις father of Dius 986. Παυφώις 984. 'Οννώφρις son of Dius and father of Ancho-Πεκολάριος (?) 992. rimphis 918. ii. 11, 18, 23, xi. 20; 986. Πέλωρος 918. χίϊ. 13. 'Οννῶφρις son of Horus 918. iii. 7. Πεκυσις father of Κορνήλιος 899. 49. Πένβα 989. 'Οννῶφρις son of Orseutes 984. 'Oρσεύτης son of Lycophron and father of Πενεούρις son of Dius 986. Onnophris 984. Πενεουρις father of Heracleus 986. Οὐαλέριος 'Αμμωνιανός also called Gerontius, Πενεούρις son of Heracleus 986. logistes 896. 1, 23; 988. Πεσούρις father of Theabesis 918.ii. 12, 22, 24. Οὐαλέριος Διοσκουρίδης also called Julianus, Πεταρποκρατίων son of Panesneus 984. logistes 900. 3. Πετεσορφιώμις son of Phanias 986. Οὐαλέριος Εὐδαίμων praefect 899. 29. Πετεσούχος 985. Οὐαλέριος, Φλαούιος Οὐ, Πομπηιανός praefect Πετεσούχος son of Ammonas 986. Heriois son of Aurelius Sakaon 895. 4. 888. I. 'Opuris father of Sisuphis 984. Πετοβάστις ropemaker 934. 4. Πετουφώις 984. Παανοῦφι 984. Πετρώνιος exceptor 942. 6. Паватов 901. 8, 9. Πλάβ horse 922. 13. Πλουτάρχη 906. 4, 7, 10. Hayeris 989. Παδίδυμος father of Aurelius Harmiusis 918. Πλουτογένης 983. 27. Πομπηιανός, Φλαούιος Οὐαλέριος Π.praefect 888.1. 5, 22. Παήσιος father of Aurelius Papnoutius 897. 6. Πουήρις 986. Παήσιος father of Aurelius Patapis 897. 5. Πουλφέρνιος, Γάιος Π. Τιβερίνος 972.

Πούνσις 984. Праойя 996. Πρείσκα, Αὐρηλία Ισιδώρα also called Prisca 907. 4, 16, 21. Πρείσκιλλα 935. introd. Primianus, Marcus Ulpius P. praefect 894. 4. Πτολεμαΐος 930. 30. Πτολεμαΐος basilicogrammateus 986. Πτολεμαΐος son of Dionysius 910. 56. Πτολεμαΐος son of Heracleus and father of Heracles 984. Πτολεμαΐος, Αὐρήλιος Π. son of Hieraciaena Πτολεμαίς, Αὐρηλία Π. daughter of Hermogenes also called Eudaemon 907. 3, 11, 14. Πτολεμείνος also called Sarmates, exegetes 891. 8. Πτολλίων 899. 21. Πτολλίων father of Aurelius Ptollion 909. 1, 37. Πτολλίων, Αὐρήλιος Π. son of Ptollion 909.

'Poδίων father of Ammonius 986.

Sabina, Ulpia S. 894. 6. Σαβίνος 907. 15; 932. 9. Σαλόβις 989. Σαμουήλ περίβλεπτος 994. Σαραπάμμων father of Teos 910. 3, 48. Σαραπᾶς father of Anteis 976. Σαραπίας 912. 2. Σαραπίος daughter of Herodes 988. Σαραπίων 890. 1; 912. 2; 918. v. 18; 935. 14, 23; 968; 991. Σαραπίων son of Belleos 985. Σαραπίων ex-agoranomus, father of Apollonius and Domittianus 890. 15. Σαραπίων also called Horion, son of ... on 908. I, 44. Σαραπίων, strategus of Sebennytus 931. 1, 15. Σαραπίων, Αὐρήλιος Σ. also called Apeis, senator 977. Σαραπίων, Αὐρήλιος Σ. also called Theon 960. Σαραπίων, Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Αυρήλιος Σ. also called Apolinarius, prytanis 890. 1. Σαραπίων, Φλαούιος Σ. son of Horion 913. 24. Σαραποδώρα 932. 9. Σαραποῦς also called Agathoclia, daughter of

Aristion 964.

Σapās 974.

Σαρᾶς, Αὐρήλιος Σ. 921. introd. Σαρμάτης, Αὐρήλιος Σ. elder 897. 5. Σαρμάτης, Πτολεμείνος also called Sarm., exegetes 891. 8. Σαρποκρατίς 984. Σατουρνίνος ρήτωρ 899. 21. Σατουρνίνος, Αἰμίλιος Σ. praefect 899. 10; 916. 9. Σεβαστείνος 928. 10. Σεναμούν 999. Σενοννῶφρις daughter of Heracleus 984. Σενπανεσνεύς daughter of Panesneus 984. Σενπαραίθις daughter of Panesneus 984. Σενπτόλλις 984. Σέντρις 984. Σενύφις 984. Σενφῶις daughter of Lycus 984. Σενχεμενεύς 984. Σεπτίμιος, Λούκιος Σ. Αυρήλιος Σαραπίων also called Apolinarius, prytanis 890. 1. Σερήνος 935. 1. Σερηνος banker 943. 1, 5. Σερηνος father of Serenus 909. 10. Σερηνος son of Serenus 909. 10. Σερηνος, Αὐρήλιος Σ. son of Aurelius Ammonius 909. 8. Σερήνος, Αὐρήλιος Σ. son of Daniel 914. 5. Σεύθης, Αὐρήλιος Σ. also called Horion, logistes 895. 3 Σιλβανός father of Aurelius Dioscorus 900. 4. Σισύφις son of Ophieus and father of Sisuphis Σισύφις pastophorus, son of Sisuphis 984. Σοκονῶπις father of Ameous 918. ii. 14. Σοφία daughter of Marcus 893. 4, 5, 8. Στέφανος προνοητής 999. Στέφανος, Αὐρήλιος Σ. 934. 1, 17. Στουδίωσος, Φλαύιος Σ. dioecetes 899. introd., 2. Σύρος 936. 5. Σφραγίς 984. Σωτήριχος, Αὐρήλιος Σ. son of Didymus 909. 12. Taaμηs daughter of Harmieus 918. iii. 8. Τααμώνιος, Αὐρηλία Τ. daughter of Sarapion Ταανούφις 984. Τααρμίνσις 909. 12. Τάβη 996. Ταθυνν . . . 899. 31.

Τακάλλιππος 905. 2.

Τανούριε 984.	Φλαούιος 'Ιουλιανός acting defensor 901. 3.
Ταόρ 937. 1, 31.	Φλαούιος 'Ισάκ defensor 902. Ι.
Ταόρ, Αὐρηλία Τ. daughter of Castor 913. 5, 22.	Φλαούιος Οὐαλέριος Πομπηιανός praetect 888. I.
Ταπάνη 996.	Φλαούιος Σαραπίων son of Horion 913. 24.
Ταπητάρ(ιος ?) 999.	Φλαύιος Διόσκορος ἐπόπτης εἰρήνης 991.
Ταπτίχις 984.	Φλαύιυς Στουδίωσος dioecetes 899. introd., 2.
Taσaraβοῦς daughter of Onnophris 918. ii. 6.	Φοιβάμμων 941. 8.
Τασοιτᾶς 937. 26.	Φοιβάμμων father of Apollos 893. 2.
Τατναγούς 984.	Φοιβάμμων comes <b>994.</b>
Ταυσορᾶπιε 905. 4.	Φοιβάμμων ex-councillor 902. 4.
Ταυφώις 984.	Φοιβάμμων φροντιστής 940. 5.
Ταφίβις 984.	Φοιβάμμων χειριστής 995.
Ταψωβαις 984.	- chapper Kuhouh 000.
Teaî\u004.	Χαιράμμων <b>926</b> . 6 (?).
Τερεύς 984.	Χαιρέας 900. 15.
_ '	Χαιρήμων son of Anchorimphis 918. xi. 20.
Τερεχα( ) 984. Τευφωῦς 984.	Χαιρήμων father of Aurelius Isidorus 912. 10.
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	Χαιρήμων strategus 970.
Tews son of Sarapammon 910. 3, 48.	Χαιρήμων, Αὐρήλιος Χ. <b>934.</b> Ι, 17.
Τιβερίνος Γάιος Πουλφέρνιος Τ. 972.	Χεμενεῦς 984.
Τιβέριος Αλέξανδρος praefect 899. 28.	Χριστός 924. 15; 925. 4.
Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Γέμινος also called Gaion (?)	Χωοῦς 908. 26, 28, 31.
916. 11.	Xωοῦς son of Heracleus 897. 8, 13.
Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Δίδυμος gymnasiarch 908. 6.	Adors Soil of Heracicus 667. 6, 13.
Τίγριος 932. Ι.	Ψαῦτις 984.
Τιθόις 929. 7.	Ψεναμούνις son of Dioscorus 989.
Τιμόθεος ordinarius 942. 7.	<b>Чентой</b> 984.
Τοωνσᾶς 984.	Ψιραίθης 984.
Τσενήσις 935. 28,	Ψῶις 984.
Ulpia Sabina 894. 6.	'Ωφελία 968.
Ulpius, Marcus U. Primianus praesect 894.4.	'Ωριγένης 888. 10, 12 ; 918. ii. 3.
• •	'Ωρίων 906. 10.
Darias father of Petesorphiomis 986.	'Ωρίων father of Aurelius Pasion 892. 2.
Pavias son of Petesorphiomis 986.	'Ωρίων also called Berenicianus, gymnasiarch
Φατρεύς 984.	908. 13.
Φατρεύς, Διονύσιος also called Phat., father of	'Ωρίων father of Flavius Sarapion 913. 24.
Didymus 898. 4.	'Ωρίων, Αὐρήλιος Σείθης also called Hor., logistes
Φαῦστος 900. 15; 985.	895. 3.
Φιλοδιόσκορος 907. 11.	'Ωρίων, Αὐρήλιος 'Ω. son of Aurelius Hermo-
Φιλόκυρος 937. 15.	genes also called Eudaemon 907. 3, 17, 19.
Фидонков strategus 898. 26; 957.	'Ωρίων, Σπραπίων also called Hor., son of on
Φιλόξενος 922. 14, 16; 936. 20.	908. I, 44.
Φιλόξουρο marietrianus QOA a	
Φιλόξενος magistrianus 904. 2.	<sup>*</sup> Ωρος 900. 15. <sup>*</sup> Ωρος father of Anchorimphis 918. xi. 21.
Φιλοστέφανος 984.	
Φλαβιανός 939. I, 32.	<sup>*</sup> Ωρος father of Aurelius Amois 897. 4.
Φλαούιος 904. Ι.	<sup>1</sup> Ωpos son of Auctus 935. introd.
Φλαούιος Διονυσάριος riparius 897. 3.	<sup>1</sup> Ωρος father of Lycus 984.
Φλαούιος Εὐλόγιος riparius 897. 3.	<sup>o</sup> Ωρος father of Menodorus 905. 2.
Φλαούιος Εὐσέβιος logistes 892. 1.	*Ωρος father of Onnophris 918. iii. 7.

#### VI. GEOGRAPHICAL.

# (a) COUNTRIES, NOMES, CITIES, TOPARCHIES.

Aegyptus 894. 3, 4.
Αίγυπτος 888. 1; 899. introd.
Αίγυπτος Ἡρκουλία 896. 29.
'Αλεξάνδρεια 889. 10; 899. introd.; 923. 8; 934. 3; 998.
Alexandria 894. 4.
'Αντινοίς 937. 20, 23, 29.
'Αντινοίς 909. 6.
'Αντινοίς φύν πόλις 970.
'Αντινόου (πόλις) 903. 29, 33; 933. 32 (?).
'Αρσινοίτης (νομός) 919. 6; 922. 5.

Βαβυλών 895. 13.

Έλληνικός 907. 2; 990.

'Ηρακλεοπολίτης (νομός) 899. 23. 'Ηρακλέους (πόλις) 922. 17. 'Ηρκουλία, Αίγυπτος 'Ηρκ. 896. 29.

Κανωπικός 936. 15. Κυνοπολίτης (νομός) 921. 21. Κυνοπολιτών (πόλις), ή άνω 902. 1. Κωνσταντίνου πόλις 922. 15.

Μέμφις 919. 4. μερίς 986.

Νειλουπολιτών (πόλις) 942. 1. νομός 899. 42; 900. 6; 913. 6; 991.

o' (?) 991.

"Oaσις 898. 9, 13. Μικρά "O. 888. 8; 895. 19.

'Οξυρυγχίτης (νυμός) 888. 8; 892. 1; 895. 3; 896. 1, 23; 898. 16; 899. introd., 5, 16; 900. 3; 901. 3; 905. 6; 916. 7; 923. 13; 929. 18; 991.

'Οξυρυγχιτών πόλις 889. 13; 890. 4; 891. 4; 896. 3, 25; 899. 3; 900. 5; 907. 1, 26; 908. 4, 17; 909. 9; 911. 3; 913. 4; 914. 4, 20; 990; 999.

'Οξυρύγχων πόλις 888. 7, 8, 11; 898. 4; 909. 1; 910. 1; 911. 12; 912. 3.

Oxyrhynchus (? Oxyrhynchorum urbs) 894. 7.

πάγος, δέκατος π. 900. 6. ε π. 901. 5. Πολέμωνος μερίς 986. πόλις, = Cynopolis 902. 2. = Nilopolis 942. 4. = Oxyrhynchus 889. 14, 15; 892. 3, 9; 896. 9, 30; 899. 6; 904. 4; 908. 6; 909. 13; 910. 3; 911. 5; 914. 6; 962. ]ιτῶν πόλις 895. 15. πόλεις 902. 10. Προσωπίτης 919. 5.

'Ρωμαΐοι 919. 7.

Σεβεννύτου ἄνω τόποι 931. 15.

τοπαρχία, ἀπηλιώτου (Oxyrh.) 910. 5. γ τοπ. (Πολέμωνος μερίδος, Arsin.) 986. Σεβεννύτου ἄνω τόποι 931. 15.

### (b) VILLAGES, ἐποίκια, τόποι.

### 1. Oxyrhynchite.

'Αδεύ 989.
'Αμβιούτος τόποι 999.
'Απόλλωνος κώμη 898. 2.
"Ασκλου 982. Ι.

Εὐαγγελεῖον 998. Εὐτυχιάδος ἐποίκ. 996. Ζαπίτου, Ἰσείον Ζ. 897. 6.

Ήρακλεῖον ἐποίκ. 989.

Θαήσιος 998. Θεαγένους 998. Θῶσβις 989.

'Ιβιών 998.

Καρανεώτης 922. 24, 25.

Λαχανίας Νήσος 998. Λευκαδίου Νήσος 998. Λουκίου 922. 25; 998.

Μαιουμά τόποι 999.
Μαργαρίτου τόποι 999.
Μελίτα 998.
Μερμέρθα 912. 7.
Μεσκανοῦνις 998.
Μονίμου 979.
Μουχινώρ 985.
Μοῦχις ἐποίκ, 996.
Μῶα 907. 24.

Νείλου ἐποίκ. 997. Νεκῶνθις 998; 1008. Νῆσος Λαχανίας 998. Νῆσος Λευκαδίου 998. Νικήτου 998.

'Οστρακίνου **998.** Οὐρειήβτ **922.** 17.

Παγγᾶ, Ἰστίον Π. 899. 7; 988.
Παγγουλεείου 998; 999.
Πακέρκη 910. 4, 7, 32; 998.
Παλλώσιε οτ Παλώσιε 922. 23; 998.
Πενεύε 989.
Πέλα 970.
Πέττη 982. 3; 997.
Ποῦχιε 966.
Πτολεμᾶ ἐποίκ. 989.

Πτώχις **918**. 6.

Σαδάλου 895. introd.
Σαμβαθώ 903. 19.
Σεν[ 907. 10.
Σεναώ 938. 3.
Σενεκελεύ 899. 7; 979.
Σενεπτα 909. 17; 979.
Σεντωλενώ 981.
Σερῦφις 899. 7; 970; 989; 991. Σερύφως πόλις 980.
Σεφώ 907. 9; 997; 998.
Σινπέκλη ἐποίκ. 989.
Σκέλους 998.
Σκώ 979.
Σπανία 922. 4.
Στεφανίωνος 998.

Ταμπέμου 901. 4; 989 (?).
Τακολκίλις (?) 997.
Τακόνα 998.
Ταλαά 917. Ι.
Ταμπέτι 895. 5; 997; 998.
Ταρουθίνου 998.
Ταρουσέβτ 998.
Τέρυθις 998.
Τήις 989.
Τίλλωνος 998.
Τρύφωνος, Ἰστίον Τ. 989.

Φοβόου (ΟΓ Φοκόου) τόποι 978.

Χιούτ (? not Oxyrhynchite) 925. 6. Χῦσις 899. 6, 36; 984. 7. Χ. ἄνω 989.

Ψώβθις 905. 2.

'Ωφις 922. 2, 22 ; 989.

#### 2. Arsinoite.

'Ιβιών 'Αργαίου 918. V. 17.

'Οξυρύγχα 986.

### 3. Heracleopolite.

Βουσείρις 899. 22. Θυτήρις 899. 22. Φιλονίκου 965.

## (c) aupoda of Oxyrhynchus.

Δρόμου Θοήριδος 911. 13. Ίππέων Παρεμβολής 964. Κρηπίδος 984. Νότου Κρηπίδος 912. ΙΙ.

# (d) TRIBE AND DEME (ANTINOITE).

Νερουιάνειος ό καλ Γενεάρχειος 970.

### (e) MISCELLANEOUS (BUILDINGS, κλήροι, οὐσίαι, &c.).

'Αδριανά, Τραιανά 'Αδρ. θερμά 896. 7.
'Αρχεπόλιδος κλήρος 988.
βαλανείον δημόσιον 896. 8. Cf. 892. 8.
Διονυσιάδος νομαί 899. introd., 6.
Διονυσείον 908. 8.
Διονυσείον 908. 8.
Διονυσείον 908. (Arsinoite) 986.
διῶρυξ Τεκνάνις (Arsinoite) 918. ii. 3, 13, iii. 6, 13. δ. Φαγήους οτ Φακήους (Arsinoite) 918. v. 17, 21. μεγάλη δ. 988.
θερμά Τραιανά 'Αδριανά 896. 7.
'Ισείον, τὸ ἄνω 'Ισ. 907. 8.
κλήρος 'Αρχεπόλιδος 988.
κυριακόν 903. 19, 21.

λουτρόν, δημόσιον λ. 892. ΙΙ. λ. τοῦ προαστείου 915. 2.
μαρτύριον 941. 4.
νομαὶ Διονυσιάδος 899. introd. 6.
οὐσία Διονυσοδωριανή (Arsinoite) 986.
προάστειον 915. 2.
πύλη βορρινή 892. 8.
Σαβητ( ), σωλήν λεγόμενος Σ. 1002.
Σαραπείον 928. Ι4.
Τεκνάνις διῶρυξ (Arsinoite) 918. ii. 3, 13, iii. 6, 13.
Τραιανὰ 'Αδριανὰ θερμά 896. 7.
Φαγήσυς ΟΓ Φακήσυς διῶρυξ (Arsinoite) 918. v.
17, 21.

### VII. RELIGION.

- (1) PAGAN.
- (a) Gods.

' Απόλλων, θεὸς μέγιστος 984. "Αρης, θεὸς μέγιστος 984. ' Αφροδίτη 921. 22. Διότυσος 917. 3 (?). θεοί 988. 7; 985. 3, 10; 986. 5.

(b) Temples.

Διονυσείου 908. 8. Ιερον 'Απόλλωνος 984. Ιερ. "Αρεως 984.

παστοφόριον 984. Σαραπείον 928. 9.

(c) Priests.

άρχιερατεύσας 911. 2. άρχιερεύς 970. παστοφόρος 984.

### (d) Miscellaneous.

έορτή, μεγάλη έορ. 988. 13. θυσία 928. 7. ἱερὰ σύνοδος 908. 9. ίερονίκης 908. 9. σπονδή Διονύσου (?) 917. 3.

# (2) CHRISTIAN.

## (a) Divine Titles.

`Αβρασάξ 924. 17. δεσπότης θεός 939. 4. ό τῶν ὅλων δεσπ. 939. 29. θεός 903. 37; 941. 8; 942. 3, 4; 943. 9. θεὸς δεσπότης 939. 4. θεὸς ζῶν 924. 11. θεὸς παντοκράτωρ 925. 1.

'Ιησους Χριστός 924. 15; 925. 4. κύριος 925. 4; 943. 7. μήτηρ 924. 15. πατήρ 924. 15. πυεθμα άγιον 924. 16. υίός 924. 15.

## (b) Ecclesiastical Titles.

διάκονος 998 (?). ἐπίσκοπος 908. 15. μονάζων 994. οἰκονόμος τοῦ ἀγίου Ἰούστου 941. 4.

## (c) Miscellaneous.

Γαβριήλ, ὁ ἄγιος Γ. 993. ἐκκλησία, ἡ άγία ἐκκλ. 993. Ἰοῦστος, ὁ ἄγιος Ἰ. 941. 4. μαρτύριον 941. 4.  $q\theta (= d\mu \dot{\eta}\nu)$  925. 7.  $\chi \mu \gamma$  940. 1; 995.

### VIII. OFFICIAL AND MILITARY TITLES.

αγορανομήσας 890. 16; 910. 2. ἀντάρχων 907. 21. ἄρξας 900. 4; 990. ἀρχέφοδος 969. ἀρχιερατεύσας 911. 2. ἀρχιερεύς 970. ἄρχων 907. 21; 922. 3, 19.

βασιλικὸς γραμματεύς (α) 'Οξυρυγχίτου. Ερμόδωρος, διαδεχόμενος καὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν (Α. D. 123) 898. 1. 'Αμμωνιανός, διαδεχ. καὶ τὴν στρατ. (Α. D. 199) 899. 34, 36. (δ) 'Αρσινοίτου Πολέμωνος μερίδος. Πτολεμαῖος (Α. D. 131-2) 986. βοηθός 976. Cf. Index XI. βουλευτής 888. 8; 892. 2; 900. 4; 907. 1; 911. 3; 977; 984. βουλή, ἡ κρατίστη β. 891. 5; 892. 5.

γραμματεύς. See βασιλικός γραμ. γυμνασιάρχης 908. 15; 977. γυμνασιαρχήσας 908. 3.

διοικητής, Φλαύιος Στουδίωσος ό κράτιστος διοικ. (A. D. 200) 899. introd., 1, 37.

ἐκδικίαν 'Οξυρυγχίτου διοικῶν 901. 3. ἔκδικος 902. 10, 18. ἔκδ. τῆς ἄνω Κυνοπολιτῶν 902. 1. ἐξηγητεύσας 908. 13, 14; 909. 9. ἐξηγητής 891. 9, 10; 907. 1; 911. 2; 977. ἐξηγ. 'Οξυρυγχίτου καὶ Μικρᾶς 'Οάσεως 888. 8. ἐξκέπτωρ 942. 6 (?). ἔπαρχος, 'Ιούνιος Βάσσος καὶ Φλαούιος 'Αβλάβιος οἱ λαμπρότατοι ἔπαρχοι (Α. D. 331) 990. Cf. ἡγεμών.

επιστράτηγος 899. 25. Μινίκιος Κορελλιανδς ἐπιστρ. (Α. D. 146-7) 899. 30. ἐπόπτης εἰρήνης 991. εὐθηνιάρχης 908. 5, 16. εὐθηνιαρχῶν 908. 19.

ήγεμονεύσας. See ήγεμών. ηγεμών 899. 25; 904. 10. Τιβέριος Άλέξανδρος (Α. D. 69) 899. 28. Οὐαλέριος Εὐδαίμων ἡγεμονεύσας (Α. D. 141-2) 899. 29. M. Ulpius Primianus (?), praefectus Aegypti 894. 4. δ λαμπρότατος ήγ. Αἰμίλιος Σατουρνίνος (Α. D. 198) 816. 10, (Α. D. 200) 899. 10. Αυρήλιος Αντωνίνος δ κράτιστος (? identical with Αὐρ. 'Αντίνοος, vice-praefect in A. D. 215-6) 970. Φλαούιος Οὐαλέριος Πομπηιανός ὁ διασημότατος ἔπαρχος (Α. D. 287) 888. 1. Κλώδιος Κουλκιανός ό διασημ. ήγ. (A. D. 305) 895. 7. δ κοάτιστος ἡγεμών (unnamed) 931. 8; 967. ήγούμενος Αλγύπτου 'Ηρκουλείας (Α. D. 316) **896.** 28.

laτρός, δημόσιος laτ. 896. 26; 983.

καστρίσιος (?) 1001. κόμες 994. κωμάρχης 895. 5. κωμογραμματεύς 899. introd., 24, 36; 970; 986.

λογιστής. Αὐρήλιος Σεύθης ὁ καὶ 'Ωρίων (Λ. D. 305) 895. 3. Οὐαλέριος 'Αμμωνιανός ὁ καὶ Γερόντιος (Α. D. 316) 896. 2, 23; 983. Οὐαλέριος Διοσκουρίδης ὁ καὶ Ἰουλιανός (Α. D. 322) 900. 3. Φλαούιος Εὐσέβιος (Α. D. 338) 892. 1.

μαγιστριανός, καθωσιωμένος μαγ. 904. 2. μειζότερος 922. 21; 943. 3. μείζων 893. 1; 900. 19; 980. ἀπὸ μειζόνων 893. 2, 3, 4.

νοτάριος 940. 7. νυκτοστράτηγος 933. 24.

οἰκονόμος στρατηγοῦ (?) **929**. 25. Cf. Index VII. (2) (b).

ορδινάριος 942. 7. από υπάτων ορδιναρίων 999. οφφικιάλιος 896. 28.

πολιτευόμενος 902. 12. πολιτευσάμενος 902. 4. πραγματικός 899. 17, 35, 42, 47. praefectus. See ήγεμών. πραιπόσιτος πατριμωναλίων δεκάτου πάγου 900. 5. πράκτωρ 889. 8; 899. 43, 48; 958 (?). πρ. ἀργυρικῶν 917. 1; 981-2. πρ. σιτικῶν 965; 976. πρεσβευτής 933. 31. πρεσβύτεροι κώμης 918. Χί. 3, 12. προκουράτωρ 943. 2. πρόξενος βουλευτῶν 984. προπολιτευόμενος 913. 4. πρύτανις 907. 1. ἔναρχος πρύτ. 889. 13; 890. 3; 891. 7; 892. 5.

ριπάριος 897. 3; 904. 3.

σιτολόγος 973; 986.
στρατηγία 911. 8. βασιλικός γραμματεύς διαδεχόμενος καὶ τὴν στρ. See βασιλικός γραμ.
στρατηγός (a) 'Οξυρυγχίτου. Φιλόνικος (A. D. 123) 898. 26; 957. Διοφάν[ης] (A. D. 200) 899. introd. 'Απίων (?) (late second or third cent.) 929. 25. Χαιρήμων (early third cent.) 970. Λεωνίδης (third cent.) 890. 5. Unnamed 899. 17, 42. βασιλικός γραμματεύς διαδεχόμενος καὶ τὴν στρ. See βασ. γρ. (b) Σεβεννύτου ἄνω τόπων. Σαραπίων (second cent.) 931. 15. σχολαστικός 902. 1.

τραπεζίτης 943. 2, 5. βασιλικός τρ. 916. 13, 16. δημόσιος τρ. 916. 7.

ύπατος, ἀπό ὑπάτων ὀρδιναρίων 999. Cf. Index III. ὑπηρέτης 899. 50; 916. 18.

φύλαξ 931. 6; 933. 25.

χαρτουλάριος 948. 9. χειριστής 995.

# IX. WEIGHTS, MEASURES, AND COINS.

### (a) WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

άγκάλη 935. 19. ἄρουρα 899. 6, 7, 16; 907. 8, 9, 11, 13, 18, 24; 910. 7, 10, 12, 50; 913. 10, 20 (?); 916. 8; 918. introd. et saep.; 935. 21 (?); 986; 988. ἀρτάβη 903. 22, 23, 24; 907. 24; 908. 28, 35; 910. 10, 18, 52, 55; 918. introd. et saep.; 920. 1; 932. 5; 934. 10; 960; 966; 974; 979; 986; 994; 998-9. Unusual fractions: ½ 986. ½ 986. ½ 986. ½ 986. ½ 986. ½ 986. ½ 986. ½ 986. ½ 986. ½ 986. ½ 918. introd.

δικότυλον 987. 27. διπλοῦν 992-8.

ζεύγος 986. 15, 16.

ήμίχουν 986. 7, 9.

κάγκελλος, καγκελλφ SC. μέτρφ 994; 999. κεράμιον 907 24; 919. 8; 961. introd.; 928. 12; 937. 27. κόμτον (?) 995. λίτρα 915. 2, 3; 1000-1002.

μέτρον 910. 21. μ. δέκατον 907. 24. μ. τετραχοίνικον παραληπτικόν τοῦ γεούχου 910. 34. καγκέλλφ, 8c. μέτρφ 994; 999. μέτρον =  $\frac{1}{10}$  artaba (?) 920. 2. μνααῖον. χρυσοῦ κοινοῦ σταθμφ 'Οξυρυγχίτη μν. 905. 5.

ούγκία 931. 4.

ξέστης 921. 23.

πήχυς **921.** introd.; **986.** π. άπλοῦς, ἐμβαδός, καμαρωτικός (οτ -τός) **921.** introd. Προσωπίτης (?) **919.** 5.

σαργάνη 988. 3, 6. σταθμός 'Οξυρυγχίτης 905. 5. στατήρ 986. 40.

τετραχοίνικου μέτρου. See μέτρου. τριχοίνικου 986. 7.

# (b) Coins.

άργύριον 896. 15, 17; 898. 12; 907. 25; 909. 19; 912. 14.

δηναρίων μυριάς 896. 15, 17.
δραχμή 890. 16(?); 895. 13, 15, 16; 906.
3; 909. 20; 910. 13, 53; 912. 14;
916. 12 et saep.; 917. 2, 3, 4, 5; 919. 10,
11; 920. 1 et saep.; 934. 6, 7, 9, 10, 11;
964; 977; 980-1; 985-6.
δυόβολοι 920. 1, 5, 6; 971; 981.

ήμωβέλιον 917. 2.

κεράτιον 998.

μνααίον, χρυσοῦ μν. 905. 5.

νόμισμα **922**. 14, 16, 18, 22, 23, 26. νομισμάτιον **914**. 9, 10; **995**; **999**. 'Αλεξανδρείας νομ. **998**.

όβολός 917. 4, 5; 920. 3; 971; 981; 985.

πεντώβολον 917. 4.

τάλαντον 898. 12; 907. 25. τετρώβολον 917. 3; 985. τριώβολον 985.

χαλκός 936. 17. χαλκούς 917. 3; 981. χρυσίον 995 (?). χρυσός 914. 9, 10; 995. χρ. κοινοῦ σταθμῷ 'Οξυρυγχίτη μυααίον 905. 5.

# X. TAXES.

ἀργυρικά 981-2.
δεκάτη παρολκῶν (?) 997.
δημόσια, τὰ δ. 903. 31 (?); 910. 23; 913. 17; 932. 4.
ἔκτη 917. 2.
ἐπαρούριον 917. 3; 981.
ἐπικλασμός 899. 9.
η), η+ (= ὀγδόη?) 916. 7, 17, 20.
Μέμφεως τέλη 919. 3.
μέτρημα 909. 22.
ναύβιον 917. 2.
ναύβιον φορέτρου (?) 917. 2.

ξενία 931. 7.
οὐσόη. See η).
οὐσιακά 986.
πηχισμός περιστερώνων 981.
στικά 965; 976; 986.
σπονδή Διονύσου (?) 917. 3.
τέλη Μέμφεως 919. 3.
τελούμενα 899. 9.
φόρος 899. 40. Cf. Index XI.

XI. GENERAL INDEX OF GREEK AND LATIN WORDS.

άβαρής 988. 29. аваткантов 980. 23. άβοήθητος 899. 44. άβροχος 910. 27. άβωλος 988. dyuos 924. 16; 925. 1; 941. 4; 993. άγκάλη 985. 19. ãуны **923.** 9. άγοράζεω 922. 11, 22; 988. 29, 30. άγορανομήσας 890. 16; 910. 2. άγορασμός 962. άγρός 967. άγωνία 939. I 2. άδελφή 930. 23; 981. 11; 985. 4; 986. 12; **987.** 2, 9, 31; 964; 967. άδελφιδούς 888. ΙΙ. άδελφικός 942. 2, 5. άδελφός 892. 3, 12; 902. 5; 908. 15; 904. 6; 907. 25; 928. 2; 929. 2, 21; 984. 2; 985. 2, 6, 23; 942. 6; 948. 9; 995. άδελφότης 948. Ι. aduceir 898. 7; 901. 11; 902. 11. адию 902. 17. adiкы 902.7.

άδολος 910. 33; 988. del 985. 9. άζήμιος 904. 5. άηδίζειν 942. 5. ἀθήρ **988**. ãθλιος 904. 6. αλγιαλίτις 918. xiii. 10. alyιαλό 918. xi. 5, 14. αΐθριον 911. 14; 986. alpeir 892. 6; 908. 7; 909. 27; 918. 11. alpew 903. 10, 11, 28, 30, 35. alpenis 907. 4. alreir 898. 18, 23. alónos 996. ἀκαθαρσία 912. 26. · åkarba 909. 17, 24, 28. akirduros 910. 22; 914. 10. άκλινής 904. 9. ἀκοή 904. 9. ἀκολουθείν 981. 9. ἀκολουθος 899. introd.; 988. 2. ἀκολούθως 899. 30, 33, 46; 916. 9; 964. άκριβέστερος 899. introd.

```
ἄκριθος 910. 33; 988.
акироs 906. 8, 9.
άκωλύτως 912. 19.
ãκων 939. I 2.
αλήθεια 925. 5.
άλήθειν 908. 26, 34.
άληθινός 925. 2.
άλληλεγγύη 913. 7, 18, 23; 918. ii. 15, 20,
  iii. 13.
άλλήλων 906. 3; 909. 19.
άλλος 895. 14; 899. 10, 13, 36; 902. 15;
  903. 28; 904. 4, 5; 906. 5; 913. 16;
  918. ii. 17, iii. 1, 2, 15; 921. 13; 922.
  23, 25; 929. 15; 939. 3; 940. 3, 4;
  984; 988; 999.
άλλότριος 929. 21; 963.
ãλφα 929. introd.
άλωνεία 918. Χί. 4, 16, 18.
άλως 910. 32; 988.
ãμα 903. 3; 904. 7; 905. 13; 907. 24;
  910. 19; 989. 23; 975.
άμελεῖν 934. 9, 12.
άμεριμνείν 930. 8.
άμέριμνος 933. 20.
ἀμήν (qθ) 925. 7.
άμμος 988.
άμπελικός 907. 8; 909. 15.
άμπελος 909. 23.
άμπελουργός 985.
άμπελών 967.
άμφοδον 911. 13; 912. 11; 964; 984.
άμφότερος 895. 5; 896. 25; 964.
àraβαίνειν 898. 15; 932. 8; 935. 13.
άναβολάδιον 921. 17.
ἀναβολή 888. 5; 909. 25, 29; 918. 20.
ἀνάβολον 936. 24.
αναγιγνώσκειν 899. 26, 27, 31; 980. 14.
ἀναγκαῖος 895. 10. ἀναγκαίως 898. 36; 899.
  IJ.
ανάγκη 900. 18.
αναγράφειν 899. introd.
ἀναγραφή 899. 46.
αναζητείν 897. 9.
ἀνακαθήσθαι 939. 25.
aναλαμβάνειν 899. introd., 37; 902. 7;
  985.
ἀνάληψις 986.
άναλίσκειν 985.
ἀνάλωμα 891. 13; 900. 11; 929. introd.;
  986. 43; 971; 985; 999.
```

```
αναμέτρησιε 918. introd., xi. 5, 14.
ãrardpos 899. 44.
αναρπάζειν 898. 21.
αναστρέφειν 907. 17.
ανασφάλλειν 939. 5.
άνατροπή 902. ΙΙ.
αναφαίνειν 989. 4.
αναφέρειν 916. 8.
άναφόριον 898. 37.
άνεκτότερον 989. 25.
ανεύθυνος 906. 8.
ανέχεσθαι 903. 36.
ανεψιός 907. 22.
ἀνήρ 893. 1; 898. 10; 899. 18, 26; 905.
  5; 907. 20.
aviévai 902. 16.
annus 894. 1.
άνοικοδυμείν 986.
αντάρχων 907. 21.
αντιγεούχος 943. 8.
άντιγράφειν 987. 19.
αντίγραφον 899. introd., 33.
ἀντιλαμβάνειν 892. 9.
ἀντίληψις 900. 13.
άντιποιείσθαι 899. 43.
drtís 941. 4.
άντλεῦν 971; 985.
άντλησις 971.
ανυδρος 918. ii. 10.
ανυπερθέτως 912. 21; 913. 17, 19; 914. 14.
άνω 902. 1; 907. 8; 922. 2, 8; 931. 15;
  989. ἀνωτέρω 940. 3.
άξιόπιστος 898. Ι.
άξιος 899. 13; 912. 30.
άξιοῦν 898. 37; 899. 26, 47; 900. 14;
  902. 13; 913. 24; 989.
άπαγορεύειν 899. 24, 28.
άπαιτείν 890. 7; 929. 7; 939. 17.
απαίτησι: 899. 40, 43, 48.
άπαλλαγή 905. 11, 13, 14.
άπαλλάσσειν 893. 9; 899. 16, 26, 31.
άπαντᾶν 903. 12, 28.
άπαραίτητος 900. Ι2; 904. 9.
άπαρτίζειν 908. 23; 936. 22.
āπas 939. 4; 943. 9.
απελεύθερος 898. 10; 984.
άπεντεύθεν 908. 16, 17.
άπερίσπαστος 898. 15, 18.
απέρχεσθαι 908. 19, 20; 925. 5; 936. 20;
  943. 3.
```

артов 936. 16. άρχειν. άρχων 907, 21; 922, 3, 19. άρξας 900. 4; 990. ἄρχεσθαι 918. ii. I, I4, iii. 11, xi. 10; 967. άρχέφοδος 969. φχή 995. άρχιερατεύσας 911. 2. άρχιερεύς 970. ἀσέλγημα 908. 21. ἄσημος 906. 10; 984. ασθενής 911. 6. ασπάζεσθαι 980. 22, 26; 982. 9; 988. 5, 26; 984. 15; 985. 22, 26; 986. 13, 47; 963. ασυνθηκεί 904. 2. ἀσχόλημα 977. ἀσχολία 988. 7. ατελής 908. 10. атер 936. 8. άτόπημα 904. 4. αὐλή 911. 15; 986. αύριον 926. 4; 927. 3. αὐτόθι 910. 14. άφεσις 918. ν. 20. ἀφῆλιξ 888. 11; 907. 19; 909. 2, 4, 16; 984. ἀφιέναι 932. 5. άφικνείσθαι 989. 16. άφιξις 939. 28. άφιστάναι 948. 3, 6, 7. άφορμή 899. 10. ãχρι 898. 18; 906. 6; 940. 2; 943. 4. άχρις 933. 15. βαλανάριον 921. 18. βαλανείον 892. 9; 896. 9. τὸ πρὸς βαλ. 903. βαλαν 935. introd. βάλλειν 934. 9. βάμμα 914. 7. βαρείν 939. 23. βασανίζειν 908. 10. βασιλικός. βασ. γη 899. 22; 918. ii. 10, 23, iii. 6, 9, 14, xi. 7, xiii. 10; 986; 988 (?). βασ. ρύμη 986. βασ. γραμματεύς and βασ. τραπεζίτης. See Index VIII. βαστάζευ 914. 8. βαυκάλιον 936. 6, 8. βεβαιοῦν 907. 14; 910. 29; 912. 15. βητα 929. introd.

```
βιβλίδιον 896. 27; 899. introd., 33, 37, 38,
                                                916. 12, 15; 918. introd., xi. 1, 2, 4, 13,
                                                22, xiii. 3, 18; 925. 7; 982. 2; 988. 4,
  46; 986. 22.
βιβλίον 900. I4.
                                                14, 20; 989. 7; 974; 981; 986; 990;
Buxos 936. 28.
                                                994-5; 998-9.
βίος 905. ΙΙ.
                                              γιγνώσκευ 987. 3.
βλάβη 904. 5.
                                              γλυκύς 907. 3; 935. 22.
βοήθεια 902. 11; 904. 4.
                                              γνήσιος 943. Ι.
βοηθείν 907. 22.
                                              γνώμη 996.
βοηθός 903. 26, 31; 973; 976.
                                              γνωρίζειν 976.
βοϊκός 902. 6, 14.
                                              γνώσις 939. 4; 998.
βορράς 918. ii. 6 et saep.; 986; 988.
                                              γνωστήρ 976.
                                              γομοῦν 938. 6.
βορρινύς 892. 8.
βούλεσθαι 900. 12; 901. 10, 13; 907. 21,
                                              γουβενάριον 921. introd.
23; 918. 7; 925. 5.
βουλευτής. See Index VIII.
                                              γράμμα 898. 15; 907. 2; 908. 38; 910.
                                                58; 913. 25; 937. 30; 939. 18; 942.
βουλή 891. 5; 892. 5.
                                                2; 963; 990.
                                              γραμματεύε. See Index VIII.
βούλημα 907. Ι, 14, 26, 27; 990.
βούς 901. 15.
                                              γραμμάτιον 914. 18, 20.
                                              γράπτρον 895. 12, 14.
γαμεῶν 905. 9, 10, 12, 15, 17; 907. 20.
                                              γράφειν 893. 6; 896. 21; 898. 9; 899.
γαμικόν 908. 17.
                                                introd., 40, 41; 905. 18; 908. 38; 909.
γάμος 905. 4, 9, 17; 906. 8; 927. 2.
                                                34; 910.57; 918.21, 25; 914. 19;
γάρος (τὸ γ.) 987. 27.
                                                916. 9; 929. 20; 930. 2; 932. 2; 985.
γαστρίσι(os) (= καστρίσιοs?) 1001.
                                                16, 17; 936. 29; 987. 3, 21; 938. 6;
γείτων 918. il. 5 et saep.; 986; 988.
                                                939. 12, 24; 940. 5; 967; 990.
                                              γραφή 988.
γένημα 913. 11; 985.
γεουχείν 999.
                                              γύης 918. ii. 4, 10.
                                              γυμνασιαρχήσας. See Index VIII. γυμνασιάρχης. See Index VIII.
γεουχικός 1000.
γεούχος 910. 16, 24, 35; 913. 12, 18.
γεράτης 922. 7.
                                              γυμνάσιον, ἀπὸ γυμν. 984.
γέρδιος 984.
                                              γυμνοῦν 908. 7.
γεωργείν 899. 8, 41.
                                              yun 899. introd., 25, 28, 44; 907. 3, 16,
γεωργία 899. introd., 16, 18, 24, 26, 28, 31,
                                                20; 934. 12; 935. introd., 943. 5;
  32, 38; 913. 15.
                                                984; 992.
γεωργός 899. introd., 32, 44; 902. 3; 918. ii.
  11, 23, iii. 7, 14, xi. 7, 18, 21; 974; 999.
                                              δανείζειν 899. introd.
γη 899. 44; 910. 17, 20, 23, 40, 49; 918.
                                              δαπάνη 909, 26.
  16, 17, 23; 988. 5; 999. βασιλική γή
                                              deiv 899. 40; 905. 10; 906. 6; 918. 19;
  899. 22; 918. ii. 10, 23, iii. 6, 9, 14, xi.
                                                986. 31.
                                              δειπνείν 926. 2.
  7, xiii. 10; 986; 988 (?). δημοσία γῆ
                                              δείσα 910. 41; 988.
  899. introd., 22. γη λευκή 929. 14. προ-
                                              δείσθαι 896. 6, 10; 899. 15, 41; 907. 22.
  σόδου ες. γη 986.
γηρας 889. 18.
                                              δεκάτη 997 (?).
γηράσκειν 904. 2.
                                              defiós 906. 10; 941. 5.
γηροβοσκία 889. 19.
                                              δεσμός 902. 16.
γίγνεσθαι 892. 11; 894. 8; 895. 16; 896.
                                              δεσμωτήριον 902. 7.
                                             δεσπότης 942. 6; 948. 9; 998; 1001.
  29, 32; 898. 20; 899. 18, 40; 900.
  18, 19; 901. 7; 903. 17; 904. 4, 5;
                                                δεσπ. θεός 939. 4. ό τῶν δλων δεσπ. 989.
  905. 11, 14; 906. 9; 907. 25(?); 910.
                                                30. Cf. Index II.
                                             δέχεσθαι 987. 29.
  27, 36; 912. 32; 914. 9, 15; 915. 3;
```

```
δή 899. 14; 902. 13(?); 907. 16.
                                              διέρχεσθαι 964.
                                              diería 910. 51.
δήλος 893. 7.
                                              διευτυχείν 899. 20, 45.
δηλοῦν 896. 9; 899. introd., 38, 39; 902.
  19; 906. 8; 941. 8; 972; 984; 986.
                                              δίζυφον 920. Ι:
δημιουργός 925. 3.
                                              δικαιοκρισία 904. 2.
                                              δίκαιος 899, introd.; 905. 9; 909. 8; 914.
δημόσιος. τὸ δημ. 903. 22, 27; 988. τὰ
  δημ. 903. 31; 910. 23; 913. 17; 932.
                                                 18.
                                              δικότυλον 937. 27.

 δημ. βαλανείων 896. 8. δημ. γη 899.

                                              διό 929. 20; 935. 16.
  introd., 22. δημ. ἐπίταγμα 900. 9. δημ.
                                              διοικείν 901. 3.
  laτρός 896. 26; 988. δημ. λουτρόν 892.
11. δημ. όδός 918. ν. 20. δημ. τραπεζίτης
                                              διοικητής. See Index VIII.
                                              διόρθωσις 1000; 1002-3.
  916. 7.
                                              διπλοῦς 988. διπλοῦν. See Index IX (a).
δημοσίωσις 906. 9.
δηνάριος 896. 15, 17.
                                              δισσός 905. 18; 909. 34; 918. 21; 914.
διά. διὰ ώρας 935. 17. di(a) 913. 26.
                                                 19.
διαβάλλειν 900. 13.
                                              δίφρος 978.
διαγράφειν 890. 10; 916. 6.
                                              διώκειν 940. 3; 948. 5.
                                              διώρυξ 918. ii. 3 et saep.; 988.
διαγραφή 890. 9.
                                              докей 891. 12; 898. 39; 899. 41; 902.
διαδέχεσθαι 898. 2; 899. 34, 36.
διάδοχος 895. introd.; 996.
                                                 15; 937. 17; 938. 7; 939. 17, 24;
διάθεσις 896. 31.
                                                 940. 3.
διαθήκη 907. 6.
                                              δοκιμάζειν 928. 7.
διαίρεσις 962.
                                              δοξάζειν 924. 13.
                                              δόσις 912. 20; 917. 4.
діанта 943. 3.
διαιτάν 906. 6.
                                              δοῦλος 903. 2, 5, 9, 16, 25, 32, 34; 907.
διάκονος 998 (?).
                                                 11, 15; 924. 10.
διαλαμβάνειν 898. 38.
                                              δραχμή. See Index IX (b).
διαλογή 957 (?).
                                              -8paxµos 936. 38.
                                              δρόμος 900. 7; 911. 13.
διαπάσχειν 904. 2.
                                              δύμα 929. 8, 15.
διαπέμπειν 983. 21.
διαπορίζειν 977.
                                              δύναμις 899. 8; 905. 10; 930. 10; 940. 4.
διαπράσσειν 898. 25; 902. 17.
                                              δύνασθαι 898. 25, 34; 899. 31; 904. 7,
διασημότατος 888. I; 895. introd., 7.
                                                 9; 932. 8; 939. 15; 942. 4.
διαστέλλειν 918. introd., xi. 2; 978.
                                              δυστυχείν 904. 7.
διάστημα 918. v. 15.
διασφζειν 939. 8.
                                              ćar 923. 6.
διάταγμα 899. 28.
                                              έβδομηκοστός καὶ τρίτος 889. 17.
διατάσσειν 899. 22.
                                              έγγράφειν 913. 24.
διατείνειν 918. ii. 4.
                                              έγγράφως 896. 31; 902. 10, 17.
διατελείν 937. 7.
                                              έγγυᾶσθαι 905. 17; 972.
                                              έγγυητής 972.
διαφέρειν 907. 20.
διαφθείρειν 938. 4.
                                              έγγύς 940. 6; 941. 7.
                                              έγκαλείν 906. 3.
διάφορος 914. 7. διάφορα 988.
                                              eykheiew 903. 2, 12, 20, 23, 26.
διαψεύδεσθαι 897. 15.
διδόναι 891. 15; 899. introd., 37; 903. 8,
                                              έγκρατής 898. 19.
  23, 24, 25, 30; 904. 3; 907. 6, 11, 23;
                                              έγχειρίζειν 900. 9, 18.
  915. 1; 919. 10, 11; 922. 1 et saep.;
                                              έγχρήζευ 892. 7.
  928. 15; 931. 6; 984. 11; 985. 11;
                                               έγώ. emu 913. 26.
                                              έδαφος 899. 35; 901. 6; 918. 9; 918. ii.
  936. 12, 17; 937. 30; 948. 5; 974; 985.
διενιαυτίζειν 899. ΙΙ.
                                                 12, 16, 22, iii. 3, 9, xi. 7, 8; 986.
```

```
έθος 900. 7, 10; 909. 7.
eidévai 891. 16; 892. 4; 895. 11; 896.
  21; 897. 14; 908. 34, 37; 910. 57;
  913. 25; 929. 3, 22; 930. 9; 942. 3;
  963; 967.
eldoi 889. 10; 899. introd.
eldos 905. 6; 937. 22; 957.
einos 941. 6.
είπερ 942. 3.
είρήνη 991.
είς. μίαν μίαν 940. 6.
είσάγειν 985 (?).
είσαγωγός 918. xi. 17.
eioiévai 900. 7; 910. 26; 912. 8.
eioodos 896. 13; 986.
είσπραξις 890. 12; 914. 14.
ёкаотов 899. 17; 904. 6; 907. 4, 5; 908.
  22, 26, 29; 989. 27.
έκάτερος 905. 19; 906. 7; 908. 38.
έκβαίνειν 918. ii. 18, xi. 20.
έκβάλλειν 903. 34, 36.
έκδέχεσθαι 939. 27.
έκδιδόναι 905. 2, 15.
ekdikeîr 937. 7.
ἐκδικία 901. 3.
ekdikos. See Index VIII.
ёкдотов 905 5 (?).
ekeî 934. 12; 937. 15, 21; 938. 3.
ekeivos 899. 23; 928. 12.
έκκλησία 993.
έκκόπτειν 892. 10.
έκλαμβάνειν 988.
έκούσιος 996. έκουσίως 918. 6.
ἔκπαλαι 988. 3.
έκτελείν 900. 16; 972.
ёкту. See Index X.
ἐκτιθέναι 899. 4.
ектибия 905. 17; 914. 17.
entos 904. 3, 5.
ἐκφεύγειν 898. 25.
έκφόριον 910. 9, 20, 30, 49; 918. introd., xi.
  2, 3, 13.
έλαία 919. 5; 920. 6.
έλαιον 936. 8; 937. 27; 971.
έλασσοῦν 918. xi. 3, 13.
έλάσσων 988.
έλεειν 904. 2.
έλευθερούν 904. 7.
έλπίς 939. 9.
έμαυτοῦ 987. 7; 972. ἐν έμαυτῷ 989. 14.
```

```
έμβαδικός 896. 11.
έμβαδός 921. introd.
έμβάλλειν 919. 4; 939. 12.
έμμέλεια 896. 5 ; 897. 7.
έμποδίζειν 890. ΙΙ.
έμφορυς 899. 13; 918. xi. 10.
ἔμφυτος 899. 19.
εναρχος. εν. εξηγητής 888. 8. εν. πρύτανις
  889. 13; 890. 3; 891. 7; 892. 5.
έναφιέναι, έναφειμένη (?) SC. γη 918. xiii. 9, 12.
е́рдена 899. 14.
ένδομενία 899. 12; 907. 10.
črdofos 943. 4.
ένεδρεία 900. 19.
ένεδρεύειν 898. 17; 900. 12; 988. 2.
ἔνεδρον 892. II.
éveîvai 912. 12.
eveker 902. 12; 943. 3.
ενέχυρον 908. 27, 31; 914. 17.
ĕvθa 896. 32.
ἐνθάδε 967.
ενιαύσιος 900. 17 (?). ενιαυσίως 900. 8.
eriautos 889. 16, 17; 910. 40; 912. 7.
žvioi 900. 13, 17 (?).
ένιστάναι 895. 6; 906. 5; 908. 21; 909.
   28; 910. 6, 8, 17, 21; 911. 11; 913. 7;
   914. 13; 917. 2; 918. introd.; 964;
  981; 988.
evolutor 912. 13, 19, 31; 941. 7; 964; 971;
  986.
ένοφείλειν 986.
ένοχλείν 899. 44.
ένυχος 897. IO; 972.
ένταῦθα 903. 33; 999.
έντεῦθεν 930. 3.
έντυγχάνειν 900. 19; 969.
ένωμότως 904. 3.
έξαίρετος 907. 10, 13.
έξάμηνος 912. 21.
έξανύειν 904. 8.
έξασσός 908. 38.
ἐξέδρα 912. 13.
êfeîra 906. 7; 908. 36.
έξέρχεσθαι 942. 4.
έξετάζειν 899. introd.; 957.
¿£éravis 899. 39.
έξηγητεύσας. Šee Index VIII.
έξηγητής. See Index VIII.
έξηκονταετής 889. 9
έξηκοστός 889. 16 (?).
```

```
έξης 908. 21; 910. 11; 918. xi. 6; 967.
ěfiérai 984. 3.
έξκέπτωρ 942. 6 (?)
₹6000s 896. 13; 986.
έξουσία 893. 3; 904. 7, 10.
₹£∞ 903. 20.
έξώτερος 896. 14.
έξωτικός 999.
έοικέναι 899. 18.
έορτή 988. 13; 993.
έπαγγέλλειν 904. 3.
ἐπάγειν, ἐπαγόμεναι ἡμέραι. See Index IV.
έπακολουθείν 907. 20.
έπακολουθήτρια 909. 4, 37.
έπαναγκάζειν 899. 42; 900. 15.
έπανάγκης 913. 18; 914. 11.
έπάναγκος 909. 27; 910. 18.
έπαναλύειν 942. 3.
έπανέρχεσθαι 933. 17.
eπάνω 903. 14, 20; 912. 13; 918. ii. 21,
  xi. 16, 19; 985.
έπάνωθε 986.
έπαρούριον 917. 3; 981.
ἔπαρχος. See Index VIII.
έπεγγελάν 938. 7.
έπεί 899. 9, 23; 902. 10; 928. 9; 928. 3;
  935. 14.
έπείγειν 900. 14; 938. 5.
ἐπειδή 900. II; 908. 34; 941. 2.
έπεισέρχεσθαι 902. 5.
έπελευσις 986.
έπέρχεσθαι 901. 13; 906. 4.
έπερωτάν 905. 19; 909. 32; 912. 36; 913.
  21; 914. 9; 964.
έπέχειν 903. 16; 940. 4.
έπιβάλλειν 899. 24.
ἐπιβουλ[ 1002.
έπιγιγνώσκειν 930. 4, 14; 932. 8.
έπιγράφειν 899. 49.
έπιδιδόναι 895. 10; 896. 21, 28, 36, 38;
  898. 36; 899. 15, 32, 45, 49; 900. 14,
  21; 902. 13, 18; 907. 14; 921. introd.;
  940. 7; 941. 10; 942. 6.
έπιζητείν 895. 6; 896. 5; 904. 3.
ἐπιθυμεῖν 963.
έπικαλείν 964.
ἐπικάρσιον 921. 14.
έπικαταλαμβάνειν 939. 18.
έπικλασμός 899. 9.
έπίκρισις 926. 2; 966.
```

```
έπικρατείν 986.
έπινεύειν 939. 9.
έπινοείν 902. 10.
έπινόσως 939. 21; 990.
επίρριζος (?) 909. 25.
έπιρωννύναι 889. 20.
έπισκευάζειν 896. 7.
έπίσκεψις 918. introd.; 970; 986.
έπίσκοπος 903. 15.
έπίσταθμος 889. 8.
ἐπίσταλμα 899. introd. (?).
ἐπίστασθαι 899. 18.
έπιστέλλειν 891.17; 892.4, 12; 896.26; 899.
  introd., 34, 38, 42, 44, 47; 938. 3; 967.
έπιστήμη 896. 5.
ἐπιστολή 899. introd., 33, 37, 46.
έπιστόλιον 931. 6; 933. 23; 936. 14.
ἐπιστράτηγος. See Index VIII.
έπιστρεφέστερον 899. 41.
έπίταγμα 900. η.
έπιτέλλειν 907. 21.
έπιτηδείως 938. 6.
έπιτιθέναι 897. 7; 985 (έπιτιθοῦντι).
έπιτροπεία 907. 20.
έπιτροπή 898. 24.
έπίτροπος 888.5; 898.6, 28; 907. 18; 909.2.
ἐπιφανέστατος. See Indices II and III.
έπιφέρειν 899. 50.
έπιχορηγείν 905. 10; 906. 6.
έπιχώριος 936. 5.
έποίκιον 989; 996-7.
ἐπόπτης 991.
έποφείλευ 902. 17.
ἐποχή 918. introd., xi. 21, xiii. 2, 17.
έργάζεσθαι 923. 11.
έργαστήριου 908. 27, 29, 32, 34; 989.
έργάτης 895. 12, 14; 971; 985.
έργον 892. 9, 12; 896. 16.
έρειν 929. 22; 932. 3; 940. 3. Cf. λέγειν.
έρεοῦς 921. 2, 8.
έρίκινος 921. introd.
ἔριον 929. ΙΙ.
ἔρχεσθαι 908. 13, 14; 982. 5; 986. 34;
  937. 6, 25; 967.
ξσοπτρον 978.
έσπερινός 901. 5.
έσχατος 902. 11; 910. 40.
ётеров 898. 28; 899. 19, 32, 38, 40; 905.
  8; 907. 21; 909. 31; 918. xiii. 14;
  923. 11; 939. 18; 936; 988; 996.
```

ζευκτήριον 984. 5.

```
ži 898. 7, 32 ; 899. 38 ; 900. 6 ; 911. 10 ;
                                             (ην 907. 23; 924. II; 987. 5; 948. 7
                                                (ζη κύριος).
                                             ζητα, τὸ ζ. (i.e. Iliad vi) 930. 15.
έτοίμως 902. 9, 16.
                                             ζητείν 891. 10; 893. 4, 5, 8.
εὐδοκεῖν 905. 17; 908. 46; 972.
εὐδόκιμος 942. 6.
                                             ζωγραφία 896. 6, 10, 16.
εὐεργεσία 899. 19.
                                             ζωγράφυς 896. 4.
εὐεργετείν 899. 20, 45.
                                             ζφον 902. 6, 8, 15; 922. 17, 19, 22, 23;
evepyérns 996. Cf. Index II.
                                                942. 2, 3.
εὐθαλής 902. 15.
εὐθέως 935. 19. εὐθύς 941. 8.
                                             1 898. 7; 908. 13; 904. 8; 906. 8; 907.
εύθηνιαρχείν 908. 19.
                                                21; 912. 29; 913. 10; 925. 6; 941. 4,
εὐθηνιάρχης. See Index VIII.
                                               5; 972.
εὐθυμότερος 939. Ι Q.
                                             ή μήν 924. Ι.
                                             ήγεῖσθαι 895. 10. ήγούμενος. See Index VIII.
εύλαβέστατος 948. 6.
εὐμενής 899. 3; 925. 7. εὐμενῶς 924. 7.
                                             ηγεμονεύσας 899. 29.
                                             ἡγεμών. See Index VIII.
εύρίσκειν 918. χί. 5, 15; 925. 6; 984. 14;
  936. 20.
                                             ήγουν 941. 5.
                                             ქ∂η 963.
εὐσέβεια 907. 22.
εὐσεβέστατος 996. Cf. Index II.
                                             Ядиота 933. 5.
εὐτυχῶς 896. 7; 900. 7.
                                             ₹θος 963.
εὐχαριστεῖν 904. 9.
                                             ศีหะเม 988. 13.
                                             ήλιαστήριον 985.
εύχεσθαι 891. 18; 928. 15; 929. 24; 931.
  12; 933. 6, 28; 934. 16; 935. 29; 936.
                                             ήλικία 888. 3; 898. 30; 906. 7; 907. 19.
  3, 50; 937. 28; 938. 9; 939. 30.
                                             ήμέρα 893. 7; 900. 13; 901. 5; 903. 4;
εὐχή 939. 8.
                                                904.6; 905. 13; 906. 5.
έφεδρεύειν 928. 5.
                                             ήμερησίως 908. 26, 35.
έφημερινός (έπιημ.) 924. 2.
                                             ήμιολία 912. 32.
έφημερίς 917. Ι ; 981-2.
                                             ήμισυς 909. 30, 32; 911. 14; 912. 21;
έφιστάναι 912. 27.
                                                913. 13, 16, 19, 23; 986. ἐφ' ἡμισείας
ἔφοδος 906. 8.
                                                913. 11.
έφοραν 896. 30.
                                             ήμίχουν 986. 7, 9.
                                             ήμωβέλιον. See Index IX (b).
έχειν 891. 16; 895. 11; 898. 13, 37; 900.
  16; 901. 9, 12; 902. 9, 16; 903. 9, 29,
                                             ήνίκα 989. 23.
  30, 35; 905. 19; 907. 8, 9, 10, 12, 17,
                                             ήπειρος 918. ii. 1, 10, 23, iii. 7, 14, xi. 7.
  23; 908. 39; 910. 15, 54; 912. 9;
                                             ηπητής 936. 17.
  913. 16; 918. ii. 16, 18, iii. 15, v. 21,
                                             ήτοι 888. 5.
  Xi. 11, 12, 18, 20; 922. 14, 16; 928.
                                             θαυμάσιος 940. 7.
  10; 929. 19; 930. 3; 934. 8; 935.
  15, 17; 936. 15, 22, 26, 35; 938. 5;
                                             θεᾶσθαι 963.
                                             θέατρον 937. 11.
  939. 10, 21, 25, 26; 940. 6; 942. 3;
  964; 990; 995.
                                             θείος (SC. δρκος) 898. 4, 5, 8; 897. 12, 16.
čws 891. 11; 899. 33, 46; 907. 19; 910.
                                                θειότατος 996.
                                             θέλευ 893. 7; 898. 22; 908. 35; 981. 3;
  25; 934. 13; 936. 13; 940. 4; 948.
  8; 964; 965; 985.
                                                987. 3; 941. 7, 9; 948. 6.
                                             θέλημα 924. 8.
                                             θίμα 932. 4.
filius 894. 5.
                                             θεός. See Index VII.
                                             θερμά 896. 8.
ζεύγος 936. 15, 16.
                                             θηλυς 907. 16, 19.
```

θλίβεω 898. 33; 908. 33.

```
θλίψις 989. 13.
θνήσκειν 902. 9.
θόλος 896. 12.
θρασύτης 901. 19.
θρυοκοπείν 910. 40.
θρύον 910. 41.
θυγάτηρ 898. 4; 905. 3; 918. 3, 5, 22;
  980. 5; 984; 990.
θύειν 928. 23.
θύρα 908. 20; 912. 28.
θυσία 928. 7.
habitare 894. 7.
lατρός 896. 26 ; 983.
Thus 898. 11; 982. 1; 974; 999.
ίδιωτικός 918. ii. 22, iii. 3, 9, xi. 7, 8.
lδιω( ) 986.
lepovikης 908. 9.
lepós. lepà σύνοδος 908. 9. lepώτατον ταμείον
  890. 12. lepóv 984.
ikavós 918. v. 15.
ixevia 904. 7.
ίλεως 989. 7.
Ιλύειν 918. ii. 8 (?).
ιμάτιον 905. 7; 921. 5.
īva 891. 16; 892. 9; 895. 11; 899. 45;
  908. 26; 904. 9; 924. 11; 928. 7;
  929. 21; 932. 2, 3, 7, 8; 937. 10;
  989. 19; 940. 2; 967.
iνδικτίων 913. 8; 998-6. Cf. Index III.
Εππάριον 922. I et saep.
ίππικινακοι (?) 936. 24.
lππικός 922. I, 6.
ίππος 922. 8, 10, 13.
loos 907. 7, 12; 908. 35; 909. 14, 30;
  910. 18. Tows 908. 34.
Ιστάναι 906. 2 (?); 909. 32.
κάγκελλος 994; 999.
καθαρός 910. 32, 41; 912. 25; 988.
καθαρότης 904. 2.
καθεδράριον 968.
καθέλκευ 899. 25.
καθηγητής 980. 6.
καθήκευ 980. 12; 989. 16.
καθημερινός 924. 3.
καθιστάναι 888. 2; 898. 29; 902. 3; 989.
  19.
καθοσιούν 904. 2.
```

```
καθώς 899. 44; 902. 15; 909. 32.
 каїто 898. 26.
καινός 921. introd., 14.
 καιρός 899. 25; 918. 19.
 κακοφυής 988.
κακῶς 985. 15; 988. 5.
καλεΐν 918. ii. 4; 926. 1; 927. 1; 989.
καλός 902. 6; 913. 14; 988. καλώς 929.
   6; 984. 14; 967.
καμαρωτικός 921. introd.
καμαρωτός 921. introd.
κάματος 918. 15.
καμηλών 964.
καμπύλος 918. ii. 8 (?).
Κανωπικόν σφυρίδιον 986. 15.
καρπός ('wrist') 910. 25.
καρπός ('fruit') 918. 12, 13, 19, 23.
καρύτνος (κάροινος) 929. 9, 13.
κασσιτέριον 915. 2, 3; 1000-8.
καστρίσιος 1001 (?).
ката Заінен 898. 9.
καταβάλλειν 913. 15.
κατάγαιον 908. 4. κατάγειον 911. 15; 912. 12.
καταγίγνεσθαι 910. 4.
κατακόπτειν 904. 6.
катак( ) 918. ii. 13, iii. 10, xi. 9.
καταλαμβάνειν 889. 7; 896. 31; 989. 5;
καταλείπειν 907. 7, 12, 14, 17, 23; 985.
καταλιμπάνειν 907. 5.
καταλογείον 906. 9.
καταμένειν 989.
καταναγκάζειν 904. 8.
καταξιούν 940. 4; 941. 5; 943. Ι.
καταξύειν 988.
καταπλείν 930. 7; 938. 15.
καταπλέκειν 908. 35.
κατασκευάζεω 892. 8.
κατασπείρευ 965.
κατασπορά 969.
καταφέρευ 923. 8.
καταφυγή 899. introd.
καταχωρισμός 898. 37.
катокиков 918. ії. 16, у. 18, хі. 16, 17.
κάτοικος 984.
κελεύειν 889. 5; 899. 9, 41; 902. 13;
  916. 7; 970.
κέλευσις 895. 7.
κέντινος 922. ΙΙ.
κεράμιον. See Index IX (a).
```

```
κερλάριον (= κελλάριον?) 978.
                                              κυβερνήτης 919. 3.
κερπικάριον 921. 8, 20.
                                              κύθρα 986. ΙΙ.
κεφάλαιον 899. introd.; 988.
                                              κυριακός. τὸ κυριακόν 903. 19, 21.
κηδεμονία 888. ΙΙ.
                                              κυριεύειν 910. 24.
κηδεμών 888. 2, 3, 5.
                                              κυριευτικώς 907. 17.
                                              κύριος ('guardian') 888. 2; 899. 49
κηλώνειον 971.
κινδυνεύειν 938. 4.
                                                 909. 6.
                                               κύριος ('valid') 905. 18; 906. 10; 908.
κίνδυνος 910. 22; 914. 11.
κλείς 903. 16, 18; 912. 28.
                                                 37; 909. 33; 910. 42; 912. 35; 918.
                                                 20; 914. 18; 964.
κληρονομία 907. 5, 8, 12, 26.
κληρονόμος 899. 23; 907. 4, 6; 986; 999.
                                              κύριος (title) 895. introd.; 899. introd., 18;
κλήρος 918. ii. 24, v. 18, 19, xi. 16; 919.
                                                 902. 18; 904. 10; 922. 14, 16; 928.
  2(?); 971; 984; 988.
                                                 7; 925. 3; 931. 3, 10; 938. 1, 28;
                                                 937. 9; 939. 1, 5, 9, 20, 28; 948. 7; 995. Cf. Index II.
κλη( ) 980.
κλινήρης 896. 33.
                                              κύρος 998; 1001.
κλουίον (= κλουβίον?) 986. 6, 14.
                                               κωμάρχης 895. 5.
κοίλωμα 918. ii. 21, v. 16.
                                               κώμη 895. 5, 9; 897. 6, 9, 14; 899. introd.,
κοιμᾶσθαι 938. 25.
κοινός 891. 14; 905. 5, 12; 907. 17; 911.
                                                 17, 35, 36; 901. 8; 905. 4, 17; 918.
  16. τὸ κοιν. τῶν γεωργῶν 999. κοινῶς
                                                 9; 918. xi. 3, 13; 986; 989; 991. Cf.
   907. 12.
                                                 Index VI (b).
κοινωνία 905. 4.
                                               κωμητικός 895. 8.
                                               κωμογραμματεύς. See Index VIII.
κόλλημα 986.
κόμες 994.
κομίζειν 910. 26; 919. 6; 931. 5; 936. 5,
                                              λαλείν 908. 14.
                                               λαμβάνειν 898. 14; 908. 37; 922. 26;
   10, 13, 14; 963.
κόλλησις 915. Ι.
                                                 936. 42; 937. 18 (λαβήσαι), 22.
                                              λαμπρός 942. 6; 943. 1, 2, 5, 9. Cf. Index III and Index VI s. v. 'Οξυρυγχιτῶν
κολόβιον 921. 6, 16.
κόμτον 995 (?).
κομψότερος 935. 5.
                                                 πόλις.
κονδουκτορία 900. 6, 16.
                                               λαμπρότης 942. 2, 5.
κονιατής 993.
                                               λάχανον 966.
κόπριον 912. 25.
                                               λαχανοπώλης 935. introd.
κόπρος 934. 6, 10.
                                               λαχανόσπερμον 932. 6.
κοσκινεύειν 910. 33; 988.
                                              λέβης 1000.
                                              λέγεω 888. 1; 895. introd.; 899. introd.,
κοσμαρίδιον 903. 29.
κόσμος 899. 12; 909. 29.
                                                 21, 27, 30; 908. 1, 8, 9, 10, 13, 20, 21,
κουράτωρ 888. 6.
                                                 25, 30, 36; 907. 16; 918. ii. 13, iii. 6,
κρατείν 908. 24, 26.
                                                 14, v. 17, 21; 922. 13; 930. 15; 932.
                                                 5; 935. 15; 936. 17, 18, 21; 941. 2,
κράτιστος. κρ. αδελφή 931. ΙΙ. κρ. βουλή
  891. 5; 892. 5. κρ. διοικητής 899. introd.,
                                                 3, 6, 7, 9; 1002.
  1, 37. ὁ κρ. ἡγεμών 931. 8; 967. ὁ κρ.
                                              λειτούργημα 900. 14.
                                              λειτουργία 904. 3, 5, 8, 9.
κριθή 908. 25 ; 988.
                                              λέντιον 929. 10.
κρίνειν 898. 27; 899. 25, 26, 27, 29, 39.
                                              λεπτός 924. 5. λεπτά 920. 4.
κρύπτειν 908. 16, 18.
                                              λευκός 905. 8; 921. 5, 7; 922. 6, 9; 929.
κτᾶσθαι 908. 34; 904. 6.
                                                 14.
κτήμα 898. 14; 909. 16; 999; 1003.
                                              λημμα 929. introd.; 985; 999.
                                              λίαν 986. 13.
κτήνος 908. 25, 26, 30; 938. 2, 4, 5.
κτήσω 889. 19.
                                              λιβανοθήκη 978.
```

```
λίβελλος 902. 12.
λίθινος 918. v. 20; 937. 13.
λιμός (ή) 902, ο.
λινούς 921. 9.
λίνον 929. 10.
λίτρα 915. 2, 3; 1000-8.
λίψ 918. ii. 7 et saep.; 986; 988.
λόγιος 902. 1, 18.
λογιότης 902. 13, 15.
λογισμός 940. 4.
λογιστής. See Index VIII.
λόγος 890. 9; 893. 6, 8; 895. 8; 896.
   10; 904. 3; 905. 5; 914. 17; 916. 7,
  17, 20; 919. 2, 9, 11; 920. 12; 964;
   971; 985; 994; 999.
λοιπός 904. 7; 907. 15; 918. xi. 12; 921.
  introd.; 984. 11.
λουτρόν 892. 11; 915. 2; 948. 3, 4, 6, 8;
  1002.
λοχεία 992.
λύεω 907. 28.
λυπείν 930. 4.
λυτρούν 986. 19.
μαγειρικός 1001.
μαγιστριανός 904. 2.
μακάριος 902. 4.
μακελλάριος 1000.
μάλιστα 989. 20.
μάλλον 939. 3.
μάνδρα 984.
μανθάνειν 900. 11; 937. 12; 940. 4.
μαρτυρείν 903. 31; 930. 16; 938. 18.
μαρτύρων 941. 4.
μαστιγούν 903. 9.
ματρώνα στολάτα 907. 4.
μαφόρτης 987. 26.
μαφόρτιον 921. 7.
μεγαλοπρεπέστατος 904. 10.
μέγας 920. 8; 923. 1; 983. 12; 984;
  988; 996; 1002. μείζων and μειζότερος.
  See Index VIII.
μεθ' (ήν) 918. ii. 4 et saep.
μεθ( ) 988.
μειζότερος, μείζων. See Index VIII.
μέλας 922. Ι 2.
μέλειν 930. 11, 18; 939. 21.
μέλι 919. 8; 936. 9.
μελικηρίς 986. 10.
μελίτυνος 986. 11.
```

```
μελίχρως 984.
μέλλειν 890. 7; 930. 10; 935. 12.
μέμφεσθαι 972.
μέν οὖν 899. 8.
μένειν 903. 33, 36; 940. 2; 964.
μερίε 940. 2, 4; 986.
μέρος 905. 19; 911. 14; 918. 13, 16, 19,
  23; 918. ii. 22, iii. 9, xi. 8, 16, xiii. 7;
   984-6; 999.
μέσος. ἀνὰ μέσον 918. iii. 3, v. 15, 18.
μεστός 986. 37.
μεταβάλλειν 934. 3.
μεταδιαταγή 899. 40, 43, 47.
μεταδιατάσσειν 899. 32.
μετάδοσις 906. 9.
μεταλλάσσειν 888. ΙΙ; 899. 23.
μετανάστης 899. 14.
μεταξύ 914. 8.
μεταπέμπειν 969.
μεταστέλλειν 902. 13; 940. 6.
μεταφορά 895. 18; 935. 18.
μετεωρίζειν 904. 6.
μέτοχος 916. 7; 918. ii. 12, 24, xiii. 5.
μετρείν 932. 3; 988.
μέτρημα 909. 22.
μέτρησις 910. 35.
μέτρου 907. 24; 910. 21, 34; 986; 988.
Cf. Index IX (a).
μέχρι 906. 5; 908. 27; 909. 27.
μηδαμώς 901. ΙΙ.
μήν 893. 6; 895. 9; 898. 32; 902. 8;
  908. 6; 908. 20, 21; 910. 20, 31; 914.
  12; 916. 14; 958; 962; 964; 967; 985; 988. Cf. Index IV.
μήτηρ 888. 10; 898. 5; 899. 2; 908. 32;
  905. 2, 3, 4, 17; 909. 4, 11, 38; 910.
  3; 912. 2; 914. 3; 924. 15; 928. 10;
  936. 21, 47; 963; 984; 996.
μητρόπολις 907. 9.
μηχανάριος 985.
μηχανή 901. 7; 985.
μικρός 903. 28; 921. 11; 922. 6, 7, 10, 12,
  26; 931. 8; 933. 14, 22.
μισείν 902. 17.
μισθούν 910. Ι, 14, 28, 39, 48; 911. Ι;
  912. 1, 16, 17, 23, 41; 918. 7, 14, 22;
  918. xi. 2, 11, 12, xiii. 18; 977.
\mui\sigma\theta\omega\sigmais 910. 29, 42; 912. 9, 16, 35; 918.
  20; 964.
μσθωτής 986.
```

```
μνααΐον 905. 6.
                                              öθer 896. 32; 899. 41; 904. 7.
uveia 895. introd.
                                              όθονιακός 933. 23.
                                              οἴεσθαι 898. 24.
μνήμη 902. 4; 913. 3.
μόλυβδος 915. 2, 3; 1001-8.
                                              olkeîr 984.
μολυβδουργός 915. I; 1000-3.
                                              olkeîos 899. I2.
                                              οἰκέτης 904. 4.
μονάζειν 994.
μοναχός 905. 19; 908. 39.
                                              olkia 896. 30; 908. 10; 907. 10; 911.
μόνος 899. 15, 26; 907. 10; 910. 17; 915.
                                                14; 912. 12; 926. 3; 933. 26; 962;
  3; 919. 7; 993-5. μόνον 899. 11; 904.
                                                980; 984; 986; 1002.
                                              ολκονόμος 929. 25; 941. 4; 993.
  4; 941. 8, 9.
μότωσις 1001.
                                              okos 983. 19; 943. 4.
μυριάς 896. 16, 17.
                                              οίνοπράτης 985.
                                              oiros 907. 24; 985; 992-3.
μύρον 986. 39.
μύστρον 921. 25.
                                              οίοσδήποτε 898. 6, 9; 904. 8.
                                              όκνείν 930. Ι.
nasci 894. 5.
                                              όλίγος 899. 13; 941. 4, 9.
ναύβιον 917. 2.
                                              δλος 898. 6, 9; 896. 12, 16; 908. 4, 5;
ναῦλον 917. 2.
                                                918. xi. 6; 986. 19 (మి' శక్త మయా), 29; 986.
ναυτικός 929. 8.
                                                δλως 924. 8.
réos 910. 32; 988.
                                              όμιλεῖ» 928. 5.
νεόφυτος 909. 16.
                                              ομοιος 889. 21. όμοίως 916. 14, 17, 20; 985.
m 939. 20.
                                                introd.; 995.
                                              δμνύειν 897. II; 908. I5; 972.
poeir 990.
νομή 899. introd., 6; 918. introd., xi. 5,
                                              όμολογείν 897. 11; 898. 22; 905. 20; 909.
                                                13, 33; 910. 13; 912.36; 913.21; 914.
  15.
                                                6, 19; 939. 6; 964; 996.
νόμισμα. See Index IX (δ
νομισμάτιον. See Index IX (b).
                                              δμοῦ 895. 16.
νόμος 902. 17; 908. 7.
                                              όμουργός 922. 20.
νομός 899. 30, 42; 900. 6; 918. 6; 991.
                                              δμως 989. 26.
  Cf. Index VI (a).
                                              ουηλάτης 900. 15.
                                              ονοθήλεια 922. 24, 25.
νοσηλότερος 989. 26.
                                              броµа 890. 17; 908. 23; 907. 11, 15; 924.
rócos 989. 6, 23.
                                                12; 930. 26; 932. 4; 986. 46.
νοτάριος 940. 7.
ротов 918. ii. I et saep.; 986; 988.
                                              övos 932. 8; 985.
νυκτερινός 924. 4.
                                              δξύς 900. 7.
υυκτοστράτηγος 988. 24.
                                              δπόταν 909. 26.
νῦν 899. 41; 906. 6, 7; 908. 18; 929.
                                              οπου 936. 6, 8 (?), 15.
  5; 937. 8; 938. 6; 939. 3, 23.
                                              όπωροπώλης 980.
vuvi 908. 5; 988.
                                              όπως 899. introd., 17, 39, 42, 47; 935. 16;
                                                988. 6.
Eería 981. 7.
                                              δρᾶν 896. 32.
ξέστης 921. 23.
                                              όρδινάριος 942. 7; 999.
ξιφίδιον 986. 9.
                                              δρέγευ 902. 11.
ξυλαμάν 910. 11.
                                              δρίζειν 986.
ξύλον 892. 7.
                                              брков 898. 4, 5, 8; 897. 12, 16; 908. 18;
ξυστός 896. 12, 14.
                                              δρμᾶσθαι 914. 4; 996.
                                              δρμή 901. 6.
δγδόη (?) 916. 7, 17, 20.
δβολός. See Index IX (δ).
                                              όρφανικός 888. 4.
òðós 918. ii. 7, 13, iii. 6, v. 20.
                                              δρφανός 888. 2, 5.
```

```
δσος 898. 13; 899. 8; 902.17; 908. 34;
  913. 10; 939. 12.
δσοσπερ 904. 3.
όστρακώδης 941. 2.
öre 942. 4; 948. 6.
оть 908. 8 et saep.; 924. 10; 930. 9; 936.
   17, 19, 21; 987. 22; 989. 7; 941. 3,
  7, 9.
οὐ μή 903. 16.
οὐγκία 931. 4.
οὐλή 906. 10.
ov 899. 8, 40; 901. 15; 908. 10; 980.
  18; 984. 9; 937. 5, 8; 938. 5; 942. 3.
οὐσία 902. 3; 986.
ούσιακὸς μισθωτής 986.
ούτω 888. 3. ούτως 940. 5; 941. 7; 998-9.
όφείλειν 890. 8; 899. 48; 904. 4; 910.
  25; 914. 6; 942. 4; 943. 4.
όφρύς 906. 10.
όφφικιάλιος 896. 28.
ðψις 911. 6.
όψώνιον 898. 31; 974; 994.
ο', γο' 991.
\pi/941. I.
πâyos 900. 6; 901. 5.
παιδαγωγός 980. 17, 19, 27.
παιδίον 928. 13; 980. 24; 933. 29.
παίς 901. 8; 915. I.
πάλιν 893. 7; 908. 18.
πανεύφημος 999.
πανοικεί 985. 30.
παντελώς 899. 13; 908. 7.
πάντοθεν 988.
παντοκράτωρ 925. 1.
πάντως 904. 2, 3.
πάνυ 942. 5.
πάππος 908. 2, 45.
παραβαίνειν 908. 36.
παραβάλλειν 930. 21; 934. 12; 937. 10.
παραγγελία 957.
παραγγέλλειν 937. 8, 14.
παράγειν 901. 18; 971.
παραγίγνεσθαι 984. 13; 942. 4.
παραδέχεσθαι 910. 28.
παραδιδόναι 910. 39; 912. 23, 29.
παραθόλιον 896. 13.
παραίτησις 899: introd.
παρακατατιθέναι 907. 7.
παρακολουθείν 942. 5.
```

```
παραλαμβάνειν 912. 27.
παραληπτικός 910. 34.
παραμετρείν 910. 15.
παραμυθείσθαι 939. 26.
παρασκευάζει» 902. 7, 14; 948. 2.
παρατείνειν 918. iii. 3.
παρατηρείν 987. 16.
παρατυγχάνειν 901. 9.
παραφέρειν 892. 10.
παράφερνα 905. 7, 12; 906. 3.
παραφυλακή 904. 4.
παραχώρησις 998.
παρείναι 888. 5; 905. 16; 918. 25; 914.
  13; 983. 21; 984. 4, 7, 10; 972.
παρενοχλείν 965.
παρεντιθέναι 907. 21.
παρέχειν 895. 21; 900. 10, 17; 908. 27, 28;
  904. 4; 907. 6; 908. 31, 33; 918. 12,
  18; 937. 24; 941. 4, 6, 7, 8; 972; 992-4.
παριστάναι 897. 10.
παροικ( ) 899. introd. παρολκή 997.
παρυράν 904. 6.
παρουσία 903. 15.
πûs 897. 6; 898. 33, 35; 899. introd., 20;
  900. 16; 903. 1, 8, 11, 16, 32; 904. 3,
  5; 905. 12, 16; 907. 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 13,
  18, 20, 28; 908. 46; 910. 22, 38, 42, 56;
  911. 16; 912. 26, 35; 913. 11, 24; 914.
  11, 16; 924. 12; 929. 4, 12, 15, 20;
  930. 25; 938. 7, 16; 984. 15; 935. 26;
  986. 3; 987. 14; 989. 6, 9, 15, 29; 942.
  6; 964; 988.
παστοφόρος 984.
πατείν 988.
πατήρ 899. 21, 24; 905. 16; 908. 2; 924.
  15; 925. 3; 985. 20; 936. 2; 987. 10.
πατριμωνάλια 900. 5.
πάτριος 935. 10.
πατρίς 937. 7.
παχύς 921. 19.
πεδίον 918. 9.
πείνα 902. 12.
πείσμα 943. 5, 6.
πέλατον (?) 922. 9.
πέμπει» 928. 12; 930. 12; 931. 4, 26; 937.
  21, 26; 938. 4.
пентаетіа 986. 25.
πεντώβολον. See Index IX (b).
πέπερις. See πίπερας.
```

```
περίβλεπτος 994.
περιβολάδιον 921. 2.
περιγίγνεσθαι 913. 12, 13, 23; 986.
περίζωμα 921. 10.
περιιστάναι 899. 14; 902. 12.
περιστερών 981.
πηγμα 921. introd.
πηχισμός 981.
πηχυς. See Index IX (a).
πίπερας 921. 26.
πιπράσκειν 909. 14, 31; 922. 11, 13, 15,
   18.
πιστεύειν 898. 29; 903. 17.
πίστις 907. 7; 913. 14; 924. 9; 980.
πιστός 893. Ι.
πλάκιον 921. introd.
πλακούς 986. 11.
πλανάν 898. 8.
πλατάκιον 920. 3, 7, 10.
πλατεία 937. ΙΙ.
πλείων, πλείστος. See πολύς.
πληγή 903. 6; 904. 6.
πλήρης 929. introd.
πληροῦν 902. 10, 16; 904. 3, 5; 948. 7.
πλινθεύειν 941. 3.
πλινθευτής 941. 2.
πλίνθος 986.
πλοίον 937. 13.
πνεθμα 904. 7; 924. 16.
ποιείν 888. 3; 892. 10; 898. 8; 899. 17,
   34, 39, 43, 47, 48; 901. 6; 903. 7, 19;
   904.4; 907.6, 18, 26, 27; 909. 26, 30;
  913. 15, 20; 928. 7, 8, 11; 929. 6; 933.
   23; 936. 4, 31; 937. 4; 938. 2, 7; 941.
   3; 948. 6; 963; 967; 971; 990.
ποικιλτής 980.
πόλις 890. 8, 10; 892. 3, 9; 895. 15; 896.
  9, 30; 899. 6; 902. 2, 10; 904. 4;
  908. 6; 909. 13; 910. 3; 911. 5; 914. 6; 942. 4; 960; 962. Cf. Index VI (a).
πολιτεύεσθαι 902. 4, 12.
πολιτική 903. 37.
πολιτικός 892. ΙΙ.
πολυετία 889. 6.
πολύς 888. 4; 898. 7, 21; 899. 13; 903.
  21; 930. 16, 22; 935. 22, 26; 936. 51;
  938. 8; 941. 9. πλείων 939. 24. πλεί-
  στος 899. 13; 900. 9; 939. 3. πλείστα
  937. 2.
πορφύρα 931. 4.
```

```
ποσεία 918. introd.
ποτέ 928. 6.
ποτίζειν 938. 5.
ποτισμός 984. 14; 967.
πράγμα 888. 4; 893. 6, 9; 902. 3, 5; 938. 2
πραγματικός 899. 17, 35, 42, 47.
πραιπόσιτος 900. 5.
πρακτέος 940. 5.
πράκτωρ. See Index VIII.
\pi \rho \hat{a} \xi \omega 905. 14; 910. 36; 912. 33.
πράσις 909. 33; 988.
πράσσειν 895. introd.; 902. 15; 924. 7 (?)
  925. 7.
πρεπόντως 907. 17.
πρεσβευτής 938. 31.
πρεσβύτερος 897. 5; 984(?); 986; 996
  πρεσβ. κώμης 918. χί. 3, 12.
πρίν 928. 8.
προάστειον 915. 2.
προβαστάζειν 935. 21.
προγέωργος (?) 899. introd.
προγράφειν 907. ΙΙ; 908. 37; 918. 22.
προέρχεσθαι 898. 35.
profiteri 894. 5.
προιστάναι 891. 12.
προίξ 907. 14.
προκείσθαι 896. 37, 39; 899. 16; 900. 20;
  905. 18; 907. 18, 28; 908. 46; 909.
  22, 24; 910. 56; 912. 24, 41; 918. 24;
  918. ii. 9, 21, iii. 5, 9, xi. 15, xiii. 17; 929.
  19; 972; 977; 988.
προκουράτωρ 943. 2.
προλαμβάνειν 928. 8.
προλέγειν 901. 9; 902. 12, 16; 903. 25;
  939. 25.
προνοητής 908. 3; 999.
πρόνοια 899. 17.
πρόξενος βουλευτών 984.
προπολιτεύεσθαι 913, 4.
προσαγορεύειν 928. 14.
προσέρχεσθαι 907. 5.
προσέχειν 980. ΙΙ.
προσήκειν 888. 3; 899. introd., 26, 38, 48.
προσκύνημα 936. 4, 48 (?).
προσοδικός 986.
πρόσοδος, προσόδου SC. γη 986.
προσορίζειν 918. ii. 17, iii. 1, 2, 15.
προσοφείλειν 912. 31.
προσφέρειν 903. 6; 904. 7; 907. 18.
προσφωνείν 896. 18, 32, 34, 37, 38.
```

```
προσχωρείν 909. 20.
                                               σημειούν. σεσημείωμαι 899. introd.; 916. 13,
πρόσωπον 903. 21; 904. 8.
                                                  16, 19; 974; 977; 992. ἐσημειωσάμην
προτάσσειν 889. 15.
                                                  899. 32, 39, 46; 921. introd. ἐσημειώσατο
πρότερον 898. 22; 899. 44; 918. xi. 11.
                                                  980.
  \ddot{a} = \pi \rho \acute{o} \tau \epsilon \rho o \nu 984.
                                               σήμερον 896. 21.
προτιθέναι 888. 7; 889. 10.
                                               σίναπι 920. 2; 936. 7.
προυπαλλάσσειν 907. 18.
                                               σινδόνιον 921. 15, 19, 21.
                                               σιтию́ 907. 8 et saep.; 913. 10; 965.
πρόφασις 903. 35.
πρόχειρος 932. 7.
                                               σιτολόγος 973; 986.
προχρεία 907. 13; 910. 16.
                                                σίτος 903. 22; 986. 22; 994; 998-9.
πρύτανις. See Index VIII.
                                               σιτοφόρος 918. ii. 7.
πρώτον 902. 13; 924. 9. πρώτα 989. 13.
                                                σκάπτειν 985.
πρωτότυπος 904. 8. πρωτοτύπως 902. 13 (?).
                                               σκεύος 1001.
πύλη 892. 9.
                                               σκιωτός 921. 15.
                                                σκοπείν 940. 5.
πυνθάνεσθαι 930. 12; 933. 29.
πῦρ 903. 6.
                                                σκύλλειν 941. 3.
                                                σκυλμός 941. 5.
πυργίσκος 921. 24.
πυρετός 924. 6.
                                                σκυτάριον 936. 23.
                                                σκωρσελίνη (?) 936. 16.
πυρέτιον 896. 33.
πυρός 907. 24; 908. 27; 909. 21; 910. 9,
                                                σμάλλεος (?) 921. 6.
                                                σουβρικομαφόρτιον 905. 7.
  10, 18, 31, 51, 55; 918. ii. 9 et saep.;
  966; 974; 986; 988.
                                                σουβρικοπάλλιον 921. 4.
πυρρός 922. 8.
                                                σπείρειν 910. 9; 913. 11.
πωλείν 922. 6 ; 932. 10.
                                                σπέρμα 910. 16, 54; 918. 16.
                                                σπονδή 917. 3.
πως 902. 13 (?); 989. 15.
πῶς 932. 4; 939. 24.
                                                σπορά 913. 8.
                                                σπόρος 918. ii. 8, iii. 5.
                                                σπουδάζειν 939. 18; 963.
paor 939. 17.
ραφάνινος 936. 8.
                                               σπουδαίος 929. 3.
ρήτωρ 899. 21.
                                                σπουδή 963.
                                               στάβλον 922. 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 12.
ριπάριος 897. 3; 904. 3.
pis 903. 22.
                                                σταθμός 905. 5.
ρόα 920. 13.
                                                στατήρ 986. 40.
ρύμη 986.
                                                στέλλειν 902. 7.
ρύσις 940. 2.
                                                στεφάνιον 936. 12.
ρωννύναι. ἔρρωσο 931. 13; 932. 11. ἐρρῶσθαί
                                                στιπποπραγματευτής 898. 3.
                                                στολάτα 907. 4.
  σε εύχομαι 891. 18; 928. 15; 929. 24;
  931. 10; 933. 28; 934. 16; 935. 29;
                                                στοχάζεσθαι 931. 9.
                                                στρατηγία. See Index VIII. στρατηγός. See Index VIII.
  936. 50; 937. 28; 938. 8; 939. 28.
                                               στρουθός 920. 8, 12.
σαβανοφακιάριον 921. 11, 12.
σάκκος 982. 6.
                                                στρώμα 921. 3.
σακκούδιον 937. 29.
                                                συ, ἐσοῦ 903. 30.
σαλώτια 920. 5.
                                                συγγενής 904. 6.
σαργάνη 938. 3, 6.
                                                συγγνώμη 939. 10.
σαρκοφανής 936. 26.
                                                συγγραφή 905. 18; 906. 2, 8.
σεαυτοῦ 928. ΙΙ.
                                                συγκυρείν 907. 9, 13.
σεβάσμιος 897. ΙΙ.
                                                συγχωρείν 906. 9; 907. 2; 911. 7; 988;
σεβίτιον 919. 8.
                                                  990.
σημαίνειν 942. 5; 985.
                                                συλλαμβάνειν 935. 3, 8.
```

```
τάλαντον. See Index IX (δ).
συμβαίνων 888. 3; 899. 9, 16; 902. 8; |
                                              ταλάριον 936. 24.
συμβιοῦν 905. 8.
                                              ταμείον 890. 13.
συμβίωσις 906. 4; 907. 17.
                                              ταρίχιον 928.
σύμμαχος 903. 25; 904. 4.
                                              τάσσειν 918. χίϊι. 2, 17.
συμπάσχειν 904. 7.
                                              ταυτότης 940. 2.
συμπλήρωσις 985.
                                              ταχύς. ἐν ταχεί 929. 23. διὰ ταχέων 892. 9.
συμφωνείν 909. 18; 918. 24; 934. 10.
                                              Telver 906. 5.
                                              τέκνον 888. 11; 905. 11; 907. 3, 19; 909.
σύμφωνος 914. 4.
συμψέλια 921. introd.
                                                 2, 7; 930. 18; 986.
                                              τελεῦν 899. 9.
συνάγειν 900. 13; 985; 988.
συνειδέναι 898. 20.
                                              τέλειος 902. 11; 909. 18.
συνείναι 907. 16.
                                              τελευταίος 940. 2.
συνενείναι 929. 12.
                                              τελευτάν 928. 3; 984.
συνέχειν 896. 34; 899. 11.
                                              τελευτή 902. 4.
συνηγορείν 899. 21.
                                              τέλος 919. 3.
συνήθεια 994.
                                              τετραχοίνικος 910. 34.
συνθήκη 908. 13.
                                              τετρώβολον. See Index IX (b).
συνιστάναι, συνεστώς 912. 4.
                                              τέως 940. 2.
σύνοδος 908. 9.
                                              τηλικοῦτος 900. 12; 989. 11.
σύνολος 893. 6, 9.
                                              τηρείν 985.
συνομολογείν 948. 4.
                                              τιμαξιώτατος 948. 9.
συνοράν 940. 2.
                                              τιμή 895. 12, 14; 896. 15; 903. 24; 909.
                                                18; 912. 30; 914. 7; 984. 5, 6; 971;
συνόριον 918. V. 17.
σύνοψις 896. 6.
                                                980; 985; 988.
συντείνειν 904. 5.
                                              τιμιώτατος 980. 27; 981. 2.
συντελείν 989.
                                              тіс, ті каї ті 987. 22.
συντηρείν 924. Ι.
                                              τούνυν 900. 7; 902. 10; 940. 3.
συντιθέναι 908. 18.
                                              τοῦος 908. 14.
συντιμάν 905. 6.
                                              τοιούτος 899. 27; 904. 8, 9.
συνωνή 909. 21.
                                              τόκος 899. introd.
σφαιρίον 920. 9, ΙΙ.
                                              τόμος 903. 24; 957.
σφραγίζειν 929. 13; 932. 6.
                                              τοπαρχία 910. 5; 986.
                                              τόπος 896. 6, 11, 14; 899. 47; 909. 29;
σφραγίε 918. introd. et saep.
σφυρίδιον 986. 15.
                                                912. 13, 18, 25, 28; 931. 15; 941. 2,
σχεδόν 899. ΙΙ.
                                                4; 978; 986; 999.
σχοινίον 904. 6.
                                              τοσούτυς 940. 5.
σχοινιοπλόκος 984. 4.
                                              τότε 989. 22.
σχολαστικός 902. Ι.
                                              τραπεζίτης 916. 7, 13, 16; 943. 2, 5.
σώζειν 935. 7.
                                              τρέπειν 985. 5; 989. 17.
σωλήν 915. Ι. σωλ. λεγόμενος Σαβητ(
                                              τρέφεω 899. 15; 908. 24.
  1002.
                                              τριακάς 967.
σῶμα 889. 18; 904. 6; 907. 15.
                                              τριβακός 921. 13, 16, 20, 21; 929. 11.
σωμάτιον 939. 21, 26.
                                              τριχοίνικον 986. 7.
σως 908. II.
                                              τρόπος 902. 6, 14; 939. 15.
                                              τροφή 908. 33; 938. 2.
σωτήρ 925. 3.
σωτηρία 904. 7; 988.8; 985.12; 989.20.
                                              τρόφιμος 908. 3, 6, 8, 12, 13.
σ. ικιανος 921. 3.
                                              τροφός 968.
                                              τρυγάν 940. 3.
                                              τρύγη 907. 24; 975.
τάγμα 891. 15.
```

```
τυγχάνειν 888. 4, 5; 899. 14; 904. 9;
  933. 4.
τύλη 978.
τύπος 898. Ι, 9.
τυραννικός 902. 6, 14.
τύχη 899. 41.
ύβρίζειν 903. 5, 17.
ὖβρις 908. I.
ύγεία 930. 13; 935. 11.
bytairetr 935. 8; 936. 3.
ύδραγώγιον 901. 7.
ύδραγωγός 971.
ύδροπάροχος 902. 3.
ύδροφόρος 922. 19.
υδωρ, καθ υδατος 918. introd. et saep.
viós 898. 12; 894. 8; 902. 2; 908. 4;
  904. 7; 909. 8; 918. 5, 21; 914. 3, 5,
  20; 924. 15; 930. 30; 935. introd.;
  939. 22; 941. 2, 3; 960; 984; 989;
  996.
ύπαγορεύειν 907. 2.
υπακούειν 900. 9, 17.
ύπάρχειν 899. 8; 905. 16; 910. 7, 37; 911.
  11; 912. 34; 913. 9; 914. 15; 988. 17
  (ὑπῆρκται); 986.
ὑπατεία. See Index III.
ύπατος.
         από υπάτων δρδιναρίων 999. Cf.
  Index III.
ύπεύθυνος 907. 6.
ύπερβαίνειν 889. 16.
ύπερφυέστατος 996; 999.
ύπηρετείν 929. 5.
υπηρέτης 899. 50; 916. 18.
υποβάλλειν 897. 8; 900. 6, 8.
υπογράφειν 899. introd.
ύπογραφεύς 911. 6.
ύπόδημα 936. 25.
ύποθήκη 914. 18.
ύποκάτω 922. 21.
ύποκείσθαι 914. 16.
ύπόλογος 988.
ύπόλοιπος 902. 8.
ύπομένειν 904. 5.
ύπόμνημα 911. 8.
ύπομνηματισμός 898. 27.
ύπόμνησις 904. 3.
ύποτάσσειν 899. 19, 35; 907. 4.
ύποτιθέναι 898. Ι3.
ύστερος 986. 45.
```

```
φαίνειν 902. 9.
φαινόλιον 986. 18, 19. φαιλόνιον 938. 30.
φακός 966.
φάναι 967.
φανερός 902. 3; 928. 6.
φανερούν 925. 4.
φέρειν 905. 5; 936. 23.
φερνή 905. 5, 13, 18; 907. 18.
φθάνειν 889. 21; 907. 14; 985. 20.
φιάλη 937. 12, 18.
φιλανθρωπία 889. 5.
φιλάνθρωπος 925. 2.
φίλος 890. 5; 891. 9, 17, 19; 907. 23;
  931. 17; 988. 3, 27; 942. 6; 968.
φοινικών 918. ii. 1.
φοράδιον 922. 9, 21.
φόρετρον 917. 2.
φόρος 899. 40; 910. 12, 30, 50; 913. 13;
  943. 4, 7; 977.
φορτικώτατος 904. 9.
φρίξ 924. 3, 4, 5.
φρονείν 990.
φροντίς 902. 5; 907. 25; 923. 10.
φροντιστής 940. 6; 984; 996.
φύλαξ 931. 6; 988. 25.
φυλάσσειν 905. 9; 924. Ι.
χαίρειν 890. 6; 891. 9; 892. 3; 908. 17;
   909. 13; 928. 2; 929. 2; 931. 2; 932.
   1; 934. 2; 935. 2; 986. 2; 987. 2;
  938. I; 939. 2; 963-4; 967; 978-4.
  χαίροις 933. 1.
χαλκεύς 989.
χαλκίον 1003.
χαλκός 936. 17.
χαλκοῦς. See Index IX (δ).
χαρίζεσθαι 941. 5.
χάρις 939. 6; 941. 6; 968. χάριν 898. 35;
   899. 14; 934. 13.
χάρτης 895. 12, 14.
χαρτουλάριος 948. 9.
χείρ 901. 10. μετά χείμας 934. 8.
χειριστής 995.
χειροτονείν 888. 2.
χερσάλμυρος 918. introd.
χέρσαμμος 988.
χέρσος 918. ν. 16.
χθές 901. 5.
χιτών 929. 9, 13.
χλεύη 904. 2.
```

## *INDICES*

χλωρός 910. 11, 52.	χρυσός 905. 5; 914. 9, το; 995.
χμη 940. Ι; 995.	χρώμα 896. 15.
χοιρίδιον 932. 10.	χῶμα 909. 15; 985.
χοίρος 901. 5, 10, 12, 13.	χώρα 900. 8, 10.
χορηγείν 898. 32; 908. 28.	χωρείν 890. 8; 909. 21.
χορτονομή 918. xi. 10.	χωρίον 907. 8, 13; 985; 998.
χόρτος 908. 25; 988. 3.	χωρίε 898. 31; 909. 6; 982. 10; 988.
χοῦς ('mound') <b>985</b> .	A-pa 000: 31, 000: 0, 002: 10, 000:
χρεία 899. 25; 900. 12, 16, 18; 93	0. 3; ψιλός 986.
972.	ψυχή 908. 33.
χρέος 914. 17.	ψυχροφόρος 896. 11.
χρεωστείν 902. 9; 914. 7.	
χρήζειν 896. 9 ; 937. 23.	ώνεῖσθαι 914. 8.
χρηματίζειν 890. 3; 908. 7; 909. 6,	, ΙΙ;   φόν 986, 6.
964; 977.	ωρα 898.7; 901.5; 926.5; 927.4; 985.
χρηναι 900. 7.	17 (διά ώρας); 938. 6; 939. 27; 942. 1,
χρησθαι 912. 16.	2, 4.
χρηστήριον 907. 9, 13; 911. 16.	ώσαύτως 910, 12.
	I
χρηστός 987. 27.	Боте 891. 12; 898. 3; 896. 29; 897. 8;
χρόνος 889.6; 907. 23; 909. 23; 91	
<b>912</b> . 18, 22; <b>986</b> . 52; <b>987</b> . 6; <b>98</b> 6	8. 8.   18; <b>988.</b> 17; <b>934.</b> 8; <b>939.</b> 5.

## XII. INDEX OF PASSAGES DISCUSSED.

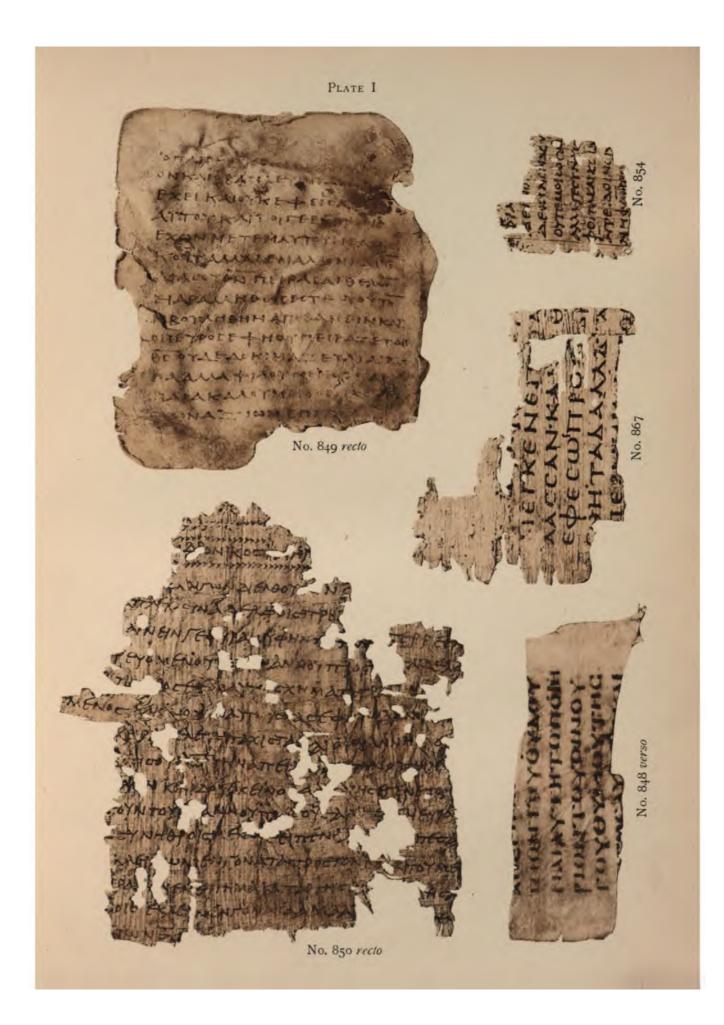
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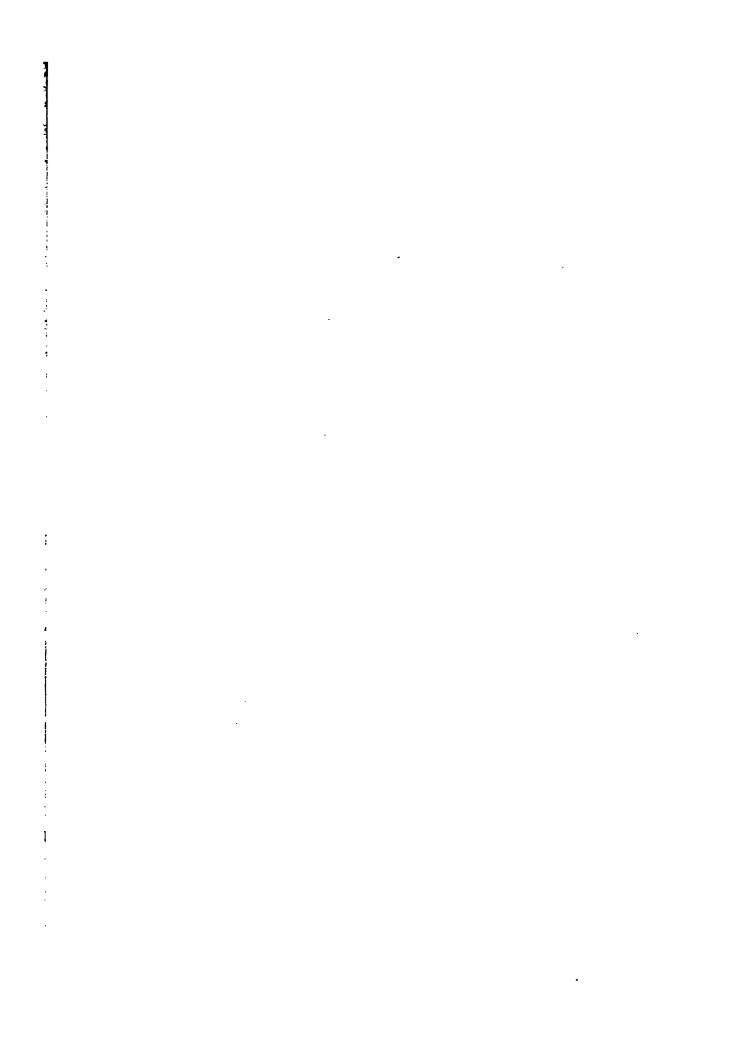
I	PAGE		PAGE
	27 Euripides Frag. 472 (Nauck) .		87
	284 752		•
	310 754		80
Aristophanes, Frogs 1312	92 755-8		81
1313-6	85 757		IOI
Aristotle, Poetics 14 2	8-9 759		102
Callimachus Frag. 66 a	760-7		82-3
Clemens Alex., Schol. on p. 105 .	21 764		84
	238 870		101
	238 Homer X 55		140
~ · · · · /77 1\	154   Iul. Capitolinus, Vita Marci 9. 7	<b>-9</b>	3 I 3 <del>-</del> 4
	140 Lydus, De Mensibus iv. 7. p. 72	٠.	83
Dionysius Hal., De Thucyd. Iudic.	Mnesimachus, Hipp. 1. 1.		9Š
•	1-2 Pindar Frag. 110		141
Dioscorides 1. 10	259 Steph. Byz. s. v. Φρύγια		145
Euripides, Ion 255	90		

## (b) Papyri, Inscriptions, &c.

				PAGE	I					PAGE
P. Amh. 72. 1				236	P. Grenf. II. 73. 9					241
107. 15				230	P. Leipzig 27.		•			245
150. 23-4				~~	37 .			-		243
B. G. U. I. 15. ii. 1 .					49 .		_	•	•	243
303. 28 .			•	314	116. 2			•	•	320
326. i. 6–8,	14-5		:	1	119. verso	ii 8	•	•	·	206
3201 II 0 0, II. 17		•	•	253	P. Oxy. I. 42. 8-9		•	•	•	232
II. 571. 9-10	•	•	:	- Ö -	53.	•	•	•	:	
572. 5, 10	•	·	:	_	53. 5-6	•	•	•	:	219
572. 5, 10 578. 7 .	:	•	:	247	123. 10	•	•	•	•	311
648. 12–4	-	• • • •		, 23I	138. 9	•	•	•	•	234
III. 893. 12–4			- 3	234	140. 7	•	•	•	•	234
IV. 1094. 1 .	•	•	•	0	153.3	•	•	•	•	
P. Brit, Mus. I. 77. 51	•		•		156. 5	•	•	•	•	•
164. 7	•	•	•	230	II. 259. 11	•	•	•	•	• .
			•	_	TIT 40#	•	•	•	•	247
III. 1157. 111,			•	•	III. 495 .	•	•	•	•	205
P. Bruxell. 1	•	•	•	•	497. 22-4	•	•	•	•	245
			•	276	653 .	•	•	•	•	271
P. Cairo in Archiv, III.	p. 33	9.	٠.	219	IV. 714. I	. <b></b>		N	•	222
Cairo tablets in Nouv. R	ev. II	151. 190			P. Rainer in Wessely		irer,	NO. 2	49	-
p. 483	•	•		13-5	P. Strassb. 29. 46	•	•	•	•	257
C. I. G. 3582. 2	•	•	•	•	40. 6	•	•	•	•	238
C. P. R. I. 22. 35 .	•	•	•		40, 48	•	•	•	•	284
30.52 .	•	•	•		P. Tebt. II. 343. 5,	88	•	•	•	281
P. Fay. 339	•	•	•	276	343. 69		•	•	•	271
347	•	•	•	305	413. 10		•	•	•	305
P Flor. I. 16. 26 .	•	•	•	301	413. 11	•	•	•	•	285
39· 7 ·	•	•	•	234	413. 14		•	•	•	304
96. 6, 13	•	•	2	35–6	500	•	•	•	•	269
P. Grenf, II, 11. ii. 4	•	•	•	96						

. 



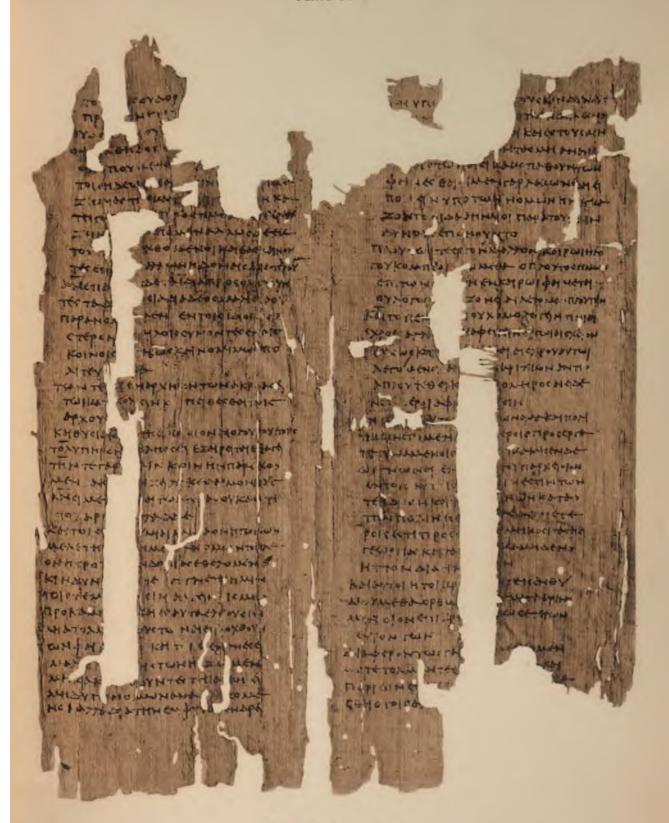


No. 852. Fr. 1, Cols. ii-iii

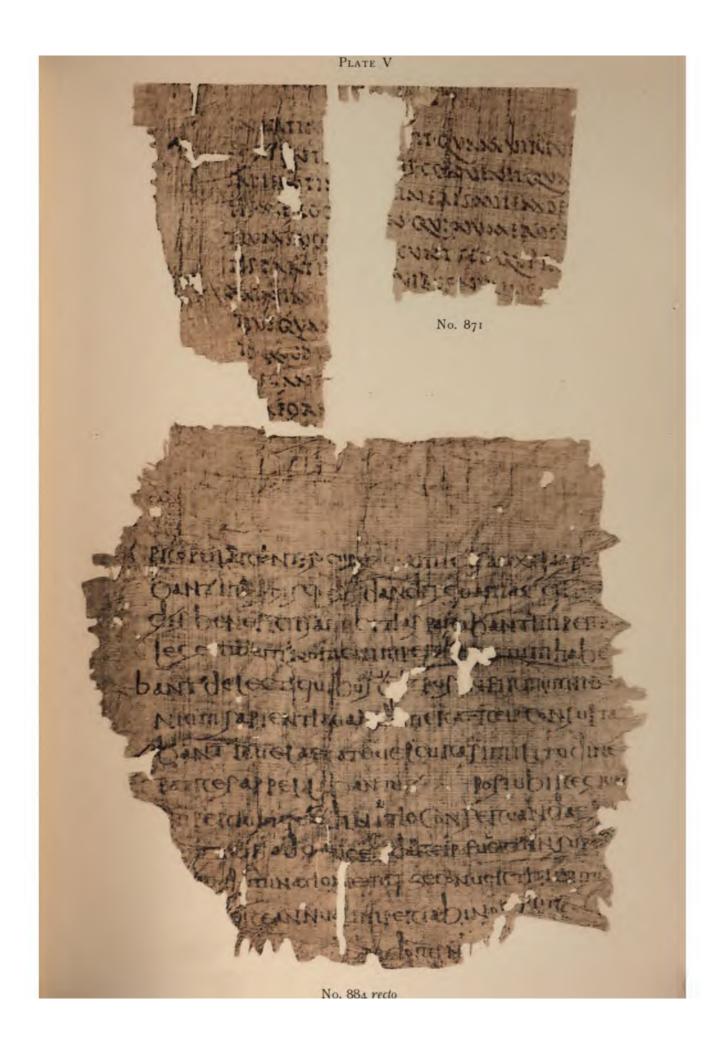
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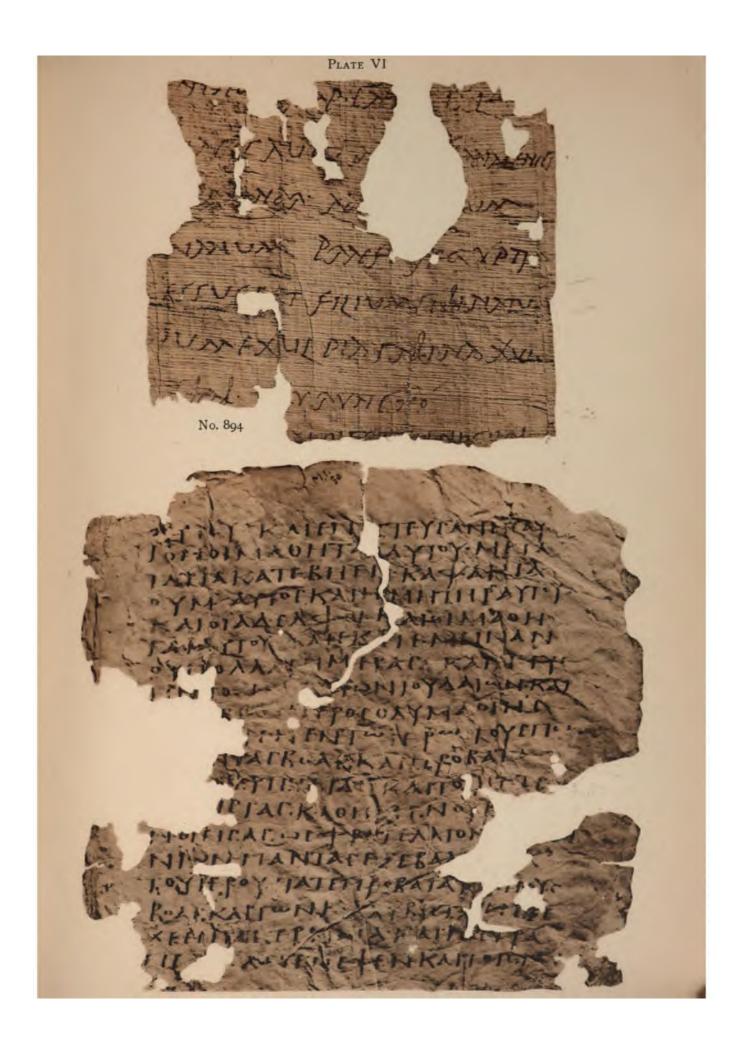
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